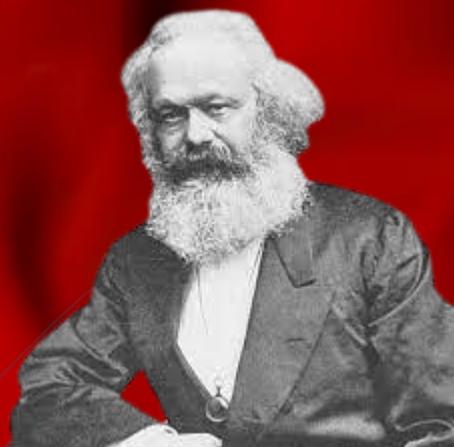


**Polemic with the
International Communist Current:
Excuses of Revolutionary Publication**



In Defence of Marxism

Internationalist Voice

Debate is vital, necessary and crucial to internationalists. The revolutionary movement cannot take effective steps unless the internationalists play a dynamic role in the development of this movement. This is only possible through the discussion and confrontation of different points of view within the proletarian political milieu.

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Communist Revolution

or

the Destruction of Humanity!

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”The philosophers have only interpreted the world in various ways; the point, however, is to change it.”

Marx

Introduction

Concerning the workers’ protests in Iran, which in the course of its evolution in the autumn of 2018, at some point out of defence and taking on an offensive form, the Internationalist Voice published a leaflet on 30 December 2018, entitled “Lessons from strikes, labour struggles and internationalist tasks”, which was a balance sheet of these struggles.

In response to another text from the Internationalist Voice, entitled “Street protests amid the barbarity of capitalism: the only alternative is class struggle”, which was a criticism of the position of the ICC concerning popular street protests in Iran, Iraq and Jordan, the ICC has published a text, entitled “Internationalist Voice and protests in the Middle East”. The Internationalist Voice responded to the ICC in a pamphlet entitled “Polemic with the International Communist Current: working class or the masses?”.

Following the publication of this pamphlet, the ICC published a text dated 1 June 2019, entitled “Response to Internationalist Voice on strikes in Iran” [1], although the text was dated 4 April. It is important to note that, in our summary of workers’ struggles and in our pamphlet, which was published

in the form of a balance sheet, there is not the slightest mention of the ICC and its responses to the Internationalist Voice. The text of the ICC is not a criticism of the pamphlet of the Internationalist Voice (“Lessons from strikes, labour struggles and internationalist tasks”), but is it basically a criticism or a response to a text or a pamphlet on labour protests? Indeed, what does the text (response) of the ICC express?

After our criticism that the ICC ignored not only the news and dissections of the class struggle but also the class struggle itself, it hastily published a text saying that such a boycott was not underway. But the text of the ICC itself clearly states the legitimacy of the positions of the Internationalist Voice.

In this text, we will, first of all, consider whether or not the ICC assumes an avant-garde role for itself in the class struggle, secondly, in practice, ask whether it reduces its role to the level of a revolutionary publisher and, thirdly, question why it was not even able to play the role of a revolutionary publisher.

This text is only for internal consumption; it is written for members and supporters of the ICC, which wants to tell its members and supporters that it has responded to the Internationalist Voice.

Every current or political tendency is trying to spread its positions and ideas at a wider level, and this is quite logical. But the question that is posed here is, why does the ICC not publish its critique of Internationalist Voice in Farsi on its website? The ICC has its critiques in Farsi, non-publication in Farsi in this case is deliberate. The ICC consciously wants, for as long as

possible, only a few to be aware of its text, because the content of it clearly reveals to those who are familiar with developments in the region the confused position of the ICC.

Again, the Culture Of Debate

We talked about the culture of debate in a previous text. We even referred to articles from the ICC in this regard. We have argued that the culture of debate contributes to the transparency of the proletarian political milieu. Apparently, all of our discussions, at least in this respect, have been ineffective for the ICC.

We have emphasized that, for us, the communist left both represents a number of “political positions” and proletarian principles and values. It is consistent with an adherence to proletarian principles and values that the polemic becomes available to the relevant current before it is published publicly. We announced, in line with the transparency of the proletarian political milieu, that the response to our polemics will be translate by us into languages, so that we can make criticism to us available to the public.

The basic question is, amid its culture of debate and communist morals which is deafening human ears, why can't the ICC remain loyal to the original text, even in to a brief extent? Further, why does the ICC continue to reverse the positions of the Internationalist Voice?

Comrades probably imagine, because these texts are not released from the “centre” of capital, that they are less important

and, according to their wishes, can change, interpret or reverse them. The question is, is it enough to main a culture of debate concerning the Internationalist Voice by sending them our texts from the Champs-Elysees or Oxford Street, or have to get them, by getting them stamped by Robin Square Post Office in the 51st state of the US, for their inclusion in the culture of debate and for their evaluation at the “centre” level?

Apart from the fact that such practices should not be prevalent among communists, this can imply that the ICC treats all its critics’ texts in this way. The culture of debate, besides contributing to the transparency of the proletarian political milieu, also defends proletarian values and aims, as well as reflects the culture difference between politicians and revolutionaries.

Ideological Commitment

Both texts written by the ICC in “response” to the Internationalist Voice are ideological and lack any dialectical attitudes. For the ICC, the position of rightness which must be shown is predetermined; one must only try and show it, just like a “believer” who strives to prove the legitimacy of his sacred ideology.

Contrary to ideological attitudes, dialectical attitudes can be reached by analysing social events and dialectical approaches. The conclusion made after analysing social events could be the opposite of the original conception, or it may represent the truth

of the original conception, with the original conception becoming justified, or else there may be other conclusions.

We will avoid an abstract discussion at this time, but pursue it in future discussions with the ICC. We will highlight the ideological attitude of the ICC on the following pages in relation to social events.

Reducing Its Role to the Level of Revolutionary Publishing

The ICC not only not played an avant-garde role during the labour protests in the autumn of 2018, but it also utterly silenced them and, worse still, boycotted the news and reports of these protests. It may be argued or excused that the ICC was unaware of these protests due to language limitations, but the ICC confirms that there has been much international publicity about these protests, writing:

“We have similar reservations about the Haft Tappeh Sugarcane Company Workers' Council, which has received a lot of international publicity.”[2]

In the course of popular street protests in Iran, Iraq and Jordan, which did not gain a lot of international publicity, the ICC published at least four articles, even in other languages than English, and it did his best to pretend that these popular protests were the embodiment of class struggle. In connection with street

and other popular protests, it even announced that this combativity of the class is an important starting point and an example to workers everywhere, which should be remembered. It wrote:

*“But, even given the imperialist cauldron of the Middle East, or partly because of it, the combativity of the class is an important starting point and an example to **workers everywhere.**”*[3][our emphasis]

The key question concern the role of the revolutionary avant-garde in the workers’ protests. Shouldn’t the revolutionary avant-garde play the role of a compass in these events? Shouldn’t the revolutionary avant-garde point the way to the working-class masses? What is the difference between a revolutionary avant-garde and the working-class masses? Isn’t the task of the revolutionary avant-garde to defend the communist programme under any circumstances?

Six months after the defeat of these workers’ protests, six months after the suppression of the most glorious workers’ protests in the Middle East, about six months after the publication of the pamphlet by the Internationalist Voice about these workers’ protests, the ICC announced, in response to the Internationalist Voice, that it realized that it had “some questions on the class struggle” [4]!

Shouldn’t the ICC itself, being avant-garde, answer these questions about class struggle? With a naive attitude, it may

seem that the ICC may have forgotten its comment “which has received a lot of international publicity” and that it recently heard that there is news somewhere and, as a new observer, wants to know what is going on. It wrote:

“We do however have some questions about IV's analyses of some important elements of class struggle as it's unfolding in Iran.”[5]

Certainly, the Internationalist Voice must answer your questions, and we will answer all your questions, because it is a part of our job. If questions arose in the course of the workers' struggles for the ICC, why did it not ask these questions? Why didn't it send us its questions?

But, before continuing the debate, the key question is, what is the ICC's own analysis of itself concerning the important elements of class struggle? Why can the ICC “analyse” the popular movements and make them a manifestation of the class struggle, rather than ask questions in this regard, and even publish them in other languages, without being able to analyse class struggle? We stand here asking!

It is here that an understanding of the role of the revolutionary organization of the ICC is not in the pages of the press, nor in propaganda meetings or in theory; rather, it exists in practice, in reality, in the ongoing struggle of the working class, where theories must be tested. In the real and earthly

world, the ICC does not have an active role to play in interfering in the class struggle.

Defending the Marxist concept of workers' councils, defending the communist programme against the left of capital, trying to give direction to the labour protests and warning of the dangers that the right and left of the capital can derail these protests, the ICC does not consider its tasks and duties. Which avant-gardists prevented the proletariat massacre when the Russian bourgeoisie tried to impose an early uprising on the proletariat in July 1917? Which avant-gardists defended the communist programme and did not want to be followed by the masses, with even Lenin being forced to temporarily withdraw from the slogan "All power to the Soviets"? In the shadow of the tireless effort, which avant-garde councils were once at the centre of the gathering of counter-revolutionary and reconciled delegates and also the leading and militant representatives who were replaced by the counter-revolutionary representatives? Without all of this, the Bolsheviks did not deserve that honourable name.

In practice and during the workers' struggles, when they really needed the active role of internationalists, the ICC did not assume such a role and reduced its role to the level of a revolutionary publisher. It made unjustified excuses for itself and couldn't even play that role.

The Excuses of Revolutionary Publishing

We have seen that the ICC has practically reduced its role from the revolutionary avant-garde to the revolutionary publishing level. The next question is, why couldn't the same revolutionary publishing house perform its duties at least at the publishing level?

This revolutionary publication has declared that it has excused itself from publishing news and reports of class struggle, because some questions have been raised in this context; and, until it receives a proper response, it will not be able to publish news and reports of class struggle.

“Some questions on the class struggle”[7]

In the following pages, we will show that excuses made by the revolutionary publisher were also groundless. It boycotted the news and reports, despite the fact that the workers' struggles received a lot of international publicity. If we put aside the propaganda aspect of publishing, it is not possible for this publisher and its evaluation of class struggle from a defensive to an offensive form, albeit temporarily, on the periphery of capital and in the present situation.

Reversing the Positions of the Internationalist Voice

Such a form of writing and “answering” seems to underestimate its readers. If a student, in the same “centre” as the ICC has a keen interest in the term “centre”, handed over an article to a teacher, the article would certainly have been returned. Putting together unrelated words without reference to the text and interpreting its own positions can only be criticized. Before continuing this discussion, let’s take a look at an extract from a text by the ICC:

“We do however have some questions about IV's analyses of some important elements of class struggle as it's unfolding in Iran. Among its long list of workers involved in escalating strikes, teachers, truckers, steelworkers, miners, etc., are the bus workers and their “workers' syndicate” which IV assesses is an independent workers' organisation (“with all its ups and downs”). There's no doubt that its members have been involved in the struggle for better conditions, for the release of arrested workers and against repression, but its “semi-legal” position does not make it a dynamic, independent force for the struggle and we think it's important to be clear about this. The syndicate has existed for a number of years, originally from the self-organisation and assemblies of the class; but its dubious

position as a functioning trade union opens it up to getting involved in such mystifications as the International Labour Organisation. Its delegates have had "worthwhile meetings" with ILO officials in Paris 2018 (they were allowed to leave Iran) which were fronted by the French trade unions, the CGT and CDFT, "with a view to meeting class demands in Iran". None of this gives any indication of a genuine independent, autonomous organisation of the workers from and for the struggle. What there seems to be here is a familiar story - what was once a workers' committee, or the remnants of it, which can't see a way forward and thus gets trapped in a semi-legal union framework."[8]

First of all, why did you not criticize these issues as an avant-garde and not defend the communist programme, but instead set about the upcoming Israeli elections and boycotted the news and reports of these magnificent struggles?

Secondly, we did not place bus workers and their syndicates along with strikers, teachers, truckers, steelworkers, miners and so on. This is another culture of debate initiated by the ICC in order to escape accountability for "not doing its duties", confusing the debate to divert views from the central issue of "boycotting the class struggle" by the ICC. Why not refer to what you claim?

Thirdly, part of the above quote is irresponsible rewriting, in which our critique of trade unions and our claim that trade unions have been merged into a state of capital in the era of the decline of capital to become part of the capital state are presented as part of the review of the “bus company experience”.

Fourth, from the discussion of the “bus company experience”, which is about 1,266 words in length, the ICC takes only one word, i.e., “independent”, which is repeated only once [8], and begins to reverse the positions of the Internationalist Voice. We were the ones who started the discussion about the “bus company experience”:

“We believe that the Bus Company Workers’ Syndicate and the Haft Tappeh Sugarcane Agroindustry Company Workers’ Syndicate in fact are not syndicates in their current state; but an independent form of worker organization that always accompanied by ups and downs.”[9]

Then we wrote:

“In 1960, despite the opposition of the syndicate, workers organized the first strike in the Bus Company, supported by students... the Bus Company Workers’ Syndicate is not a workers’ syndicate but also a workers’ organization with all its ups and downs. Its

general assembly is more than 13 years old. As it does not enjoy mass membership among workers, it cannot function as a syndicate; thus, it is more like a worker committee.”[10]

We wrote more like a workers’ committee; but the ICC does not see this when resorting to a culture of debate. Then, we went onto say that it cannot continue this way forever; either it have to strive for legalization, integrate itself into the state of capital, or abandon this prospect and fight for an independent labour organization for labour purposes:

”But, in the era of capitalist decline, there is only one class struggle. The Bus Company Workers’ Syndicate cannot continue to do this forever. It should either work towards legalization (for the time being it has responded negatively) or abandon the prospect of legalization and become an independent workers’ organization fighting for labour demands. It is important to note that legalization means that the bourgeoisie will be in full control of all the functions and activities of the syndicate, as is the case with unions in metropolitan capital.”[11]

Fifthly, why is the ICC silent on the role and duty of the “Solidarity Center”. The Solidarity Center, located in the same “centre”, should be familiar to you. We have clearly explained

our view of the role that the Solidarity Center is playing in relation to the labour movement around the world. We ask whether it would not have been better for the ICC, alongside fussing about the word “independent”, to have made a brief mention of the Solidarity Center and its duties.

Workers’ Self-management Means the Continuation of Wage Slavery

Apparently, the ICC is unable to write a few pages justifying a boycott of the class struggle. Instead, it grabs hold of whatever it can to write about, but finds no excuse, writing:

“Elsewhere in its text Internationalist Voice puts forward a clear position on the trap that self-management presents for the workers, saying that it was “utopian during the infancy of the working class” and is now economically and politically destructive to it. But it should really be applying its analysis more consistently to the current situation. Self-management is a dangerous dead-end, not only because it can only offer workers the chance to manage their own exploitation, but, more importantly, because it has in the past been used during massive upsurges of the class struggle to trap the workers in their factories and prevent them from creating real soviets – organs which can unify the whole class across sectional divisions and establish a “dual

power” against the capitalist state. This was precisely the critique that Bordiga made of Gramsci’s Ordino Nuovo group in Italy in 1920, which played the role of cheerleader for the factory occupations in Turin and other industrial centres.”[12]

In exposing the reactionary and counter-revolutionary positions of the left of capital, the left of capital that you have repeatedly supported, we rose to the defence of communist positions and insisted that self-management is a trap for workers. As we wrote below:

“The management of a factory, workshop or workplace by workers, while the relations of production remain capitalist, was a kind of utopia during the infancy of the working class. This attitude was later developed by different anarchist tendencies and the left of capital, with nothing but a false illusion and confusion for workers on their way to achieving their class identity.

Economically, self-management organizes the exploitation of the workers themselves, and workers take responsibility for the restructuring of crisis-hit institutions for this exploitation. At the expense of the workers in bankrupt enterprises, they re-emerge. Since labour management is not necessarily the opposite of bourgeois management, it can even generate more surplus value for capital by increasing labour productivity; sometimes, this is more satisfactory for capital.

Politically, self-management is more than just economically destructive. Isolated workers within the tight walls of the factory cannot extend the class struggle to other sectors. The workers are engaged in the economic reconstruction of capitalism, while the task of workers is to eliminate the capitalist economy. However, workers are deprived of their fundamental duty, which is the destruction of the capitalist relations of production and the establishment of a dictatorship of the proletariat on a global scale. The irrefutable truth is that the proletariat is capable of managing production at the global level, not within capitalist relations of production, but after the collapse of the productive relations of capitalism.

Contrary to the illusion on the left of capital, the crisis in economic institutions or the recession in the factories is not based on what is “imperfect and corrupt”, but is also rooted in the capitalist system. The capital itself is also in the direction of better capital accumulation, calls for the good management and desirability of economic institutions. The isolation of workers’ protests and strikes and their confinement within the narrow boundaries of a factory or a workplace and the retreat of the working class from its class identity, alongside the police state and, ultimately, the destructive role of the left of capital, are among the underlying factors in the low-yielding struggle of workers or a problem in the evolution of the class struggle in Iran. The decolonization of the right and left tendencies of capital, the emphasis on the independent proletarian struggle

and the expansion of cooperation and communication with other industries and sectors will raise the issue of the class identity of workers, which, in its own process, will shift the working class from a class in itself to become a class for itself.

The possibility of the tolerance of workers' self-management by the Islamic bourgeoisie is very low due to its fragility, but not impossible. Instead of organizing capital in the crisis, continuing to generate surplus value should be organized to bring down capital in crisis.”[13]

Does our position explain workers' self-management clearly and transparently or does it describe the ICC?

Workers' Councils

During the intensification of the class struggle in the autumn of 2018, one can hardly claim that the Internationalist Voice, in absolute isolation, defended the concept of workers' councils from the Marxist perspective. In part, we wrote:

“Workers’ councils are the highest form of labour organization. When the class struggle develops at a higher level and the two social classes challenge each other, the bourgeoisie is incapable of continuing to rule, while the proletariat has yet to overthrow capitalism. Under certain historical conditions, namely, when the state of a society has a dual power, workers’ councils will be formed. In such a situation, workers’ councils

are formed to take control of factories and neighbourhoods from the bottom up and present themselves as alternatives to capitalist power. Workers also form organizations to defend their councils, which are the earliest spins of the dictatorship of the proletariat.”[14]

We have emphasized that, although workers’ councils are the highest forms of worker organizations and all the efforts of the internationalists must be given to the formation of such organs, such organs are not contrary to the sacred councilist attitude, and that such organs can even put counter-revolutionary tasks on the agenda. The most obvious examples are workers’ councils in Russia in July 1917 or in Germany in December 1918. These were comprehensive labour organizations; for example, in Germany, only 10 of the 480 that existed were communists. In Germany, Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht were not allowed to speak at the councils. It was only after the tireless efforts of the communists that revolutionary representatives were replaced by counter-revolutionary representatives. The workers’ councils were, at that time, so much in the hands of counter-revolutionary forces that Lenin was compelled to briefly withdraw the Bolsheviks’ main motto, “All power to the Soviets!”. The basic task of the internationalists is to defend the communist programme until the disappearance of all social classes, rather than follow the

working class, even if it results in their further isolation in workers' organizations (soviets).

We believed that the ICT, despite its rich experience, created some kind of ambiguity with regard to workers' councils. But, in the heat of the class struggle, our critique of the ICT could have served to weaken the class struggle, so we waited until after the defeat of the workers' struggles to publish our criticism of comrades [15]. The ICC, which, at that time, was, on the one hand, boycotting any news and reports of this workers' struggle and, on the other hand, doing important work at the "centre", such as the Israeli elections, after being criticized by the Internationalist Voice, tried to find some excuses to justify its inaction, letting the cat out of the bag in the process. The ICC, which has not even carefully read the pamphlet of the Internationalist Voice on labour protests, entitled "Lessons from strikes, labour struggles and internationalist tasks", writes in a confused way:

"We have similar reservations about the Haft Tappeh Sugarcane Company Workers' Council, which has received a lot of international publicity, even giving rise to speculations about the existence of "soviets" in Iran today. We think that more research is needed about the origins of this organ – was it initially a spontaneous factory committee on the model of the "shuras" that arose in the massive struggles of 1978-9, or was it essentially a creation of another union type body? In any case, we know that it

has also been around for several years and that, even more so than the bus syndicate, it now seems to be propagating illusions in self-management.”[16]

First, the ICC responded to a pamphlet that it either did not read or read in a drowsy state and did not have a clear picture of the events in its mind, because the pamphlet explained the formation of an organization known as a “workers’ council”.

Secondly, contrary to misrepresent the positions of Internationalist Voice, by the ICC, in the same pamphlet, we emphasized the need to apply the term “workers’ council” to this particular independent labour organization, as distinct from the Marxist concept of workers’ councils, writing:

“In July 2018, company workers, through an election, chose to form an independent labour organization, which, despite all its strengths and weaknesses, has been a great achievement, not only for these workers, but for the entire working class as well. Applying the concept of a “workers’ council” to this independent labour organization is different from applying the Marxist concept of a workers’ council, as we explained.”[17]

Thirdly, on the organization known as a “workers’ council”, the ICC writes: “We know that it has also been around for several years and that, even more so than the bus syndicate.” The bus syndicate was formed in 1957, about 62 years ago. In

other words, according to the ICC, the organization, which took the name of a “workers’ council”, has existed for more than 62 years. Meanwhile, the ICC, which was too bored to read the pamphlet, said that it was formed in 2018 and its whole existence was only a few months old. Compare 62 years with a few months, and we have the ICC’s political conclusion!

Fourth, with the intensification of class struggle, workers did not seek to be a trade union nor a syndicate, but a higher organization, although they secretly confused their organization with a so-called “workers’ council” or assumed other duties. This shows that the workers have no illusions about the trade union or the syndicate. The expectation that workers, at the beginning of the struggle and in present world conditions, when the period of class struggle stagnation is a period of retreat from class identity, will provide a Marxist understanding of the workers’ council only show their alienation from workers’ earthly struggle. We will return to this issue.

Fifthly, the ICC could intervene in the class struggle instead of boycotting the class struggle and, to the greatest extent possible, give direction and defend the Marxist position on the concept of the workers’ council. We have repeatedly emphasized that the content and nature of the workers’ council have been devoid of the Marxist concept, not only by the leftist tendencies of capital, but also by those who hang themselves on council communism. Why does the ICC fail to defend the concept of the workers’ council against those who say that a council should be created even to raise wages?

Let's go back to the subject. The growth of the working class is not linear, either at the global or the regional level, but has led different tendencies. Especially during the period of class struggle stagnation, in the period of retreat from class identity, confusion and confused ideas during the struggle are only natural. In such circumstances, the starting point of workers' struggles is important or, according to the ICC, "*the combativity of the class is an important starting point and an example to workers everywhere*". It is in the course of the struggle, in other words, in the evolution of workers' struggles, that transparency replaces the confusion of confused opinions. During labour struggles, militants come to the fore, taking on leadership roles in the struggles. These roles are not eternal: they can be short term or long term. These same leaders can even betray the goals of workers' struggles and serve capital in the process, as Lech Walesa demonstrated. It is, in this context, that, unlike bourgeois traditions, in the tradition of the labour movement, the representatives of every moment can be dismissed.

One of those who played the role of a labour leader was Bakhshi, who, despite his confusion and ambiguity, tried to play a radical role in the workers' struggle. In contrast to other workers' representatives who betrayed the labour movement and served the employer and the security forces, he, along with others, defended labour interests. He paid the price of his struggles: he was arrested again after being released on charges of exposing torture and is now in jail with other labour activists.

We have already seen that the ICC mistakenly referred to the organization that was founded by Bakhshi and other workers as “workers’ councils”, considered to be 62 years old. The organization, whose whole existence only lasted a few months, was suppressed. The ICC writes:

“The problem here is that Bakhshi, who unquestionably emerged as a very courageous militant of the class and has suffered the most brutal repression at the hands of the Iranian police and hired thugs, is now contributing to the general confusion about what workers’ councils are and what they are not, in particular by putting forward the idea that the future soviets can be the next stage in the life of a permanent and trade unionist organ. To fight against this confusion demands a particular kind of courage – the courage that goes along with swimming against the stream to defend a clear proletarian position, which in the end can only mean adopting a revolutionary political standpoint.”[18]

We provide further explanation in this regard of the critique of the ICT [19] concerning the issue of unions against the working class, and avoid repeating that description here and recommend the reader to read it.

Independent Workers' Struggle

Class struggle is becoming more defensive every day and taking place in the shadow of the working class' retreat from its identity at the global level. The more defensive a class struggle is, the more it will be confused and take on more ambiguities; and, it is only in the process of struggle and in the evolution of that struggle that transparency will replace the ambiguity. It is the duty of revolutionary organizations and internationalists to actively intervene in these struggles, while highlighting their positive points, emphasizing the weaknesses of such struggles, and even warning about the dangers that threaten such struggles. Let us first see what the ICC believes in this regard:

“Workers' committees, factory committees, workers' councils, all attempts at the self-organisation of the working class, will make mistakes, misjudgements, etc., and this is entirely natural - a necessity even. But what we see here with the Bus Workers' Syndicate and the Haft Tappeh Workers' Council are - at best – former workers' organisations that have both existed for many years and, in the face of the struggles dying away, their dynamic has been lost, leaving accommodation with structures of capitalism as the only way they see to keep going. ”[20]

We have already explained that, contrary to the belief among the ICC, the Haft Tappeh Workers' Council did not exist for many years, but had only existed a few months. Despite situations such as the world's working class retreating from its class identity, the advance of populism, and the class struggle becoming more defensive every day, workers' councils cannot be on the agenda, neither at the global level nor at the regional level.

We had no illusions, and we knew that the workers would not be able to achieve essential victories. We do not even imagine that the workers will have significant victories in the coming struggles, for a fundamental victory can only be achieved when it crosses national borders and extends to other countries. But, to achieve such great victories, such great goals must start from somewhere. Over and over again, we must be repeatedly defeated, so that each time we are more experienced than during the previous failure, possessing greater confidence and rising up from the ground to fight once again. There is no other way than to fight. The workers, despite the ambiguities and confusion which were quite natural, who rose up at Haft Tappeh and took part in 28 days of class battles created 28 days of honour. The wage slaves who rocked society, despite their efforts, failed and were suppressed, but brought about valuable experiences, not only for themselves but for the entire working class.

We have always proclaimed the slogan "Communist revolution or the destruction of humanity". This is not to say that

the communist revolution is on the agenda; rather, we mean that the only possible revolution that will liberate both the working class and the whole of humanity from the barbarism of capitalism is the communist revolution; otherwise, the destruction of humanity is inevitable. The destruction of humanity is not necessarily achieved through war, but by the continued barbarism of capitalism. The same can be said about the request of workers' councils. In the ongoing struggles of the working class, it is necessary to emphasize the independent labour struggle and the need for factory committees, strike committees, general assemblies and other forms of organization. But, despite this fundamental objective, we should be oriented toward the workers' councils. Although the workers' councils are the most proletarian organ, their function has not always been in line with proletarian goals. They can even play a counter-revolutionary role, preventing leaders such as Luxembourge and Liebknecht from coming to their meetings. It is here that the avant-garde finds its historical significance.

The ICC decided to evaluate the popular street struggle as a crystallization of the class struggle, while boycotting the workers' class struggle. Unfortunately, the ICC could not find any serious excuses as to why it could not play the role of a revolutionary publisher. In our pamphlet, entitled "Lessons from strikes, labour struggles and internationalist tasks", we attempted to show that the ICC took away the essential identity and characteristics of the working class and transformed the working class into masses. In contrast, we emphasized the class

power of the workers, because the working class only relies on its class power, as a social class: only from its class ground is it able to repel the bourgeoisie's attacks. The working class is able to carry out the communist revolution only by relying on its class identity as a social class.

We have announced many times, under the circumstances of the class struggle's decline, the fundamental risk from the right wing of capital which threatens society and its struggles, while the growth and development of class struggle will pose a significant threat to the labour struggles on the left of the capital. The left of capital played a central role in the defeat of the historic struggles of the Iranian working class during the period 1978-1980. The ICC, with its boycott of workers' struggles, has practically paved the way for the left of capital.

The working class is a world class, and the class struggle is universal. In the age of capital decline, the programme, task and function of the revolutionary organization are universal. Every other programme and function are no more than nationalism with a radical phrase. The working class and the proletarian political milieu need a revolutionary organization which assumes an avant-garde role and fights for the working class as a world class. Such an organization would certainly play a key role in the formation of the International and Internationalist Communist Party, without which the communist revolution would not be possible.

The key question is, will the ICC play such a role? As we have emphasized before, the ICC has played an important role

in the proletarian political milieu, despite its weaknesses, ambiguities, inadequacies and even its mistakes. But, unfortunately, the ICC has become weaker in the last decade because of its ambiguities, especially in the organizational context; and, if it continues with this trend, it will become weaker and weaker and unable to play the role of one of the poles in the political milieu.

The advance of the ICC to play a pivotal role in the forthcoming class struggles requires a revolutionary organization that is not only well aware of its tasks but capable of playing such a role. Will the ICC play such a role? It is our hope and wish that the ICC is able to play such a role.

M. Jahangiry

23 August 2019

Notes:

The contact information for the ICC is as follows:

- Website: www.internationalism.org
- Email: international@internationalism.org

[1] [Response to Internationalist Voice on strikes in Iran](#)

[2] As above

[3] [Internationalist Voice and protests in the Middle East](#)

[4] As source 1

[5] As source 1

[6] As source 1

[7] As source 1

[8] Unfortunately, there was an error in translation on page 33 of the booklet entitled “Lessons from strikes, labour struggles and internationalist tasks”, in its English version, which described the bus syndicate as both a syndicate and a worker organization; this was later corrected.

[9] “Lessons from strikes, labour struggles and internationalist tasks”
– Internationalist Voice

[10] As above

[11] As source 9

[12] As source 9

[13] As source 9

[14] As source 9

[15] Polemic with the Internationalist Communist Tendency:
Ambiguities in Performing Internationalist Tasks

[16] As source 1

[17] As source 9

[18] As source 1

[19] As source 1

[20] As source 15

[21] As source 1

Basic Positions:

- The First World War was an indication that the capitalism had been a decadent social system. It also proved that there were only two alternatives to this system: communist revolution or the destruction of humanity.
- In our epoch, the working class is the only revolutionary class. Furthermore, only this social class can deliver the communist revolution and end the barbarity of capitalism.
- Once capitalism entered its decadent period, unions all over the world were transformed into organs of the capital system. In turn, the main tasks of unions were to control the working class and mislead them about its class struggle.
- In the epoch of decadent capitalism, participating in the parliamentary circus and elections only strengthens the illusion of democracy. Capitalist democracy and capitalist dictatorship are two sides of the same coin, namely, the barbarity of capitalism.
- All national movements are counterrevolutionary, against the working class and the class struggle. Wars of national liberation are pawns in imperialist conflict.
- The reason for the failure of the October Revolution was the failure of the revolutionary wave, particularly the failure of the German Revolution, which resulted in the isolation of October Revolution and afterwards its degeneration.
- All left parties are reactionary: Stalinists, Maoists, Trotskyists and official anarchists etc. represent the political apparatus of capital.

- The regimes that arose in the USSR, Eastern Europe, China, Cuba etc., while being called “socialist” or “communist”, only offered a particularly brutal and barbaric form of capitalism: state capitalism.
- The revolutionary organization constitutes the avant-garde of the proletariat and is an active factor in the development and generalization of class consciousness. Revolutionary organizations may only take the form of revolutionary minorities, whose task neither is to organize the working class nor take power in its stead, without being a **political leadership**, or a political compass, where revolutionary organizations’ political clarity and influence on the working classes are **the fundamental elements for the implementation of a communist revolution.**

Political belongings:

The current status, positions, views and activities of the proletarian political tendencies are the product of past experiences of the working class and the effectiveness of the lessons that political organizations of the working class have learned during the history of the proletariat. Therefore, Internationalist Voice can trace its own roots and origins back to the Communist League, the First International, the left wing of both the Second International and the Third International, and the fractions that defended proletarian and communist positions against the degenerating Third International, which was represented by Dutch-German fractions, and **particularly Italian Fraction of the Communist Left** and the defence of Communist Left traditions.