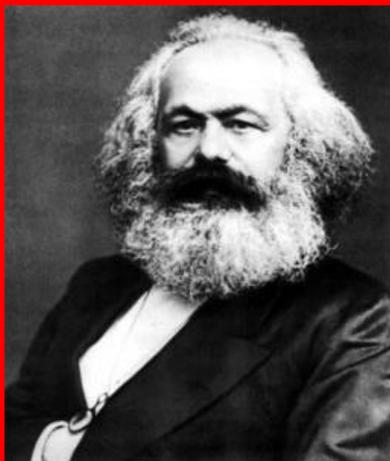


**Polemic with the International Communist Party  
(Proletarian):**

**Worker Communism Belongs to the Left  
of Capital, Not Petty-bourgeois Democratism**



**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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## Introduction

The International Communist Party (ICP) (*Proletarian*) [1] is one of the currents of the communist left which is rooted in the Italian communist left faction. The ICP, both in form of the Italian communist faction and later, defended internationalist positions during the black counterrevolutionary period. The ICP has sections in different countries and publishes publications in several languages. The ICP, given the internationalist stance, which belongs to the communist left, and the decades of defending proletarian positions and Marxism, has a greater responsibility in defending communist positions and Marxism.

Worker-communism, by grasping at words such as international, revolution and communism, and with its radical phrase, has tried to introduce itself as a historical current which advocated Marxism against other anti-revolutionary tendencies. It has attempted to suggest that it is an internationalist current whose platform will become the platform of the social revolution, not only in the Middle East, but also in European and American workers' movement. The acceptance of the "A Better World" programme of worker-communism by a party in the US and an organization in Belgium and France as their own programme was considered as an expression of the internationalism of the platform of worker-

communism. Of course, both of these currents have apparently been removed from the scene and no longer extant [2].

The ICP in issue 13 of its English organ, *Proletarian*, published an article titled “‘Worker-communism’ or Petty-bourgeois Democratism?” [3]. It seems that the comrades are worried about this bourgeois and counterrevolutionary current with its radical phrasease, as demonstrated below:

*“This current can entice militants or proletarians in search of truly revolutionary positions.”[4]*

The comrades’ concerns are completely understandable, but their reaction regarding worker-communism reflects their weaknesses and uncertainties with regard to the left of capital. The text from the comrades does not help to clarify the proletarian political milieu; rather, it creates ambiguity. The fundamental question is, can internationalists criticize the left of capital? A critique by the internationalists of the left of capital is only through communist revolution. We have no criticism of this bourgeois and counterrevolutionary current; but, from an internationalist perspective, and in defence of Marxism, it is publicly exposed through a series of articles and its bourgeois and anti-worker nature and function [5], and we defend proletarian positions. In

the eighth section of the series, we have responded to all their smearing of the communist left and rattling around to defend the basic positions of the communist left.

The comrades along with the petty bourgeoisie, when evaluating the bourgeois and counterrevolutionary current, have only shown their weaknesses in relation to the left of capital. Instead of defending proletarian positions as on communist left, they have reduced the class nature of the bourgeois current to a petty-bourgeois one, and thus created ambiguity about the left of capital.

The article contains a lot of ambiguity and misinformation as well, which we will refer to. The sources that the comrades have used for their article have been the statements from worker communism itself, their followers or Wikipedia. The comrades also received some parts of our series of articles entitled “Worker communism Radical Conscience of the Left of Capital”, but they could have been more accurate in referring this resource [6].

Another weakness of this article was the reference to the Worker-communist Party of Iran (WCPI) and a group closes to the WCPI, the organization of the initiative of worker-communism, in their own critique, not the ideology of worker-communism in general and, most importantly, not the process of the formation of this bourgeois and counterrevolutionary ideology. In this regard, the comrades write:

*“We will refer mainly to the Worker-Communist Party of Iran (W-CPI),... we will quote the text of an organization which is in its orbit, the French group «Worker-Communist Initiative», whose publication is called Worker-Communism.”[7]*

The main reference to the WCPI and some part of its policies, which the other sects of worker-communism do not accept, and even emphasize that WCPI evolved out of the basic positions of worker-communism, was related solely to the WCPI, not the whole ideology of worker-communism. Further, this reference to the WCPI merely justifies the other sects of worker-communism, who argue that the WCPI once belonged to the left of worker-communism but turned into the left wing of the bourgeoisie. It must be shown that **the ideological foundations of worker communism** belong to the bourgeoisie, which have directed all social events against the working class and driven communism into the slime.

## **The Upside-down History of Worker-communism**

The ICP, only by writing “according to Hekmat”, actually give a seal of approval to the lies and political charlatanism of Mansoor Hekmat, as the comrades write:

*”According to Hekmat: «The UCM, formed in December 1978 and initially called Sahand started a vigorous theoretical campaign against the nationalist and populist theories and conceptions of the radical Left.»”.[8]*

First, before December 1978, students who were in Britain and later formed Sahand were followers of Azarakhsh (“Lightning”). Azarakhsh was a publication published by Stalinists overseas before 1979.

Secondly, before December 1978, the same students, on returning to Iran, established the circle known as Sahand, which was considered to be sympathetic to a Stalinist group called Arman (Alliance for the Struggle for the Working-class Cause), as they emphasized their support everywhere.

Thirdly, in the autumn of 1980, Arman was in crisis and more members of the group left it. The crisis, inability and lack of perspective of Arman, along with its eventual collapse, in some ways disillusioned Sahand and practically put the circle’s independent activity on the agenda. Therefore, Sahand ended its sympathy with Arman in December 1979, and formed its own a group with the name the Unity of Communist Militants (UCM).

Fourth, Sahand, as stated, went onto become the UCM. It considered itself as being on the left wing of the Third Line [9] and capable of launching a powerful

theoretical campaign. Comrades were not only able to refer to our articles in the mistakes of this statement, but could also refer to texts from comrades of the internationalist communist tendency or the ICC. We encourage everyone to refer to our series of articles entitled “Worker-communism: Radical Conscience of the left of capital”.

The ICP continues creating ambiguity when it writes:

*”The crisis of the various organizations of the Iranian «far left» with the ebb of the social movement and the rise and consolidation of Khomeini’s power, reinforced the audience of the UCM. In particular it came in contact with Komala: a «pro-Albanian» party in existence for several years in Iranian Kurdistan.”*[10]

Komala was not a “pro-Albanian” party, but formed itself as a Maoist group. With regard to the political milieu of Iran, dominated by radical phrase Stalinism, Komala metamorphosed into Stalinism. Another ambiguity on the part of the comrades is that, seemingly, with the decline of the social movement and the rise and strengthening of Khomeini’s power, various “far-left” organizations were in crisis. This commentary gives rise to the ambiguity that the decline of the social movement

was the cause of the crisis, not the ideology of the “far-left” organizations of Stalinism. The comrades do not explain how the crisis in a section of Stalinism reinforced the audience in other parts of Stalinism (the UCM). We will return to the relationship between the UCM and Komala later.

The ICP continues its ambiguity and writes:

*“For a whole period the new Iranian central government failed to establish control over an area held by the fighters of various Kurdish organizations (Komala, DPIK, Peoples’ Mujahideens).”*[11]

First, the Mujahedin-e Khalq did not have regional control the Kurdish region of Iran, nor could they have it. There was a national movement in Kurdistan, while the Mujahedin were or are seeking a state power in the form of a bourgeois force with a Shiite ideological superstructure.

Secondly, the use of “fighters” by an internationalist current recruited from among activists of the national movement – in other words, an infantry amid imperialist tensions - is creating a kind of ambiguity. If Komala, on the left of capital, was adhering to a minimum number of principles during the radical phase part of the left of capital, the Kurdish Democratic Party of Iran, as the right

wing of capital, not yet in power, saw their political opponents massacred on a bright day.

## **Turning workers into cannon fodder on the battlefield of war to defend the imperialist war**

War, and taking a position on war, determines a political stance and, more importantly, the class attachment of a political tendency (i.e., belonging to the working class or the bourgeois class). In the upside-down world of capitalism, war and internationalism are touchstones that show how or where the working class or the bourgeois class stand on a political issue. The UCM used all its efforts to assert that the disgraceful Islamic Republic had failed to overthrow the revolution. In its coup, the bourgeoisie had also failed to suppress the revolution and, despite all the problems, the train of the revolution had continued at pace, thus forcing the bourgeoisie to resort to its operant, Iraq, to suppress the revolution. Workers participating in the war must defend their revolution. The UCM stated the following and recalled the workers participating in the imperialist war:

*“Participation in the war would only mean that the workers defend their revolution against the war of*

*capitalists and fight for the achievements that they gained in the struggle against the bourgeoisie and now extending and the realization of these achievements will be against the entire bourgeoisie and will weaken the ranks of the bourgeoisie more and more.” [12]*

If a worker falls for the UCM explanation of the war, the UCM’s hands are still stained with the blood of the proletariat.

The question is why the ICP has not given the slightest reference to the positions of the UCM in this war or other wars, such as the First Gulf War or the Afghan War [13]. Why is the ICP silent about workers being dragged into the imperialist massacre by the UCM? Is the flow of workers o the imperialist wings of the tail petty bourgeois? Does a current that turning workers into cannon fodder on the battlefield of war to defend the imperialist war can be petty bourgeois?

## **Stalinism Takes the Form of a Party**

The radicalism and the protest attitude of the Third Line would, in the short term, have masked its inner contradictions although, in the long term, the inner contradictions of the Third Line would have been

revealed and, consequently, it would have undergone an internal crisis. The UCM was a small group belonging to this tendency. The UCM was responsible for reconstructing and restoring the views of the Third Line under the new name of “revolutionary Marxism”. This term was used to refer to the radical phrase Stalinism and influenced by Maoism. First, see what comrades say about this:

*”We do not have the documents on the political and programmatic foundations of this unification, but what we said about the theses of the UMC is enough to understand that this could not have been on a truly Marxist basis. Furthermore all the differences between the two organizations had probably not been confronted and resolved: the very fact that Komala continued to exist as part of the CPI indicates that the creation of the new party was more a matter of a compromise between organizations than a true fusion.”[14]*

All the efforts of the ICP have been in giving identity to the reactionary and counterrevolutionary ideology of worker-communism. Why are comrades creating ambiguity? As the two Stalinist groups were influenced by Maoism, they eventually merged, but what has this to do with Marxism?

On the one hand, the positional and theoretical poverty of Komala was on the same scale as the left of capital and, on the other hand, the leaders of Komala knew that in the long term, its practices would have to change. Continuing their activities, which meant playing the role of the important actor in Kurdistan and the region, required change in its organizational form in order to overcome its shortcomings. In such a situation, the formation of the Communist Party makes sense for Komala.

Due to its extreme theoretical poverty, Komala was not able to formulate a programme that would be well-received by the tendencies of the radical phrases of the left of capital and, therefore, it logically presented the UCM programme of a proposed programme for the Communist Party of Iran.

Giving special privileges to a particular ethnic group is in opposition to the nature and objectives of the workers' movement, rather, the interests of the whole working class must be considered.

Komala not only remains in the party, but also has special rights. Further, the Bundissim of Komala has become a reality.

On the basis of its special rights, Komala can be present at any international or regional institute in relation to the "people of Kurdistan" without having to conform to the positions of the Party and without being

subject to Party control. No matter how much they may be in conflict with the interest of the proletariat, Kolama is able to be a signatory to any convention that is in the interests of the people of Kurdistan.

Finally, after a lot of demagoguery about raising the flag of independence of the working class, the revolutionaries who founded the headquarters of the great and present revolution (which aimed to lead and organize the great revolution) and the development of the communist forces were split into the Communist Party and the revisionist enemies of the Communist Party and we heard from the leader that this was merely part of the agitation of the propaganda machine. In fact, the formation of the Communist Party occurred as a result of a compromise and has since been tied to that compromise in all of its actions and activities. This issue is explained as follows:

*“In this plenum [the second plenum of communist party of Iran] about the founding congress of the [Iranian Communist Party] and providing it, Mansoor Hekmat says: ‘The founder's congress has a compromise, until its determination date, until its next actions, until its announcement, until its aftermath, until its mode of operation is fully sealed of compromising.’ a few sentences continue: ‘as soon as the debate was to be deeply, annoyance*

*come.’ and ‘We came forward with compromise, but we should not make compromise as principles.’ At the same meeting, in the explanation of the distance between the word and the action says: ‘in between words to the action located of other classes’.” [15] [our translation]*

## **The democratic revolution and worker communism**

The positions and objectives of the UCM are alien to Marxism, how as a political current of the left of capital, its theories and positions have effectively been in the service of the sterilization of the class struggle. The UCM took whatever it needed to save capitalism from a range of proletarian attacks and ranted that the objective and subjective conditions for a socialist revolution were not available. However, the capitalist relations of production do not provide the objective conditions for a socialist revolution. The UCM raised its Maoist argument that the class composition of the motive forces of the revolution and the classes that were looking for a revolutionary way to achieve their democratic demands limits the revolution within the democratic framework. According to the UCM, the proletariat must create the revolution for the benefit of other revolutionary classes.

*“The revolution in Iran cannot be, in its practical content, «directly» and immediately, a socialist revolution.”[16]*

For the ICP, the above quotation from Mansoor Hekmat contradicts the following:

*”According to Hekmat: «It rejected the concept of a democratic revolution with the task of solving the agrarian question and developing forces of production, and saw the task of the current revolution as creating political and social conditions necessary for a socialist mobilization of the working class and an uninterrupted march towards a socialist revolution»”.[17]*

It seems that the comrades have found a contradiction in the words of Hekmat, but there is nothing contradictory. For years, the programme of the UCM and then the Communist Party was a democratic revolution. Hundreds of pages have been written to critique the democratic revolution of the UCM. Hekmat himself even wrote dozens of pages in defence of the democratic revolution. For worker communism a radical phrase part of the left of capital, once the “democratic revolution” was given a hearing, worker communism acknowledged it, but it did not gather strength and, like

the other bourgeois parties, it replaced the socialist revolution with just a slip of the pen of democratic revolution.

Marxism is not a religion and Marxist theories are not divine revelations. Marxism is the theory of the emancipation of the proletariat. Marxists use the experiences of the labour movement to analyse the social conditions and to provide their theories on the development of the class struggle. With the developments and changes in society and with the lessons of past experience, there can be a political tendency to criticize an earlier position, theory or theories and to replace an old position or theory with a new theory. This process is quite logical and principled.

The basic question is, what was the fate of the democratic revolution? Mansoor Hekmat, very easily and simply repudiated everything and with a lack of principles completely denied that they believed in the democratic revolution. Further, they told outright lies, stating that they believed that the socialist revolution was the only possible and necessary social revolution in Iran:

*“With all the places that a victorious democratic revolution - based on our assessment of the likely course of events - has in our current strategy, never considered and does not consider the coming revolution in Iran necessarily and by definition, a*

*‘democratic’ revolution. While the communist party replaced ‘democratic’ revolution instead, it is a hypocritical claim.” [18]*

The history of this tendency is lacking in principles.

## **Characters in the left of capital**

Contrary to the class-consciousness of the proletariat (communist consciousness), which is a collective characteristic, the characteristic of all ideologies—including the ideology of worker-communism, the empowerment of personalities, the creation of extraordinary leaders, the sanctity of individual creativity, etc.lead to the continuation and redevelopment of the ideological superstructure society, which is aimed at subjugating wage slaves. The founder of worker-communism recommends to his disciples that they should not forget that they are sober politicians of the country, lest they forget that they are important and high profile figures in society. In training his disciples in the bourgeois societies, Mansoor Hekmat teaches how to play the role of a politician:

*“We are the few hundred people who create a political-party movement in Iran. This movement may continue to have a liberated area, or may have*

*fallen into power, may be in war, may be in peace. Maybe in the coalition cabinet. The expectation that comes from the comrades is that I am a prominent politician of this country. Each of us must think that he is a high-profile political figure in society. Well, obviously, he should not spuriously think like that ... and it must really be such a person.” [19]*

The ICP rightly emphasizes that the revolutionary organization cannot expand its influence through popular figures or credible individuals within the working class. This is the tradition of bourgeois parties. The revolutionary organization can only extend its influence through the programme, positions and political activity, as well as its intervention in the class struggle.

The ICP takes ambiguous positions in contrast to the above correct positions. Regarding the comrades, apparently, worker-communism is ambiguous in this sense. Comrades do not point out why, how and under what conditions the main figures in worker-communism had found a common concept in the bourgeois tradition, let alone a common concept in the radical phase of the left of capital.

When Mansoor Hekmat concluded that worker-communism could be victorious in peripheral capital (Iran), the initiation of these figures began. It is supposed

to be that, on the day after the victory for workers' communism in peripheral capital, these well-known political figures, like other capitalist countries, take on the affairs of the country. In bourgeois society, the recognition or characterization of a person increases his chance of victory. Like other bourgeois parties, these well-educated, competent and capable people, according to Mansoor Hekmat, will obtain "the authority of the country where they grew up". It was in such a context that the colourful reproduction of these figures' images and propaganda, as well as other bourgeois parties, was necessary.

## **Giving a Radical Identity to the Left of Capital**

It should first be noted that the ideology of the activists of worker-communism was initially called "revolutionary Marxism", which then metamorphosed into worker-communism. Unfortunately, the ICP has reduced itself to the level of spokesman for worker-communism and repeated the narrative of worker-communism from the crisis of "revolutionary Marxism". It has also offered the same view as worker-communism that the rise of Kurdish nationalism is due to the crisis of the Communist Party of Iran. Comrades write:

*”Regardless, the differences within the CPI, revolving – it seems – particularly around the Kurdish question (8), took a sharp turn in 1989 when Hekmat resigned from the party leadership to form an internal faction. He was re-elected to the leadership, but differences eventually led to a split in 1991. Considering that Kurdish nationalism had become dominant in the CPI, Hekmat and his comrades then founded the Worker-Communist Party of Iran”[20]*

In the short term, it is definitely possible to use the term “radical” and to say that it took a radical position on social events but that in the long term there is a need to provide real explanations for these events. Despite its radical appearance, the protestations of the Third Line tendency was shown to have inner contradictions and these were clearly revealed in all social events, particularly because a generation of ideals, protest and insurgents in society formed the ranks of this tendency.

Finally, after a few years, the philosophy of invention in relation to the historical context and the social conditions of the formation of revolutionary Marxism and the struggle against other non-Marxist tendencies that had resulted in revolutionary Marxism and raised the independent flag of the communism of

Marx, Engels and Lenin, was revealed to have contradictions and it faced a crisis.

The founder of this political tradition came to the conclusion that revolutionary Marxism itself was, after all, a temporary intellectual and political context for two different traditions of struggling. Mansoor Hekmat emphasized its temporary aspects and spoke of different traditions: in his opinion, the struggle for worker-socialism and the tradition of the struggle for non-worker left radicalism. He wrote:

*“In this way, ‘Revolutionary Marxism of Iran’ Itself was a **temporary** Intellectual and political framework for two **different** traditions of struggle. Worker socialism and radicalism of the nonworking left of Iran. The gap between these two traditions until the plan of discussions of the First Congress of the Unity of Communist Militants was not yet evident.” [21] [Emphasis in the original text]*

The fact is that “revolutionary Marxism” has long been showing signs of a crisis. Indeed, in March 1989, Mansoor Hekmat worked cunningly by manipulating his views and opinions and presenting them with new packaging during a seminar entitled “Foundations of Worker Communism” ahead of the crisis. At the time of

this seminar, the issue of Kurdish nationalism was not at all problematic in the party. Worker communism, of course, claimed that not only the leadership of the committees but also the main organs of the party were the main determinants of the party's policies, and that they had about 85% of party members with them. [22]

What arguments did the comrades have for Kurdish nationalism to increasingly dominate the Communist Party of Iran? Why do comrades repeat the positions of the left of capital?

Instead of enlightening and striving for political clarity, the ICP continues to obscure, writing:

*“That same year, the new secretary-general of the W-CPI advanced the perspective of participating in a «provisional government guaranteeing public freedoms» – that is to say participation in a bourgeois democratic government, which met opposition from other party leaders. The emergence of a strong wave of agitation in Iran in 2003 exacerbated the differences to the point where a split occurred in the W-CPI” [23]*

Firstly, in 2003, we did not see the emergence of a strong wave of movements in Iran. Comrades please explain, what did you mean when you talked of the emergence of a strong wave of movements?

Second, commenting that the wave of strong movements stirred up disputes and led to a split in the WCPI lacks the slightest argument and is groundless. This comment only reflects the uncertainty and ambiguity of comrades towards the left of capital.

Thirdly, this statement is based on the premise that, apparently, the WCPI - in the shadow of the transformations in society and the influence received from the class struggle - was split, such as in the case of the Mensheviks and the Bolsheviks in 1903, whose split took on a radical and real form. This is no longer a small mistake, but an internationalist current gives radical identity to the left of capital!

Fourth, while the majority of the Central Committee (leaders) were the supporters of Koorosh Modarressi, the WCPI leader at that time, they left to form the Worker-communist Party (Hekmatist Party).

Fifth, the worker communist party broke up, not because of the proposal to participate in a “provisional government guaranteeing public freedoms” from Modarressi, but also because of the internal crisis in worker communism. The reality is that Mansoor Hekmat, because of his authority, despite the fact that the crisis in worker communism had begun, managed to keep his party together. With his death and thus the disappearance of his authority, the crisis in worker communism took on the form of collapse.

## The Left of Capital or the Centrist Current

The ICP will no longer be ambiguous but also remain seriously flawed. One internationalist, instead of exposing the public to the bourgeois and counter-revolutionary nature of this reactionary current, gives worker-communism a reformist and centrist identity:

*"If the W-CPI program manages to avoid remembering all this when it delivers its platitudes about the struggle for reforms, it is not by chance or lack of information. It is because the «Worker-Communists» are none other than one of these «centrist» parties as they were called by the Bolsheviks, pseudo-revolutionaries incapable of breaking with reformism, parties that have not only «close relationships with [its] Left wing», but are part of the left wing of reformism!" [24]*

Then the comrades continue:

*"What we have here is a very specific attitude vis-à-vis the reformist parties and organizations, which we are told are in the same camp as the Worker-Communists." [25]*

What does reformism mean to comrades? After capitalism entered into its decadent era, the era of communist revolutions and imperialist wars began. In short, after the World War I, the bourgeoisie lost its radical role, and the impossibility of **imposing sustainable reforms** on capitalism was no longer possible. Can comrades show us a list of some of the sustainable reforms imposed upon capitalism after World War I?

Between proletarian and bourgeois forces, there are always forces that fluctuate between the two main poles and sometimes claim to be in the centre; but these forces do not belong in the bourgeois camp. The radical phrase of the Stalinist current was in all social events against class struggle; it was a current that, in the reactionary war of Iran and Iraq, called the workers to march to the imperialist slaughterhouse, a current that, under the guise of a national movement, turned the proletariat into an infantry amid the imperialist tensions, a current that ... how could it be centrist? Comrades, please, publish a few **non-bourgeois** stances, positions and actions from worker communism for the public to read.

It seems that comrades, even grab to the Bolsheviks to give a “pseudo-revolutionary” identity to a bourgeois current, consider worker communism to be on the left wing of reformism, but not reformist in itself! The degradation of the bourgeois nature of worker

communism into the petty bourgeoisie and the centre, and the use of the left wing of reformism for worker communism is due to the own ambiguity of the comrades in relation to the essence of the left of capital.

## **Trade Unions Are Part of the Capitalist State**

The ICP is still confusing and attempts to argue that worker communism has an incorrect understanding of the relationship with unions. First, the ICP cites a quote from worker communism:

*”Supporting trade unions and having close relationships with their Left wing, strengthening the labour movement as a whole against the bourgeoisie, is a vitally important task. But, we must scrutinize, as communist workers, the visions, the policies, and the views of working-class organisations and their leaders.” [ 26]*

In turn, the ICP asks the following of worker communism:

*”So trade union bonzes who have sold out to capitalism somehow express the existence of a*

*tendency and a socialist struggle of the working class?”[27]*

The position of the ICP in this article about unions is seriously erroneous. Trade unions are part of the capitalist state, such as education and the judiciary, while the “bozos” in trade unions have not been sold to the capitalism - rather they are themselves a part of it.

It is a fact that trade unions were once organizations of the working class but merged with the capitalist state in the era of the decline of capitalism. No one is sold out anymore! The bozos of the trade unions, like other bourgeois institutions, carry out their duties on behalf of capital.

Anton Pannekoek, in his valuable work entitled *World Revolution and Communist Tactics*, wrote a century ago about the nature and functioning of unions, stating as below:

*“Marx’ and Lenin’s insistence that the way in which the state is organised precludes its use as an instrument of proletarian revolution, notwithstanding its democratic forms, must therefore also apply to the trade-union organisations. Their counterrevolutionary potential cannot be destroyed or diminished by a change of personnel, by the substitution of radical*

*or 'revolutionary' leaders for reactionary ones. It is the form of the organisation that renders the masses all but impotent and prevents them making the trade union an organ of their will. The revolution can only be successful by destroying this organisation, that is to say so completely revolutionising its organisational structure that it becomes something completely different."*

## **The Role of the Left of Capital in Smearing Communist Values**

Due to its historical limitations, the peripheral capitalist bourgeoisie has failed to accomplish its historic tasks to become like the capitalist metropolis, the left of capital in peripheral capitalism can easily hide its demands and wishes in the guise of Marxist. If in the 1970s independence was represented by the most radical phrase tendencies of the left of capital, in the early 1980s this duty was assigned to the traditional (non-radical) part of the left of capital. Independence was no longer a symbol of radicalism that could gather to itself the critical force in society. The internationalist orientations, although very vague, were being raised in particular. Issues were to be changed in such a way that the radical phrase faction of the left of

capital, with the term “International”, went to war against internationalist goals.

The notion that the immediate establishment of a communist society is the goal of worker communism is only a part of the offer from worker communism.

*”Another highlight of the program often put forward by Hekmatists is the notion of the immediate transition to socialism, contrary to thesis 4 of the UCM we cited in the preamble above: «The immediate aim of the worker-communist party is to organise the social revolution of the working class. A revolution that overthrows the entire exploitative capitalist relations and puts an end to all exploitations and hardships. Our programme is for the immediate establishment of a communist society» .”[28]*

It seems that comrades believe in the propaganda of worker communism in the immediate transition to socialism, which they argue is not possible according to Marxist theory. Mansoor Hekmat believed that socialism can be established, not only in Ghana, but also on an island [29], Firstly, the chance for worker communism to gain state power in peripheral capital, even under certain conditions, is almost impossible. Secondly, under certain conditions, if worker communism in peripheral capital,

such as Iran, gained state power, the socialism that it would establish, at best, would be the former Yugoslavia.

In the name of communism, Stalin threw to the ground the most honourable and the most cherished communists, the creators of the October Revolution. Fortunately, the religion of worker-communism did not have the opportunity to throw to the ground the most honourable communists but, unfortunately, it has played the most significant role in dragging revolutionary and communist values and terms like “international”, “revolution”, “communism” and “proletariat” through the mud, all, of course, in the name of communism.

## **The Communist Left and the Left of Capital**

Contrary to the statements of comrades, worker communism is neither central, reformist, petty bourgeois, nor belongs to the left of reformism; instead, it but belongs to the left of capital. Worker communism was shaped and developed as a bourgeois current, performing its duties as part of the political apparatus of the left of capital well. The comrades’ comments, which we consider to be quite correct, are in contradiction with other parts of the text of the ICP and the overall

conclusion of the article. How do comrades explain this contradiction when they write about the intellectual foundations of workers' communism? The ICP writes:

*“We have received their confession: these completely bourgeois ideals, are the intellectual foundations of Worker-Communism!”[30]*

We understand the concern of comrades when they write about how to detach the proletariat from the influence of these bourgeois agents:

*“The problem then is how to detach the proletariat from the influence of these agents of the bourgeoisie.”[31]*

The comrades have pointed to a fundamental issue: how do you detach the proletariat from the influence of these agents of the bourgeois? The fact is that the radical phrase part of capital is a serious obstacle to the advancement of internationalist positions. The radical phrase part of the capital can take the form of the “ideology of worker communism” or any other name; but the functions and duties of all of them (the left of capital), regardless of their name or language, are the same, providing a radical image of themselves, creating a barrier to any radical critique of capital and providing a

capital-friendly description of the class struggle and Marxism, albeit with radical language. The result is that a large body of the critics of the capitalist system are involved in the ideologies of the radical phrase part of the left of capital, such as worker communism.

The ICP has a great responsibility in defending proletarian positions as an internationalist current. Instead of identifying and creating ambiguity in relation to the left of capital, which provides the basis for the infiltration of the bourgeoisie into the working class, the bourgeois and reactionary positions of the left of capital, especially the radical phrase wing in defence of Marxism, should be resolutely and seriously exposed to the public.

Exposing the bourgeois nature and anti-worker performance of this current, from an internationalist view and in defence of Marxism, to the public should not be limited to the issues of the Middle East. The bourgeoisie is a global class and, consequently, the struggle of the working class is also global. Most importantly, the defence of Marxism requires the cooperation and collaboration of all those who adopt internationalist positions in social events. Only in this way can the proletariat be kept away from the influence of such bourgeois ideologies. Only in this way can the proletarian political milieu be made transparent. It is only in this regard that it is possible to pave the way for the International and Internationalist Communist Party of the

future. A party is an essential weapon for the victory of the communist revolution.

M. Jahangiry  
24 May 2019

## Notes:

[1] The contact information for the ICP is as follows:

- Website: [www.pcint.org](http://www.pcint.org)
- Email: [proletarian@pcint.org](mailto:proletarian@pcint.org)

[2] The Worker communist Initiative of France and Belgium and the Workers' Party of America. For a long time, none of these sites has been available.

[3] [http://www.pcint.org/07\\_TP/013/013\\_worker-communism.htm](http://www.pcint.org/07_TP/013/013_worker-communism.htm)

[4] As source 3

[5] Refer to the series of articles entitled "Worker Communism Radical Conscience of the Left of Capital" from the Internationalist Voice.

[6] On 29 July 2012, comrades received the first and second sections of the series "Worker Communism Radical Conscience of the Left of Capital", so they had more resources with which to introduce the history of worker-communism. Thus, there was no excuse for making so many mistakes.

[7] As source 3

[8] As source 3

[9] Third Line refers to the radical phrase of Stalinist currents which were influenced by Maoism and very close to the Albanian Labour Party.

[10] As source 3

[11] As source 3

[12] Towards Socialism No:3 - Anarcho-Pacifism

[13] For more information on the positions of worker communism on war, refer to Section 5 of the series “Worker Communism Radical Conscience of the Left of Capital”.

[14] As source 3

[15] Evaluation of battles and branches of the worker communism in Iran, part 3, Majid Hosseini, 18<sup>th</sup> January 2008

[16]The Iranian revolution and the role of the proletariat (Theses) Mansoor Hekmat

[17] As source 3

[18]Towards Socialism No: 1

[19] Party and Society: From a pressure group to a political party- Mansoor Hekmat

[20] As source 3

[21] The book *About the Party's Activity in Kurdistan* by Mansoor Hekmat.

[22] Evaluation of battles and branches of the worker communism in Iran, part 4, Majid Hosseini

[23] As source 3

[24] As source 3

[25] As source 3

[26] Fundamental Characteristics of the worker-communist party - Mansoor Hekmat

[27] As source 3

[28] As source 3

[29] For more information on the positions of worker communism on war, refer to Section 7 of the series “Worker Communism Radical Conscience of the Left of Capital”.

[30] As source 3

[31] As source 3

## **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.