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***3 decembre 1979***

# THE PERMANENT PROCESS OF THE REVOLUTION IN IRAN

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In Iran, Khomeini has an apparent attitude of isolation, of independence. He represents a stage in which a revolution has broken out, without leadership. There is no leadership but the influence of the world affects how Iran progresses. The masses of Iran receive the world, and the world is in Iran.

The Khomeini leadership started limiting nationalisations. But now, there is a constant burst of them. The left had been repressed, but now it can speak again; all those on the Left can speak, and in public. This shows that a programme of social transformations cannot be made with repression: it demands that internal political life should thrive.

The occupation of the Yankee embassy in Teheran is not a folly but a political stand, the product of a country with hardly any political or trade union leadership, hardly any proletarian weight. This occupation is the idea of petty bourgeois and Muslim sectors. What conclusion do we draw? That Allah does not go far enough! If Allah is to be credible, he has to give his support to the programme of social transformations in the fight against the main enemy, Yankee imperialism. All the same, it was not the Soviet embassy that was occupied, but the Yankee's.

The Iranian masses are clear that their enemy is not the Soviet Union but the Yanks. The masses of Iran have seen that all the military arsenal of Yankee imperialism is impotent in front of a world relation of forces lending Iran its strength. The masses of the United States, the masses of the world witness that, for all their atomic weapons, the Yanks have to call a meeting to see how best to defend themselves from a country with hardly any workers. The masses of the world watch; and draw conclusions from these experiences.

The strength of Iran lies in the Soviet Union, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, and even China with its counter-revolutionary leadership. The strength of Iran is in the world balance of forces where the Workers States have to defend Iran. Had there not been such a world balance of forces, the Yanks would have already invaded Iran. The masses of North America observe the military arrogance of Yankee imperialism - and its weakness, and they know that both are caused by the progress of the world revolution.

This favours and develops in the Iranian masses a great sense of security in themselves. What a magnificent occasion to propose a Party for social transformations to be set up! This process animates the Shiite and the Muslim currents but it is not them, as such, that it addresses. Inside those currents, it gives commendation and credit to the idea of social transformation, which idea gets woven into their religious beliefs: without being eliminated, religious notions

are forced to adapt to the necessity of social transformation. Even Khomeini has changed. Before, he used to say: “As Allah said”, but now he says: “The Iranian masses say it is necessary to occupy the embassy and throw out the CIA spies”. Even though Khomeini has retreated somewhat in asserting that not all the embassy staff were agents, the masses of Iran, the masses of the world, and those of North America, observe this process.

## **IRAN OVERCOMES ALL AT ONCE IMPERIALISM, CAPITALISM, AND THE PROBLEMS OF RELIGION**

The situation in Iran expresses the forcefulness of the world process of class struggle. It measures the degree of rebellion against imperialism. The Islamic aspect of the revolution is not decisive: the uprising did not take place in the name of Allah or of religion. It took place against the capitalist system and the system of exploitation. As an oppressed people, Iran must cast off the yoke of internal social oppression in order to defend itself against imperialist aggression. It must do both these things at the same time, and there is no other way. This is one of the springs of the Permanent Revolution.

The Permanent Revolution is not only a method of interpretation – applicable to the Soviet Union, or to backward countries. It is the form which the process of history takes in this stage: Iran has to combine the process of liquidating imperialism with the task of liquidating capitalism, to which is added part of the process of overcoming limitations put in the way by the Islamic religion. Iran must do all these things at the same time! This is what Permanent Revolution means. It is not something that spreads over decades; it breaks out in a concentrated form. It does not first go through a capitalist stage: all the stages come up jointly. The world relation of forces is what allows this to happen, and its impact on the process in Iran takes an unequal and combined form. What is unequal about Iran is its development; but the whole world combines with Iran. As for the world process itself, it is also unequal and combined. By ‘whole world’, we mean the Workers States, the other revolutions, the Arab countries which are going forward. This is what ‘the world in Iran’ means.

All the Arab countries, Iran, Afghanistan, Algeria, South Yemen, Syria, have made profound advances in social relations. There is a whole ‘Islamic’ process which goes towards Marxism and this is not new. It did not start with Iran today, it comes from long ago. It started with the birth of the Soviet Union. All the Southern parts of the Soviet Union bordering on Iran have a Muslim population. Today, this population is not perturbed in the least by the events in Iran: it has not started labouring under a greater degree of religious fervour and it has not changed its social behaviour towards the USSR. It accepts that the social relation has precedence over the religious, and that is not the other way round. In turn, this steadfastness influences the masses in Iran and in the world. The Islamic people everywhere see that there are tens of thousands of Muslims in the USSR who feel Soviet first and who view things socially; who are neither opposed nor overly devoted to purely religious conceptions. This situation has an impact on all the religious communities, to the point that what determines their religious conduct (like what originated it), is their social persuasion; and not the reverse. This is an example of ‘unequal and combined development’: it is how the Permanent Revolution works. The Communist parties should be discussing this, the philosophers too. When they care to look at these facts, they will realise what a truly live force the human relation expresses.

Yankee imperialism tries to intervene to contain this process and to defend itself from it. As it cannot contain it, it defends itself from it with threats of aggression. If it does not go further right away, it is because the Soviets are there, and because the North American people do not see why the Shah has been granted asylum in the United States. If this were not so, imperialism would have already boasted on the rooftops that: 'we give asylum to a poor old bloke, a sick man'. In reality, of course, this is a millionaire assassin responsible for the murder of at least 70,000 Iranians who would have never qualified for medical treatment in the United States in a million years. Imperialism tries to hide all this. Some U.S. leaders are peddling the lie that the Shah has the North American people 'behind him'. Not true at all! He may have his wife, or aunt, behind him; but the North American people do not give a fig for imperialism's stooges. Imperialism has a certain following in capitalism, but the North American people make no mobilisation, they show no solicitude for the hostages and no anxiety over the challenges and attacks on Yankee imperialism – this being heavy of meaning. You saw not one demonstration. It is as over Vietnam again but one step up, because the masses have gained strength from the Vietnam experience. Already over Vietnam, the Yankees did not try to mobilise the North American people in their support. They knew that any such attempt would have the opposite effect. This is the situation.

Inside North American capitalism, there must be a sector which is furious, and wonders: 'why has the Shah been brought over here?' The idea of bringing the Shah into the US was the brainwave of a sector of the big monopolies, the big multinationals. But there are other sectors of capitalism, equally large if less important, which have interests even more widespread in the world. Kennedy is one such. When Kennedy came out against indulging the Shah, blaming the US government for doing it, he spoke for large sections of the petty bourgeoisie which, unlike before, no longer simply acquiesces to imperialism. These layers are learning from the world and they also see their own condition deteriorate every day.

The importance of Kennedy's accusations against the United States government lies in that he does this now, in the middle of this serious crisis for imperialism. This gives the Iranians, and the Soviets, an additional point of resistance. It was not a prepared accusation which Kennedy made, but equally, imperialism would not have advised it! Kennedy could have said it any other time. If he does it now, it is because there is a pressure from public opinion. It is the crisis inside imperialism which bursts out in this way. The attitude of the Soviets has been correspondingly firmer. They have the necessary weapons to crush the whole of the Yankee fleet and they can reach them anywhere in the world.

These declarations of Kennedy show the divergences inside imperialism. It is a war within the imperialists. Kennedy does not come out with this for no reason. Not averse to being president himself, he makes an offering to the Soviets as if to say: 'Look, I bring you change, whilst Carter brings you war'. Kennedy defends capitalism as much as Carter does, but the crisis of imperialism is very deep. These are not manoeuvres for war reasons, there are real internal divergences representing different tendencies and sectors of capital. The declaration of Kennedy weakens Yankee imperialism very much and explains the reasons for the indecision and absence of a more arrogant resolution on the part of the Yanks. It is not Kennedy alone who has decided to launch this, but a whole apparatus behind him, linked to some sectors of capitalism, sectors interested in having him as president. Clearly, Kennedy does not speak against capitalism; but in this action, he gets winks and nods from sectors who believe him to be a lesser evil. But when capitalism which is the worst evil, seeks a lesser evil, you get a measure of its position of weakness. US Imperialism wanted to send troops and take matters

to the brink of war. But this is not likely now, since neither the Yankees nor the Soviets are seeking this outcome. Such events are a very great blow at imperialism and there are going to be more of these. Changes will come in Saudi Arabia. Afghanistan and South Yemen are taking stock of all this, and North Yemen is going to be influenced immediately.

The intervention of Khaddafi in Libya is a very important political and social factor. Khaddafi does not just criticise the Yanks, he stimulates military interventions and offers military support for uprisings against them. This shows that layers of petty bourgeois leaderships are influenced socially by the progress of the revolution. Khaddafi does not act in the name of Libya only; he sees also the progresses made in the world. And he does not stir all this up just in the name of Allah, but through the medium of social interventions, social changes, and an increase in people's intervention. Leaders like him are learning that it is possible to unite the two, Allah and progress – and still go forward. But of these two walking hand in hand, it is not Allah who leads the way: it is the progress and the programme of State planning and statifications that does.

The unequal and combined process goes on in this way, even in matters of religion. Allah and social progress go hand in hand, but it is the combined aspect, the aspect of social progress, which prevails over the unequal aspect. The Communist parties which should be discussing this have insulated their lives from it. They do not see beyond what is called the 'practical' questions. They are wont to be puzzled by the entire bustle. When one of their alliances does not succeed, they simply look for another. But in all this, they fail to see the world, which is a thousand times more compelling, say, to the youth for instance, than the policies of all their parties put together.

The process is liquidating the Left wing groups. The groups which are called 'gauchist' used to have a reason for being. There was a time when a new one appeared every day because there was not an adequate policy (from the workers parties). The current process of the world removes the historic basis for groups. But on the other hand, it gives a certain legitimacy to the Ecologist movements in various countries. The case of the Ecologists is not like that of the groups. It is a social-political movement which lacks in a homogeneous political programme, but which expresses the uprising and indignation of people against the capitalist system. This movement is taking the form it does today because there is no homogeneous and concentrated leadership.

Iran is a concentrate of all this happening in the world. It shows how the masses' wit passes from the religious sentiment over to a social perception and judgement. It is not the Islamic militants as they are shown in the bourgeois press who give a measure of the Iranian people's conduct. Recently, right-wing Iranian 'revolutionary committees' were shown rounding up and killing people. But the masses did not support this! In the end, these same 'committees of the revolution' had to renounce part of their designs and start playing some role against imperialism.

All this is because of the unequal and combined process. The referendum on an Iranian constitution is a wholly transitory affair. There is no homogeneous leadership in this process. This is particularly so in the Muslim world. The influence exerted by the Workers States is less political than objective and social. The influence coming from the Workers States comes from them being Workers States. It is not true that this could not be more elevated. It is enough to look at the Muslims in the Soviet Union: they are primarily Soviet and not Muslim. They influence the entire Arab world even if this is not being done through books,

manuscripts or declarations. There are Mosques in South Yemen and Afghanistan, but people are characterised primarily by their social behaviour: in these countries, they have established State ownership, stratifications and economic plans. People intervene socially, and they progress. The Muslim masses see that they can achieve in one week what on the scientific, cultural and social level they could hardly have done previously in decades. In Afghanistan, South Yemen and in the USSR, people see this, and now in Iran also. This revolutionary process in Iran exercises an immense social function of education, stimulated by the existence of the Workers States. South Yemen, Afghanistan and Libya are particularly involved. Libya also influences in all these countries.

This assassin Sadat (Egypt) has offered support to the Shah. He is an agent of Yankee imperialism and he acts like this to defend the interests of the Egyptian oligarchy, the big capitalists and feudal types. But Sadat makes this offer, which means an immense retreat for Egypt where the leadership goes on floating, with no social roots beneath it. This layer offers its services to the Shah in the hope of gaining a brownie point from Yankee imperialism and the Israelis. Sadat seeks a front with them to extricate himself on the social plane. But the Arab masses unite their religion with social progress, and it is their social conquests that prevail.

It is not going to be long before an uprising starts in Egypt. At the moment there is a murderous dictatorship of the same sort as the former King's. But its power declines every day. This process also prepares for very big events in Saudi Arabia. The masses there, are educating themselves in the light of the examples given by the Islamic masses in countries like Iran and Libya. There are no schools for the masses in Saudi Arabia, there is no educational system or means of communication. People live in utter poverty, in the desert. But they assimilate the experiences of the world.

The Muslim countries are divided amongst themselves by their social structures; and by the social destination of the Islamic world. It is not religious problems which are here in discussion but social problems. There are many foreigners in countries like Saudi Arabia and Kuwait. There are many Palestinians in Saudi Arabia, for example. They are countries with practically no workers. The indigenous people are nomadic. Outside of King Khaled, his dynasty and invented hangers-on, there is nothing else. It is impossible to live in such regions because there is no water, no medicines. You are given morphine for whatever illness.

### **IRAN EXPRESSES THE WEAKNESS OF CAPITALISM AND THE STRENGTH OF THE WORKERS STATES**

The unequal and combined character of this process constitutes the essential aspect of the process of the Permanent Revolution. This is the logical way to interpret history. It cannot be interpreted by any other method. Without this method of interpretation, one ends up with the idea that one people is better than another, a second people is quieter and a third more aggressive. But we are in a process in which the world is already mature for social transformations, and imperialism will not be able to prevent them. This is the basis for the interpretation of the process of history. This method is needed by any leader of any Socialist or Communist Party, or group. It is also very much what the leaders of the Workers States need.

It is the Workers States and the USSR in particular which are the most conscious of this need. The USSR grasps this, not just because it has a vested social interest (this is true, but only in part), but because it has already acquired an understanding of the world. In all this last period, the Soviets have repeatedly stated: 'we base ourselves on Marx, Engels and Lenin'. The Russian Revolution, they say: 'is an event of world magnitude, it is an example, it is a structure and a principle'. In this way, the USSR already expresses principles - universal ones - tending to rise independently above those who expound them. Such a thing cannot be a purely bureaucratic manoeuvre. But there is nothing to stop such principles, once assimilated, from being applied in a bureaucratic and limited way! So long left in the top drawer of a filing cabinet - Stalin having abandoned principles of any sort - these principles have been given a dusting recently. This is going to influence the whole world Communist movement.

Afghanistan and South Yemen are extremely poor countries. It is senseless to want to educate them by telling them: 'See, Marx said this and that'. The Arab masses see before their eyes just the conclusions of Marx. This is how it is necessary to consider this unequal and combined process. A simple observation of the roots of the process confirms its combined character. These roots are the Workers States, the development of ideas and experiences, and the world masses who attend. The Communist parties must base their confidence in the fact that the masses live all this: for they learn, assimilating quickly, using it as a base.

Even when this is not expressed directly, the conduct of the Soviet Union is not without importance. The Soviet Union has declared, diplomatically, that it is against the taking of hostages. But it has also said that the interests and situation of the Iranian people have to be taken into account. In this way, the USSR speaks to the Yanks in a manner that does not oblige it to exert pressure for the hostages to be released. In saying this, it has hinted at the historic reasons for this hostage-taking. It is a progress on its part. The Soviets are not making an alliance with the Yankees against Iran. What motivates them however is the desire not to confront the capitalist countries which they have an interest in keeping some alliance with, Britain, France, Germany and some others. The Soviets are also by-passed by this situation; but the position they take of more or less accepting the reasons given by Iran stimulates the Communist parties and other sectors into taking the same line.

The attitude of the Soviet Union remains limited. For instance, it should say to all those who defended the dissidents: 'What have you to say about Iran today?' The defence of the dissidents does not have any principled basis. It only has in mind the private and the individual interest of those who can say: 'me' and 'them' - that is to say 'me, versus the State', 'me, versus the Soviets'.

Iran expresses the weakness of the capitalist system and the strength of the natural allies of the Workers States, in a very concentrated way. It expresses also the unequal and combined process which develops in the form of the Permanent Revolution. These are the principles which are being underlined once again, this time by Iran.

There is the risk of war. At any moment a sector of Yankee imperialism can decide that all is going to the dogs, and in desperation, try to launch the war. This is not at all excluded. Foreseeing this, the Soviets have sent their fleet close to Iran, and this is not very far from an act of war. The Soviets have not done this just to defend Iran. Iran does not have all that much importance for them in this matter, and even less the hostages, since only about two of them are significant. The others are functionaries.

But Iran brings into focus the acuteness of the revolutionary developments in this unequal and combined process. Other similar cases are going to appear. This acute phase of very deep class confrontation and war is expressed in other ways too. For instance, in Lebanon. As a matter of fact, Lebanon is ten times tenser than Iran, even if we have not heard a peep on this question from our friends the dissidents.

Lebanon expresses an aspect of this stage in the process. The Polisario Front\* expresses another, and Iran yet another. There is no world political, trade union or social movement embracing all this in a universal form at the moment. And so, one day we have Iran, the next Libya, and so it goes. Libya is one of those countries which has openly challenged the Yanks and told the other nations around: 'send the Yanks to hell and we will support you'. They also said: 'develop socially, the way we have done'. This is an immense progress in the Islamic world. It is a blow against Saudi Arabia and this idiot Sadat who, just like his country's previous King, believes that it is enough to have power to be able to command. He said: 'As I am in power, I command'. And within a few days, the carpet was pulled from under his feet.

This process is going to continue and it will have an influence in the Communist parties. Indeed, some Communist parties like the Italian and the Portuguese are already influenced. It is a very important process which is going to have an ever increasing influence on all the masses of the world. The Iranian masses have defied and contained Yankee imperialism, and the masses of the world have not missed the point. There is no force which will be capable of making all this retreat. The masses of the world have seen that the power of Yankee imperialism is not what decides, and that Yankee imperialism cannot use all the power it has. Not only is it hindered from descending upon the peoples in all arrogance, it is permanently threatened by the masses of the world which permanently rise against it.

The 'masses of the world', that means the masses of the United States too: these have no Party for their education but they are being educated by the class struggle. They learn through the unequal and combined process. The combined aspect is expressed by Iran; or Libya which, though such a very small country, confronts the capitalists and not the Workers States. This educates the Muslim masses as much as those in the United States, France, Germany, Britain, Japan, who see all this but cannot acknowledge it directly and promptly because they have not the necessary Party. However, they express it through such things as the immense progress of the Japanese Communist Party which has doubled its parliamentary representation; or the Portuguese Communist Party which has almost doubled its votes in a few years. On this basis, the proletarian vanguard is impelling other parties, those parties which it has.

Countries which seemed most backward are now those who reflect the greatest revolutionary development. A 'backward' country like Portugal is backward only on the economic plane. Japan is backward on the scientific plane, because capitalism in Japan is very backward, but the Japanese people are not backward in any way. They show this when they support the Communist Party. The Portuguese bourgeoisie is backward, but not the Portuguese masses who also support the Communist Party. All this is part of the unequal and combined process. The Communist parties must base themselves on this.

The elections in Portugal are very important, in the same way as those of Japan were. These are two countries which are apparently two of the most backward, backward in some cultural or economic aspects, or in social struggles. Culturally speaking, for instance, Japan is one of



the most backward in the world. It has a very advanced level of technology, but it has no scientific development. Japan is isolated from the rest of the world, whilst everything in the world is pushing towards its unification through politics and class struggle. This is what 'unequal and combined' development means. It operates not only in the economy or in elections, but in every field, on every level. This principle of the unequal and combined development is one of the key principles enounced by Marx. It means that now, the most backward countries no longer have to go through all the stages that had been previously necessary to develop culture and class struggle. This is so, regardless of previous stages having been so very important and essential to today's culture and scientific development.

We call on the Communists parties to support the Iranian masses, and with all necessary reserves, to support the Iranian government. The Iranian masses must be called upon to refuse to submit to Islam; they must demand religious freedom, political liberty, the right to form tendencies and currents, the right to publish, the right to free speech and the right to trade union organisation. We are opposed to the idea of submitting to Islam, but we do not advocate breaking with Islam either. Islam now is the expression of a stage. Catholicism also played this role. The Iranian Constitution aptly recalls that even now, no one in Italy can be against the Pope. Besides, and up until recently, the swearing-in of Italian Ministers was in the Catholic God's name. If Catholic domination in Italy does not go further than it does, it is only because it has been forced back.

In the referendum on the constitution in Iran, it is clear that people unite their support to Islam with their struggle against imperialism. It is all to the contrary of what capitalism tells us because it would have us believe that the Iranian constitution is a means of imposing Islamic power. But no! The masses are telling Islam what road to take! They tell Mahomet not to return to the desert but to stay put and confront the Yanks.

The Communist and Socialist parties, the trade unions, the leftist groups, must see that, in the conduct of the Muslim masses of Iran, there is a craving for social transformation. They have not the conscious leadership required; there is no political leadership in formation based on scientific method or experience. Full liberty has existed in Iran for less than a year. There have been many measures taken to impede the free movement of ideas. But ideas have not been entirely stopped. The simple fact that some 70% of property is now under State ownership proves the point. This is the most favourable start for the right to ideas, the generalisation of ideas, free speech, political resolution. The referendum in favour of an Islamic State will not mean a retreat from this. Between the Islamic State and State property management, the factor which decides is State property. This creates the conditions that adapt Islam to reality. It is not a mysterious incorporation of Islam and State, but the elevation of the understanding that the social process needs ideas, analyses, and the experiences of the world.

The actual alliance of Iran with the Workers States is going to determine the future. Despite what imperialism and some mistaken currents in the Socialists are saying, Iran is not going to retreat. We are being told that Iran is becoming an 'autocratic Muslim State', but the State ownership of 70% of property allows no autocracy at all. This amount of State ownership creates the conditions for people to think and see in terms of social and economic relations, in terms of their intervention and management. People are going to stimulate this along the lines of a scientific intervention on their part. And beneath this, the presence of the Workers States is a further stimulant.

This action of Iran is an immense contribution to the world development of the anti-capitalist revolution. It is going to have very favourable consequences in the rise of organic tendencies. These will come, and will need programme, policy and publications. The present events are going to be a very great impulse to the organisation of currents who do not reject Allah, but who convert Allah to the accomplishments of the revolution.

This process amongst the Muslims has a certain similarity to what happens in the various police forces and in the armies. Churches and armies have been instruments for the ruling powers. This goes on being so, but it is no longer unchallenged. The revolution has indeed an influence inside the armies, because large sectors of soldiers join the revolution. The same happens in the police and in the Catholic Church. The Catholic Church functions like a central committee in which they have debates and criticisms: they discuss whether the Pope is progressive or reactionary. Some say that he is not reactionary; others say that he is, but that he is making an effort! Meanwhile, an important part of the Catholic clergy is for the revolution. In Spain, a mayor-priest is also a Communist Party member. In Nicaragua, two priests have made a unity between Jesus Christ and their ministerial roles in government. There is a decomposition of the capitalist structure; what the Yankees are doing in Iran only increases this decomposition. It is not excluded that they will intervene against Iran but it will not stop the decomposition. It is neither the Soviets nor the Communist parties that decompose. A small country like Iran with only a few million people imposes norms of political conduct to Yankee imperialism. It stands up to the Yankees and all their nuclear arsenals! It is at such times that the masses of the world measure the specific and concrete balance of world forces; they draw the silent conclusion: 'we do not have the strength, but the Soviets have'. This reasoning is at the bottom of what the masses are doing.

This is going to help Iran in setting up a Party, where the Muslims will be included. Many people will come and will be won to the ideas of dialectical materialism, without abandoning Islam or their religious inclinations. Their practical conduct however, their practical experience in life and their own development will lead them to take revolutionary positions. Is this not a great situation for the progress of Communism in Iran?

The Communist parties have to discuss this, which they do not. It is necessary to start this discussion. It is necessary to condemn the Chinese who oppose doing this, not simply because they have a counter-revolutionary leadership, but because they do not understand history. It is not for a lack of understanding that the Chinese leadership is counter-revolutionary; it is from social interests that would have it think it can contain history whilst China goes on developing. This is historic imbecility! We do not mean to insult but to characterise. History will not be contained; and not even the Yankees can do just what they please.

The masses of the world see that a small country like Iran can make the Yankees retreat. This stimulates the world masses to make a stand. It is necessary to discuss this in the Communist parties, and overcome the caution: 'Mind, there will be war!' The masses, as we can see, are not paralysed by war. The masses of Iran are not without knowing that they may be bombed any minute; but they are not frightened. The occupation of the Yankee embassy does not represent a rebellion against the Yankee embassy, but an accusation of the function of spies and hangmen which the Yankees play in history. This is going to have an influence in the world, and it is also going to have an influence in the Communist Party of Iran. One of the aspects of the process in Iran is the lack of leadership. But even with the lack of initial progress on the part of the Communist Party, with the lack of subsequent leadership from it afterwards, even then, the masses have gone on taking progressive measures. They have not

imitated the Chinese either. They have taken the measures which go against imperialism and allow them to go forward.

The living experience of the masses is that without Party, without previous organisation and without cultural life under the Shah, they have adopted measures necessary for the progress of Iran. This being so, where did they get the ideas from? They got them from the objective experience, the objective intelligence of humanity, already expressed in the development of Workers States. This is what has done it. This must be discussed in the French and Italian Communist parties. They must support themselves on a developing and ascending revolutionary process in history, such as this one. These are the discussions to make.

Assassinations as of Moro in Italy, the new ones being cooked-up, all the bombs detonated in Italy, are all clandestine. These things are concocted inside the high layers of police, governments, armies. Those who throw bombs do it to intimidate people, but none of them determines the process. The masses of Iran also had to put up with this sort of thing. One day, 4,000 people were killed in the cinema of Abadan. The Shah hoped to crush people, but it was him who was crushed.

The masses are not intimidated. The Youth are all involved. The immense majority of these movements in Iran are made by the Youth. Who can come now and say to the young people: 'Wait a minute son, we are the experienced ones. We know things and you must listen to us'? In Iran, everyone joins in, the Youth and the old, the women with veils, the women without. The women intervened without waiting till Veil Removing Day or Mahomet's permission. As it goes forward, the religious movement learns how human progress is made. It opens up to the social and political experience of human progress, realising that its expression is political, in any country, in the Workers States, Nicaragua, Cuba and Angola. In all these places, humanity is learning. This is the world school of the class struggle and the masses of Iran have attended the school.

The women of Iran went by the millions to demonstrate against Yankee imperialism, without waiting to take off the veil. This means they became organised against imperialism from within the Islamic movement. The latter had to do this in order to retain its authority within the masses: the Shiite leadership had to give in to the pressure of the masses. It did not have the intention of doing this from the start. Originally, it hoped to contain the movement, of the Youth particularly, but the movement by-passed it, Khomeini included. What this leadership is doing now comes from the intention of calming things down and containing people. But when you get such a momentum and unanimity in the population, it is because they existed before, before the embassy occupation. Khomeini wanted to contain this movement, but instead, he was forced to follow it. This shows that the religious leadership cannot impose its religious precepts over the social-political-revolutionary thrust. It has to put itself at the tail of it to avoid being left behind; and this is bound to increase.

Bazargan represented a tendency which sought a link with Yankee imperialism, economic agreements, all manner of inducements, to avoid being dependent on the Soviet Union and the Workers States. The idea was to stop the tendency towards nationalisations and statifications in Iran. This is also the reason why he was got rid of. Bazargan was not thrown out because Khomeini dismissed him, but because there is a team which wants to go ahead with the revolution. This explains why the policy of progress continues now Bazargan has fallen. This means that there are sectors of the population, including the Muslim Youth (some of whom are with Khomeini), seeking an anti-capitalist solution.

## **IT IS SOCIAL LIFE WHICH DETERMINES THE CONDUCT OF THE MASSES**

This is what it all means in Iran. The significance of the Yankee embassy occupation was to stop the influence of Yankee imperialism, which must have been pretty substantial. The masses saw that Bazargan was making an alliance with imperialism in preparation for some attack: they liquidated the man, which amounted to liquidating capitalist meddling in Iran. Bazargan represented a bourgeois current which has been putting up with most objectionable measures of late, lying in wait for the time when it can concentrate enough power. Failing which, this sector will try to push through the economic and social measures for a bureaucratic apparatus, not forgetting to get rid of the revolutionary wing first, basing itself on the Muslim right wing. However, the Muslim right wing, the same that attacked the Communists, has started turning against the Iranian bourgeoisie too! Do not think it got confused. Its fierce religious creed leads it into clashing with everyone else, so moved it is to champion the 'pure image of Islam'. It turns out that this purity is nowhere to be found except in form. The Islamic world has to live in the real world. The real world, for its part, is dominated by imperialism and capitalism. There is no economic or social base to create an Islamic world. Those who dream of it are very shaken by the world as it is.

Islamic currents are influenced and become Marxists; and this, without repudiating Mahomet. They put Mahomet side by side with Marx and see no clash at all. Chased out of the heavens, religious conceptions have come down from on-high to make themselves easy about social questions. The Pope has wasted no time in visiting Turkey, both to get closer to Iran and to make sure Turkey does not go Iran's way. The Pope does not charge off to Turkey with the Ecumenical torch of Peace, but with the view to contain Iran.

These events in Iran show an aspect of the maturation of the masses impelled by the process of the world revolution. This continues to happen in spite of the absence of any proper political life amongst them. Those who create some political life are the Youth, the parties, and some independent movements. To lead 'a political life' means to analyse, draw conclusions and take positions. Khomeini takes up what is already put forward by others. He does not reason out the positions he takes. For instance, he does not say why the Yankees are spies and enemies. That is to say, he listens in the street, amongst his people, and it is they who induce him to come out with centralised positions. This is the way it goes for the Iranian masses; they receive the influence of the world process of the revolution, which includes the influence of Nicaragua.

In the unequal and combined process, being a small or a large country does not make any difference. Quite small countries have a great influence because humanity is already mature for progress. The women of Iran who get hold of machine-guns - some still wearing the veil - are a proper representation of this.

The fall of Bazargan following the hostages crisis, is a revolutionary move. For the time being, it is not led or organised politically, but it is a demonstration by the people of their repudiation and hatred of imperialism. It is not at all an empirical or a brutal gesture. They put the embassy functionaries in jail because they are spies and have been indicted on the charge of spying. In this action, the Iranian people learn how to distinguish, how to hate imperialism

but not the North American people. What is more, in not rejecting the Soviet Union they show how they are advancing. From where do they learn to advance in this way? They have no means to have a political life, there are no meetings, there is no Central Committee, and suddenly you see the masses stand up and make a revolution. Khomeini had to put himself quickly at the head of it, for fear of being cast aside.

In these events and whatever happens next, the maturity of the masses is already obvious. It is necessary to continue now with the formation of trade unions, to demand the right to make parties, the right to discuss Islam in public. For the moment, one has to make an alliance with Khomeini against imperialism. However, one must go forward to discuss and influence the masses so that, prayers not excluded, they continue to intervene in the organisation of society. This can be done whilst trying to maintain Islam on the side of the workers and the trade union movement. The Catholic and Muslim masses of the world are progressing because their thirst for social progress gets united to their religious sentiments. Eventually, what determines is their thirst for social progress, because this is the experience which they live. The life they lead as masses informs their conduct, and their lives show them that it is capitalism that is to blame for backwardness. This is how the masses are won. It is social life which determines the conduct of the masses, not their religious persuasion. When the religious sentiment became united to the social life of people, the result was 20 millions in the streets against imperialism in Iran. They did not demonstrate for more bread, even though the majority of them have strictly the bare minimum to live on. This process of Iran is so very rich and profound!

We render homage to the masses of Iran who receive the influence of the world even without having large workers parties or trade unions. This is what we mean by 'the world balance of forces'. The other thing is that imperialism cannot intervene because there is the Soviet Union and the masses of the world. Not just the Soviet Union and the Workers States, but the rest of the world too. And the masses of North America. The masses of North America have not made any move in favour of imperialism. The Yankees have consequently been unable to animate the hue and cry: 'let's defend liberty and democracy against attacks on us in Iran!' Nothing like that! They made a meeting in the dead of the night, took a lot of pictures to show the world, and that was that.

This process of Iran is going to influence the Muslims a great deal and is going to confirm a Left wing Muslim tendency in Libya, Syria, Iraq. It is necessary to understand that the masses are not going to be determined in their conduct by any sort of submission to religious precepts which suit the bourgeoisie. Their conduct is going to be determined by their insistence on social progress. The Pope was off to influence the Muslim masses through Turkey, and to procure some agreement with the Turkish Islamic leadership with the view to putting the brakes on the Iran process. But the Catholic Church itself is not without perceiving that capitalism has no perspective and shall fail. This is why it defends its own interests and plays its own games.

The masses are convinced that they have to press on with their struggles for social progress. They see that there is no other way to do it but through the anti-capitalist struggle. Therefore, they make a unity between their prayers to Allah, to God, and their anti-capitalist struggle. The Pope goes to Turkey in a bid to contain the masses, or to halt their progress, by striking a deal. But he plays his own game too, to avoid being cast aside by his own Church.

The rehabilitation of Galileo by the Catholic Church, the admission to the barbarisms committed against him – that is to say against science – means that a top layer of the Church tries to save itself. It very much tries to save itself from going down the drain in the company of capitalism. The Catholic Church looks for the ways in which to save itself and this acknowledgement about Galileo is a concession to open new avenues, to remove a layer of fossilised cardinals. This attempt means that the Church seeks to put itself in the swing of history, but this is very late and distant. It indicates that there is a top layer in the Church which has a specific interest, as Church, endeavouring to find some way to be better accommodated in the process of history. This layer cannot fail to see the Workers States as something solid, firm, strong, and spreading.

The countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America, are where the Catholic Church has least power. Apart from an old dignitary or two, the vast majority – Youth included – develops to the Left. The social process influences the world over. The Church no longer attracts people from bourgeois layers because the latter no longer give a hoot for it. The Church has turned to the petty bourgeoisie, cultivated layers, intellectuals and poor petty bourgeois: but these are more accessible to the influence of the world process of the revolution. Before, the Church recruited amongst the bourgeoisie individuals who had a thousand reasons for rejecting bourgeois life and who turned to the Church as penance or something. But these people were still steeped in caste and class sentiments. Today, those who are recruited are from the countryside, poor petty bourgeois, or directly from the peasantry, people linked to poor ways of life.

The Church feels that the world is moving, that imperialism is preparing for war and that it forms part of this preparation. But as Church, it wants to save its power! It sees that after each war, its power dwindles and Workers States are constructed. The Church observes also that these Workers States have increased their sway in the world. These two facts have greatly reduced the power of the Church, which, being an institution and a caste, reacts by looking for ways to save itself. This is how its leaders come to approach, and link up with, those whom they think shall be the organisers of tomorrow's life: the Workers States. This does not mean that they have started to think. They are simply looking for avenues of approach. Mostly, they seek contact with bureaucratic apparatuses, and the like, in the Workers States. This is why the Church has never come out with a determined campaign in favour of the dissidents.

It is the same process regarding the Muslim world. The power of the top religious layers of Islam is diminishing. These people were often Princes or Chiefs, always very well healed. But now, you get an Ayatollah intervening in a revolutionary process, a process he did not create, and in the capacity of developer! This process in Iran existed long before the Ayatollahs. Before Khomeini there was Mossadegh. The latter had arisen from the last post-war revolutionary phase. This demonstrates that the present process in Iran does not have its origins in the religious circles; and that it has affected the religious circles. The course of history can have such an effect on religious people only when the structure and the development of religion have exhausted their foundations in actual life. Indeed, religion does not answer the problems of life. It does not answer the problems of woman, of the child, of food, of work or of scientific progress. There is a dissolution taking place in the churches, and many religious spheres are losing their historic interest in capitalist power. A large number of religious leaders – Muslims, Catholics, Jewish – are influenced in this way. The effect of the world revolution is less marked among the Jews because the structure of their religion is more closed and narrow; also because the upper echelons have more control than in other religions.

They have less very poor people whilst you find a lot of petty bourgeois and rich people amongst them. But the Muslims and the Catholics are nearly all poor people.

In Iran a political team is in the process of being developed in conjunction with the experience of the world. This team understands that it is necessary to impose State control and to make the masses and the trade unions participate. This conclusion is on its way, even in Iran, a country without leadership. The Communist Party is very small, the trade unions too. There is no mass Party. But on the other hand, the Muslim movement is being influenced on a world scale by the revolution. What a historic event it is, when such a profound movement as Islam is influenced directly by the revolution! This is going to have an impact on Saudi Arabia and in the whole world.

There is not one single movement in Iran which manages to conciliate with capitalism, or which abdicates in fear and submission. The masses see that in order to progress it is necessary to bring down capitalism - and imperialism, which is the long arm of capitalism. It is a very rich experience for the masses of the world, and what the masses of Iran are doing is having an enormous influence, even in Latin America, Asia and Africa. This experience of Iran is not shining as brightly as it could because there is no leadership. But the masses see that 'this is the way to do it'. The world school of social progress can take place anywhere. Today, it is being held in Iran, but as it is not for Iran only, it will spread everywhere.

One has to be sensitive to the courage of the masses of Iran who are not frightened by repression or the atomic weapons of the Yankees. Their example encourages the masses of the rest of the world to overcome fear; and to struggle against their own leaders who drag their feet, who are timid, who allow themselves to be cowed by Yankee threats. The masses say: 'We shall overcome'. In the choice which is open to them, to die under the bombs or to die from having done nothing, the masses say: 'let us win! If we do not live, others will'. It is one of the most elevated experiences of historic social sentiment. The masses are conscious that they are all going to die if a bomb is dropped, but they say: 'We will die, yes, but others will live'. This sentiment forms an integral part of the sense of security and of courage which motivates the Iranian revolution.

This is the Permanent Revolution. There is no capitalist measure that will develop Iran. Things have developed in this manner because there was no other way. Without leadership, without industry, without leading social strata, Iran proceeds and creates all these on the way. By means of revolution it leaps over stages, in particular the stage which should have been the capitalist one. This is what 'Permanent Revolution' means. The events in Iran are an expression of the unequal and combined process of history: the economic, political, and military forces which are not to be found in Iran are in the world. They are in the Soviet Union, in Cuba. They are in the French and the Italian proletariat. All this in the world impels the masses of Iran into taking the road of progress. The very existence of the Soviet Union contains imperialism. Such is the unequal and combined process.

It is necessary to launch appeals, to make a campaign in Iran, to make it known that all the people must be organised in trade unions, soldiers and police included. The Communist Party of Iran must take the lead in the organisation of this. There must be a trade union organisation for the progress of Iran and, for the time being, to contain and expel imperialism: to throw it out with all its agents and mercenaries, like Bazargan, who conciliate with imperialism.

The masses mature under the world effect of the revolution, which includes Nicaragua and El Salvador. They see that progress has to be made in this way. They see that capitalism, for all its investments and economic ministrations, never brings any progress. They see that all capitalism ever develops is a small layer of people whom it uses for its own gain, and at the cost of thousands of massacres in the population - what with all the hunger and the repressions. In capitalist Italy, 13 year-old children work 8 hours a day. The parents sell their children for money. The Italian Communist Party paper '*Unita*' has denounced that 320 children in only one instance were found working in this way. The masses are learning that capitalism can no longer assure any economic, social or political progress. This is how they come to see that they must intervene. Each progress of the revolution raises the social level of the masses; correspondingly it refines the quality of programmes and leaderships. A country like Iran, without a Party, without much cultural or intellectual, artistic or scientific life, launches itself into the struggle for power taking, in order to develop their country. This means that it was not backwardness which impeded its previous development: it was the lack of social leadership. Now that it is permitted to enter, Science enters Iran in its most elevated form, namely through Politics - which is what encapsulates Science, Culture and Art.

### **IMPROVE THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF IRAN**

The events in Iran show that popular initiative has burst out and developed in spite of the absence of leadership from Communist or Socialist parties, or from trade unions. It has overcome every difficulty and led the population; when, as in this case, there were neither parties nor unions, popular initiative was able to express the world balance of forces and its impact on Iran.

When such a thing can happen it means that the entire world is ready for transformation. If the movement does not go further still, it is because the leaderships attenuate and contain it, as they do routinely in Italy, France or Spain. It is the leaderships, and not the masses, that are timid.

The Iranian masses have felt that the Soviet Union is at their side. But they have not the economic, political or military means that exist, say, in Italy. In Italy there are powerful Communist and Socialist Parties, big unions. No such thing in Iran! Nothing daunted, the masses came out with the concrete plan of transforming their country. As there was no political leadership, no trade unions or political movements, they gave their allegiance to whatever they forged on the way. The leadership of Khomeini did not exist before. It was created by the thrust of the movement. When, in conditions of this great Iran uprising, there are also such limitations of programme, it is because of the lack of leadership. The leadership is being formed but this too, requires a process.

The referendum on the constitution has nothing sure or firm about it. It is a transitory situation in which one must pose the need to finish with the Shah's regime entirely. At the same time, the constitution must guarantee the right to strike, to organise, to express ideas, to publish; and there must be no rights for the reactionary tendencies who try to make the revolutionary movement retreat from where it is now. On the other hand, full liberty must be given to all the tendencies of the revolutionary movement: Socialists, Communists, Leftists, and all the Muslim movement which defends progressive ideas.



It is logical that this Muslim leadership should have an Islamic conception of the constitution; but what decides the course of policies against the Yankees, cannot be provided by the Muslim conception. The present position is contradictory due to a lack of experience, lack of programme, policy and leadership. The persistence of the will to take the country forward by means of State ownership for instance, does not come from Muslim conceptions. Now it is necessary to pose Statifications and workers control measures - all to be enshrined in the constitution. Also, within this framework, room must be found for District Committees, Administration Committees, Committees in the countryside, together with the Distribution of the Land to the peasants, the Planning of Agricultural Production by the State, and the distribution of the smaller properties to peasants. This is the discussion which has to be held now.

There is no Party as yet in Iran; so, where does the experience come from to let 70% of property pass under the State? It comes from the influence of the world. This is the clear and decisive conclusion.

The Communist, Socialist and trade union leaderships in Europe do not see the process because they are steeped in conciliation with capitalism. They continue with the belief in gradual advance, as if capitalism were going to eventually allow it. But when capitalism accepts measures of progress, it is only because it cannot do anything else; it means also that it is possible to go much further. If this opportunity is not seized, it is because the leaders do not want to. Why did Iran go so far, then? There were no parties, no unions, no means, and Iran went farther than all others. It is the most profound revolution, and it started from conditions which were much more backward than many other revolutions.

It is necessary to start from this to consider that this referendum for the constitution is a transitory event. It is not going to have the last word. Only recently Bazagan was supposed to be a 'great minister' and where is he now? The same shall apply to the constitution. It is not the product of full political maturity. It came on the crest of the rising tide of life, of experience, of the political organisation of the masses. Tomorrow, there will another one of these constitutions.

It is necessary to intervene, calling for political rights, for a complete social transformation and for the planning of production. It is necessary to expel the Yankees and give full political liberty to the tendencies which want the progress of the country. Not a single right for the reactionaries! There must be full liberty of publishing, of speech, of ideas and organisation: workers control, factory committees, etc. These are the necessary organs to lead the country.

Capitalism has demonstrated its powerlessness and its incapacity to lead the country with the organs of its own power. This means that there must be new organs. The construction of these organs has to be based on the experience of countries like the Soviet Union, or Czechoslovakia – China too – which have done this sort of thing already, even though they have become much diminished in their functioning nowadays.

This uprising shows to all the peoples of the world the weakness of the Yankees. The latter have all their atomic might but they have no social force or authority. The masses are no longer intimidated by huge military potency. Clearly! Besides, the effect of these events in Iran is infinitely greater in the world than in Iran itself. The North American masses, for instance, are going to appreciate Iran's role as a country which used to live in misery and

which wants to progress. They will see that Yankee imperialism is opposed to Iran wanting to progress; and that it protects assassins who have killed thousands upon thousands of people to stop Iran wanting to progress. Hence, there is not a single movement in the United States to defend the hostages, not one such movement could be whipped up. Had the imperialists been able to do it, they would have made a huge public outcry for the release of the hostages. But they are scared lest the US population should start to say: 'Hostages out, and you Carter, too!'

This referendum is a part of the unequal and combined process. In practice, this means that it is necessary to help the referendum develop the combined aspects of the Iran process, and not the unequal ones. The referendum reflects the imbalance between the decisively revolutionary character of events, and the Muslim character of the leadership where the masses lack in organised representation. This latter, unequal, aspect is transitory. It expresses the unequal aspect of the process as a whole, and not the combined. The necessary leadership, Communist, Socialist and Muslim, is being formed whilst the Islamic leadership itself is going to see the need for transformations.

The events in Iran are going to influence over the Arab world. The incident of the occupation of Mecca in Saudi Arabia is part of this. Of this mysterious action, the Saudi government has said not a word. Perhaps a sector within it hoped to create a movement with the view to a State coup. The government has hidden it all. This means that in Saudi Arabia too, winds of change are blowing; that country has immense riches but the population does not have a drop of water. There are palaces with stupendous comfort. Three thousand princes constitute what could have corresponded to an aristocracy, but it is a completely fabricated class. As they cannot create a bourgeoisie - because of the absence of economic and industrial development - they have invented one. They have a layer of three thousands people whom they have positioned in the judicial, administrative and economic apparatus of the country, as props to the big shots.

### **A WORLD TRIBUNAL TO CONDEMN THE SHAH AND YANKEE IMPERIALISM**

On a world scale, there must be a Trade Union and Revolutionary Tribunal, to condemn the Shah and Yankee imperialism still offering him protection. These, must be condemned for the criminals and assassins that they are. By the way, all those who have been so keen to condemn Vietnam for having liberated Cambodia should now tell us what they have to say about the Shah, whose eminence as a criminal exceeds that of Pol Pot!

It is necessary to call on the world Communist, Socialist and trade union movement, to support Iran's struggle in expelling imperialism from Iran. Slogans should say: 'We are not against North Americans! No support for the counter revolution! Imperialism out!' Lets us make a Tribunal not just for the condemnation of Yankee imperialism, but for its expulsion from Iran. The workers movement, the trade unions, the Communists and the Socialists must support the expulsion of Yankee imperialism from Iran. If imperialism supports the Shah so keenly, it is to reassure its teams of world murderers, to keep their actions immune and their trust steadfast. The conduct of the Yankees in Iran is not incidental: it is intended to bolster up their stooges and dictators everywhere. The idea is to show them that imperialism is not about to give them up. What it does for the Shah's protection is not fortuitous, it is calculated. Within the Yankees, there are very big rifts over the fall of Somoza (Nicaragua). It was not

that they abandoned him: they could no longer support him. All this happened because they could not intervene - for all that they would have liked it - because the world balance of forces prevented them.

Imperialism needs to reassure governments and assorted dictators under its control, that it will not let them down. Already in Korea, things did not turn out according to plan after Park Chung's murder. The Yankees had an interest in provoking some degree of change in Park's government to keep things going. Having had Park killed, they discovered that the next movement made itself less dependent upon them, daring even to seek improvements for their country. Wherever it can do it with economic and political inducements, imperialism nurtures movements with the view to hurling them at the revolutionary process. This is why it supports the Shah now.

Imperialism uses the uprising against the Shah as an excuse to attack Iran. Had it not been over the Shah, it would have been over another issue. This indicates that Iran is ripe to go much further than it has done so far.

We call for a world revolutionary Tribunal and, at the same time, we call for debates on 'Where is Iran going?' There must be discussions about Agrarian Reform, Statifications and the planning of the economy. In Iran, there must be debates in the Universities on how to develop the country. It is possible, without being submitted to them, to take example from the Workers States because they demonstrate that the essential basis for the development of human culture starts with State control, Statification and planning. This done, the road to the cultural, scientific and general development of the people is opened.

It is also necessary to have debates regarding how events in Iran prove that the people want to go beyond the limits of religion. This has started with quitting the veil and blanket submission to Koran law. These events show that it is the Koran that is making changes, and that the religious people have not been harmed by these changes in any way. A bold historic step has been taken to which the religious people have had to adapt. One must not declare war on the religious people, but one must keep winning an influence over their movement - the Ayatollahs included.

Any religion, be it Catholic, Protestant or Muslim, is influenced by the process of history. If the Church tries to remain within rigid precepts, it is by-passed. This is how the Church is made to follow the course of history. This is precisely what Khomeini is doing. Our task and our policy are not to confront the religious people or to say to them that religion has failed. On the contrary, our policy must be to pursue the objective of social transformations, propitiating the direct intervention of the masses, with the view to forming a movement for social transformations.

## **PLANNED PRODUCTION TO FULFILL THE NEEDS OF THE POPULATION**

It is not necessary either to compete with the Communists but to reinforce the movement which seeks the transformation of Iran. One must tend to make the Iranian Communist Party an instrument for these transformations. It is an old Party which has traditions and cadres. At the same time, we have to develop ourselves also, and help the trade unions to develop.

Setting up a new movement would not be possible. The movement to come will include the Communists and us, as the Posadist wing of the Communist movement in Iran. In all this, it is the programme proposed that will be all important, decisive: Agrarian Reform, Land Distribution, the setting up of Collective Works and Socialist Cooperatives. These things must be proposed. Their financing and equipping should come from the government. It is necessary to put forward a programme of industrial development, so that the Oil Wealth should be spent on hospitals, houses, roads. All agricultural foodstuffs needed must be produced in Iran, and not imported. An immediate start must be made on communications. Production must be focused on electro-domestic goods. Iron-ore must be transformed within the country. Every step taken must be for the development of the country. This is the general outline.

A programme of Agricultural Production has to be put in place specifically for the satisfaction of the needs of the country. Presently, Iran imports half of what it consumes in agricultural produce! Therefore, there is the need to make a plan for agricultural production under the control of the Trade Unions. The State must support small agricultural properties at the same time as creating Cooperatives. It is necessary to announce now that the major properties will be expropriated and that they are going to be run under the control of the State.

One has to take account of the Islamic concept of property. One must have the patience to wait for the effects of the present process to be felt. The leadership of Khomeini has changed, but this is not the first time a leadership does this. Now, he has more left-wing ministers; this means that a sector of the Iranian leadership, the Youth in particular, seeks to progress by means of transformations. The problem remains in being patient; and in knowing when to trust in the dynamic of the process. The people in the leadership today have no programme, and they have no experience. So, one must help them to acquire these, without becoming exasperated, allowing for the fact that errors will be made.

One must also try to influence the Communist Party, so that it intervenes more openly with a programme for social transformations and anti-imperialist struggle. Trade Unions must be set up urgently in the towns and in the countryside. The Universities should be turned into centres for political intervention, wherein the major topic for study must be: 'How do we develop the country?'

See how a country like Iran has stepped out of bloody repression to leap into the sunshine of a very great revolution. This could only happen at this level because of the direct influence of the Workers States. This happened before in Iran, in Mossadegh's time (after the war); and before that, in 1917 and 1919, when there had been revolutionary movements; but the layers who participated in those days have not perpetuated themselves.

It is necessary to consider that this process influences Islam, Catholicism or whatever other religion.

There are big changes amongst the Catholics and the Muslims in Latin America, Africa, Asia and Europe. The Muslims demonstrate that a sector inside them is not opposed to a Communist development of life. Now, they accuse the Pope of being an agent of the big monopolies in the world. This is true, but even the Pope tries to conciliate, because he sees that capitalism is collapsing. He sees that his Church must keep adapting to this reality, even though it is also true that a part of the Catholic Church has no life outside capitalism. But the Catholic base is not as submissive as it used to be. There is a social development among the Catholics which leads them to grasp that social interests have to take precedence over

precepts. It is the same with the Muslims. It is the social interest of people, it is their social experience, which orientate their religious conduct today; this is the reason why Khomeini has had to change. The masses did not need to change, but Khomeini changes constantly. He is forced to yield in front of the impulse of the masses to avoid being by-passed, to avoid losing the control and the hold he has over people. It is of fundamental importance to see that Khomeini animates himself to attack the Yanks and to lead the movement which rises against imperialism. This occupation of the embassy could have taken place a long time ago. But the leadership was by-passed by the initiative of the masses. It had to run ahead and quickly place itself in front of the movement.

It is a very important situation in which we appeal to the Communists to intervene more and to go further. It is possible to do this. We consider that the Iranian Communist Party is an instrument for transformation because it is the Party which already has some experience and which attracts the most combative sectors of the masses. But we include ourselves in that instrument also. It is necessary to act together with the Communist Party and not against it, or in dispute with it. The perspective is for a Communist Party. Whatever the nature of the movement in the beginning, it will have to end up as a Communist Party whatever name it chooses at first. The experience of Cuba has shown this conclusively. This does not exclude the existence of other currents. We do not condemn the other currents but we orientate them so that they organise themselves with the perspective of social transformation, which can only happen with the intervention of the masses. All of the currents will converge, eventually, in the advance towards Communism. One must not leave the Feddayins and the Moujahidins on one side. The tactic must be to impel them towards a movement with programme, policy and Communist objectives. It is for this reason that we put the Communist Party in the centre. We must not negate or oppose the formation of other movements, such as the Feddayins or other groups which may be very advanced. It is necessary to make an activity of United Fronts. But we support the Communist Party whilst supporting occasionally and in concrete instances the groups which have a policy momentarily better than that of the Communist Party, or closer to what the Communist Party is going to need. In this case, the support we give them does not go against the Communist Party.

The problem of tactics is fundamental. The discussion of the tactic in Iran must start from the fact that a foremost instrument already exists: the Communist Party, which is also changing and developing. It has already a certain mass support, a certain experience, the support of the Soviet Union. It has already acquired and absorbed the confidence and assurance that the solution lies in the Workers State. The other movements developing now do not have this knowledge and neither can they have much of the experience and understanding which the Communists have. Even if the Communist Party has not acquired its experience directly from Iran, it has the experience of the Workers States. It is an instrument already constructed. It is not the same as the Communist parties in Latin America, for instance, which are weak.

One must intervene to help the Communist parties. This does not mean that we should submit to them, go at their pace or remain at their level. Nevertheless, it does mean understanding that they are an instrument. We want to help the Communist parties, but we do not want to remain limited by them or by their level. We want to impel them to intervene in a process which is no longer going backwards. It is different from all previous stages in history, inasmuch as the right wing finds less and less space within which to develop. The present crisis of capitalism is not just another crisis, it is the final one.

When events such as the triumph of the revolution in Nicaragua or the present process in El Salvador take place, it is because capitalism no longer has any authority over the masses. It no longer has any social force. If it were otherwise, this would not happen. Capitalism has some military force, which is already declining, and some economic force. But the masses of the Communist and Socialist parties seek progress. The parties no longer find any room for their customary reformist policies, their submissive alliances with capitalism. Besides, the existing economic conditions no longer permit capitalism to make any form of alliance either, whilst the experience and the resolution of the masses make it difficult for their leaders to continue in conciliatory ways. Passing and transitory alliances between capitalism and the leaders of the masses are possible, but alliances of the sort that determine the course of the process have ceased to be possible, in any country. We base ourselves on this for the progress ahead.

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3 November 1979

\* Polissario is the Front of Liberation Struggle for the Sahaouri people against Morocco in the Sahara