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FROM KARGAR DATED Aug. 16, 1979

On August 16, the first issue of Che Bayad Kard, introducing itself as "the voice of the Socialist Workers Party" was published.

In the last issue of Kargar we said that an important discussion is going on inside the SWP on the question of participation vs. boycott of the Experts Assembly elections. Unfortunately, a section of the SWP leadership which had adopted the position of boycott, arbitrarily and with the name of the party boycotted the elections and then, regardless of the norms and traditions of our movement, published a separate newspaper named Che Bayad Kard. The traditions of our movement, i.e., the Fourth International - World Party of Socialist Revolution - would have been that, instead of publishing a separate newspaper, the internal discussion over boycott vs. participation continue inside the SWP and holders of various view points on this question go unitedly towards the holding of a party convention so that through a democratic discussion by the entire party, a decision be made on different positions. With such an understanding of our movement's traditions, the publication of a separate newspaper by a section of the SWP leadership is a complete error.

The difference among the revolutionary socialists over the question of participation vs. boycott of the Experts Assembly elections has a major significance and meaning. The question is over the program, strategy and tactics to be adopted by the proletariat in advancing the present revolution.

In this issue of Kargar we will publish the document "Socialist Workers Party and the Election of Experts Assembly." This document was the guiding program of the SWP election campaign.

The position of a section of leadership that boycotted the elections was expressed in a statement "The Election of Experts Assembly Must be Boycotted" which is printed in page 5 of the first issue of Che Bayad Kard.

Although the Socialist Workers Party is not responsible for the contents of Che Bayad Kard, it supports the right of this paper to publish its views.

SWP Executive Committee

August 19, 1979

Dear Comrades,

We met with comrades Fariborz and Mehran on Sunday morning August 12, to discuss the proposals of the International comrades to avoid an unprincipled split in the SWP of Iran. The comrades said they were informed of the proposals and that there was agreement by the leading comrades. We set a meeting for that afternoon at 4:30 in order to start the implementation of the proposals. The comrades agreed, and informed us that they would also bring along the articles that they were proposing to be printed in Kargar. Needless to say, we were very happy to see that a collective effort was being made in order to turn the situation around and avert the danger of a split in the united party of the Fourth International.

Unfortunately, none of your comrades showed up at the 4:30 meeting; none of your comrades contacted us to reschedule the meeting; and our message to have comrade Hormoz contact us was left unanswered.

On Wednesday morning, August 16, we found out with utter surprise that Che Bayad Kard (What is to Be Done) was being printed. The paper introduced itself as "The Voice of the SWP"! Comrade Ahmad Haydari was assigned to contact you comrades and try to convince you of the grave consequences of putting out a separate paper, in defiance of the proposals of the International. He was able to contact comrades Babak Ahmadi and Fariborz and explained the situation repeating our offer to have your articles printed in the Kargar. He asked for a meeting to be set up between us and comrades Hormoz, Azar and your entire leadership. Later comrade Babak Ahmadi informed comrade Ahmad Haydari that comrade Hormoz had called him saying that Che Bayad Kard was going to appear and there was no reason for discussion on the paper, but that he agreed to discuss the convention.

That evening we saw Che Bayad Kard being sold near the Mujahedin headquarters. We have been unable to contact comrade Hormoz. None of your comrades ever contacted us that day or any day after that. The entire party has been informed of Che Bayad Kard's publication through an advertisement in yesterday's issue of the bourgeois newspaper, Bamdad. So, we have decided to write this letter hoping that written communication will yield better results.

1- We think, as we have repeatedly made it clear to you, your move to publish a separate paper has no political foundation, and is a drive toward an unprincipled split. It is unprincipled because the differences that you have expressed--differences also exist among yourselves-- in no way justify a split. Furthermore, you could have expressed your views in Kargar. Why a separate paper? We think you comrades are making a principled error in breaking the Leninist norms of party building.

2- We repeat our complete agreement with the proposals of the International comrades, despite the appearance of Che Bayad Kard. Do you still agree to a joint convention? We say let the convention decide the questions that are in dispute, including the question of the paper.

3- We propose no public attacks on each other. We believe the statements concerning the internal situation of the party and the statements publicly attacking Babak Zahraie are a mistake. We have

enclosed and underlined such statements that have appeared in Che Bayad Kard. We are also enclosing the explanatory note that will appear in Kargar concerning Che Bayad Kard.

4- We are proposing a joint meeting for next Monday, August 27, at 10 a.m. to discuss the convention and to set the date for it.

Please let us know in writing your decision concerning the proposals of the International comrades, and the timing of the Thursday meeting.

Since we are hand delivering this letter to you, we trust you will have ample time to discuss and come to a decision.

Comradely,

Cyrus Paydar, Ahmad Haydari, Parviz Foroughi, Hassan Aram, Hassan Saba, Hossien Taghvi, Elaheh, Parvin Najafi

Appendix 1: Proposals of the International comrades read over the telephone.

- 1- The only way to overcome the internal crisis of the SWP (of Iran) is to hold a convention in a relatively short period of time, say 4 to 6 weeks from now.
- 2- In the period before the convention there should be a parity leadership.
- 3- This parity should draw a simple statute for the convention to adopt.
- 4- In the period before the convention the Kargar's space should be divided 50-50 and no second paper be published.
- 5- Representatives of both sides should visit each branch to verify the membership.
- 6- Delegates to the convention should be elected on the basis of the votes on written political resolutions.
- 7- Leadership should be elected at the convention proportionally to the delegates' votes on the conflicting political resolutions, if there are such conflicting resolutions. If the vote is close, the majority should have a working majority on the leading bodies, for example approximately 60%.
- 8- Following the convention, normal rule of democratic centralism applies with the majority rule over all areas of party life and full integration of any minority into all areas of party work under party discipline.

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Appendix 2: Item from the front page of Che Bayad Kard, Aug. 15, 1979.

What is to be done?

With this issue, the publication of Che Bayad Kard is renewed. Che Bayad Kard was the publication of an organization which came into being through the fusion of various revolutionary socialist groups inside and outside of Iran, and its first issue was published in January 1978. The aim of the revolutionary socialists was that with the publication of Che Bayad Kard, a revolutionary newspaper on a country-wide basis, the different sectors of the movement be linked together, and by the arming of the vanguard layers of the mass movement with a revolutionary action program, the revolutionary socialists could make their contribution to the organizing of massive revolutionary battles. In that very first issue, we wrote that our understanding of revolutionary socialist battles is not confining the socialist movement to scattered activities and being simply in the service of the spontaneous movement. Rather, we believe the principal task of the socialist movement to be building of a revolutionary party, welded to the masses and capable of organizing the working class at the head of all the oppressed and toiling people for the seizure of power. That was why we named the paper after Lenin's book. The burning question of the revolutionary movement was what was to be done for building such a party?

After publishing a few issues of Che Bayad Kard, the SWP was founded through a fusion between the organization of revolutionary socialists and the Sattar League (a group of socialist militants who were in exile in the U.S.A.) With the formation of this party, the publication of Che Bayad Kard was stopped and Kargar, free tribune of the working people, replaced it. Kargar was supposed to have followed the aims of Che Bayad Kard in trying to build the SWP and turn it into the revolutionary party of the workingclass. And

for a time it did that. But with the formation of an opposition faction within the SWP around the editor of that paper, it has gradually stepped away from its fundamental task and has become the voice of a faction of the party.

For this reason, the publication of another paper which would really reflect the voice of the SWP is being felt. What could be better than reviving the tradition of Che Bayad Kard.

Hormoz Rahimian, SWP national secretary

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Appendix 3: Foot-note of an article on page 9 of Che Bayad Kard, August 15, 1979.

It should be reminded that the above report was given in May. At that time, the editor of Kargar, Ba ak Zahraie, was still accepting the discipline of the SWP and had put that paper in the interest of the positions of the SWP. Today, with the declaration of independence by Ba ak Zahraie and his faction, Kargar no longer plays the same role and therefore publication of another paper, Che Bayad Kard, which would play the role of the SWP organ, has become necessary. In the above text, instead of reading Kargar read Che Bayad Kard. With this change, the above is still correct.

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## STOP THE ATTACKS AGAINST KURDISH PEOPLE!

Recent events in Kurdistan have once again posed the question of the oppressed nationalities; one of the biggest and most difficult questions of our revolution.

After 50 years of national oppression under the old monarchy, the Kurdish masses are asking themselves as to when and in what type of society the chains of national enslavement will be broken? Like all the significant questions of our revolution, the Kurdish events pose the question of whether to maintain or overthrow capitalism. The big landlords and capitalists, the capitalist system in Iran, has consistently opposed the rightful demands of this people. The workers and toilers of Iran have no interest in forcing poverty on the Kurdish people, repressing and belittling their language and culture. It is only the imperialists and domestic reactionaries who will be weakened through solidarity with the Kurdish people.

The reports of national papers have once again made clear the position of the leaders of the Kurdish movement; i.e., finding a "peaceful" solution. The HKS is against civil war in Iran. The effects of a disastrous civil war will damage not only this oppressed people but all the toilers in Iran. War, this evil of capitalist system, is always due to the bullying of the minority class of the big capitalists and landlords. This is the real reason behind the outbreak of war in Kurdistan rather than the propaganda about "conspiracy", "anarchy", and "revolt".

The big capitalists and landlords, whose system has been damaged by the magnificent Bahman insurrection, already want to crush the genuine and revolutionary rebellion of all the toiling masses of Iran for freedom, social justice and equality, by forcing a civil war. It is no wonder that we are again faced with the rattling of arms and brother-killings. The five month long struggle of the oppressed people of Kurdistan to gain their freedom, has so far shown that to get their national rights, they are ready to sacrifice their life. Propaganda which tries to paint the Kurdish people as rebels, should be stopped.

The HKS is against brother-killings and against invasion and bombardment of the Kurdish areas. Instead of division and the former monarchy's Arian policy, there should be established the solidarity of the toiling masses of Iran. To this end, it is essential that the proposed constitution of the Islamic Republic guarantee full national rights for the Kurdish people and other oppressed nationalities of Iran. The central government should recognize the national rights of the Kurds; and compensate the half a century of Pahlavi autocracy's destruction and oppression against the Kurdish toilers, through development programs. And then peace and solidarity will replace the war-mongering of the capitalists.

The whole history of our country does not recount the invasion by the Kurdish people and their sending troops to other areas in Iran. We should put an end to this history which is abundant with military expeditions of the central government against the Kurdish people.

Stop the attacks against Kurdish people!  
Prevent civil war in Iran!

Executive Committee of the HKS (Kargar)