

**On the Necessity of
Armed Struggle &
Refutation of the
Theory of "Survival"**
By Amir Parviz Pouyan
Organization of Iranian People's Fedayee Guerrillas
New Introduction
By George Habash
Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine

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The *Support Committee for the Iranian People's Struggle (SCIPS)* is a committee of men and women with a special interest in the history and current events in Iran. The Committee disseminates information to counter the apparent policy of a news blackout in the established media concerning the momentous struggle developing in Iran today. Through its efforts the Committee hopes it will provide a better understanding of contemporary Iranian affairs.

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Introduction
to *On the Necessity of Armed Struggle and*
Refutation of the Theory of Survival
By George Habash

The history of the Iranian peoples is rich in revolutionary struggles against colonialism and the various manifestations of foreign interference as well as struggle against the reactionary, dictatorial puppet regime and the comprador bourgeoisie. This is in addition to the struggle against the racial chauvinistic oppression—one of the forms of national and class oppression whose victims are the masses of different nationalities living under the reactionary regime of the Shah.

In this rich and long history of national and class struggle, the Iranian people have had to make many precious sacrifices. This is a result of Iran's rich endowment of natural resources and its important strategic position. Thus Iran has always attracted colonial powers, as demonstrated by the special attention given to it by the American imperialists. These powers are willing to give the regime any kind of assistance needed in order to safeguard the reactionary regime which serves to protect the savage plunder of Iran's resources by the imperialist monopolies. In addition, the regime is used as a stooge for the oppression of liberation movements in the Middle East, in the gulf, and in other Arab countries.

This regional and world-wide role of the struggle of the Iranian people gives this struggle a broader role than that of a national struggle. It is of great importance to all national liberation movements in the entire region and especially to the Arab liberation movements. Therefore, the unity between the liberation struggle of the Iranian people and that of the Arab people has greater significance than its historical context. Thus, this unity is an international responsibility of national liberation movements from

which will develop a sound foundation for the progressive democracy in the free and progressive future of the region. This unity establishes a greater bond between brothers who have waged liberation struggles against the same enemy, that is, against American imperialism with its many reactionary, Zionist and racist bases.

Thus, we view the struggle of the Iranian people, especially its revolutionary and progressive vanguards, on the level of a unified, strategic solidarity in this fateful struggle. This is natural since there exists a parallel unity, through the links between the reactionary stooges, amongst the puppet Shah's regime, the aggressive military system of Zionism in our land Palestine, and the reactionary puppet Arab regimes. But, our revolutionary solidarity is a progressive one, existing among the people in struggle against this imperialist, racist and reactionary unity.

So far, we have considered the general unity between our people and the people of Iran; but specifically we consider the *Organization of the Iranian People's Fedayee Guerrillas* as one of the most valuable revolutionary vanguards whose existence is necessitated by the struggle of the Iranian people at its present stage. We admire their heroic struggle, with its many sacrifices, as we appreciate the role they play in creating solidarity between the struggle of the Iranian people and that of the Arab people in general and the people of Palestine in particular.

Now about the book that is in our hands, which without doubt is a discussion of a crucial problem, and about its heroic author, the martyred comrade Amir Parviz Pouyan, who decorated it with his own blood. It is of special importance to all national liberation movements specifically at that stage when faced with the choice of either armed struggle against the most savage kinds of repression, oppression and terror, or, as the martyred comrade calls it, the "theory of survival" faced with the same conditions.

In refuting the "survival theory," the book goes deeper than its progressive theoretical, scientific and practical level. It prepares the fundamental basis for the formation of a struggling Fedayee vanguard to crush and conquer the obstacles of dictatorial repression as a means to remove the impediments of fear and horror blocking the path of the masses and to organize them into a revolutionary, popular organization or political party, the proletarian party.

If this book devotes most of its attention to the refutation of the "theory of survival" and stresses the historical necessity of creating the vanguard under these conditions and is victorious in this task, it is because this is the subject that forms the essential core of the ideological discussions in Iran. It was necessary to give the same

attention to the transition or growth of the vanguards of the struggle to the revolutionary party.

Undoubtedly, it was the martyrdom of comrade Pouyan which delayed the discussion and elaboration of this subject. It is therefore the responsibility of other comrades inspired by this heritage which is sealed with blood to arm themselves with experience and to attempt to fulfill the above mentioned task. Performing this requires a Marxist-Leninist consciousness and should be based on the teaching experiences of the struggle of the people of Iran, its working class, and its struggling Fedayee vanguards.

In concluding this short introduction to this book, I am happy to reaffirm on my behalf and in the name of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine and in the name of the struggling people of Palestine that we have absolute and full faith in the victory of the Iranian people in their heroic struggle against the puppet, chauvinist and reactionary regime against all imperialist forces backing it, as we have faith in the victory of our people against our common imperialist, Zionist and reactionary enemy. All of us today are struggling for the liberation of the whole region and the establishment of a democratic and progressive future for the region and for peace and true brotherhood as part of the free world, free of all exploitation and domination, a world of justice, peace and socialism.

*Dr. George Habash
Secretary General of the
Popular Front for the
Liberation of Palestine*

Preface to the First English Edition (1975)

Iran is a country of 1,645,000 square kilometers (628,000 square miles) with a population of 32 million people. Her GNP is \$32 billion (U.S.) of which approximately \$20 billion is derived from oil reserves.

Iran's history is marked by long periods of struggle—first anti-colonial and then anti-imperialist. Partial success was achieved in 1906 with the constitutional revolution and during the government of the Iranian National Front headed by Dr. Mohammad Mossadegh (1951-1953). In August 1953 a coup d'etat staged, managed and directed by the CIA returned the Shah, who had fled the country, back to power. Since his return, the Shah has imposed a police state which ranks with the most brutal in history.

The failure of the Shah's regime to secure an economic base led to a resurgence of anti-government movements in 1960. Once again the National Front led the struggle but without the leadership of Dr. Mossadegh who was under house arrest. In 1963, the Shah was forced to accept the "Walt Rostow Package," in which he was to stage a series of reforms on the one hand and suppress the opposition on the other. The barbarous manner in which he dealt with the opposition goes unsurpassed in modern history. On the single day of June 5, 1963, over 15 thousand people were machine-gunned. This day marked the bloody launching of the Shah's "White Revolution."

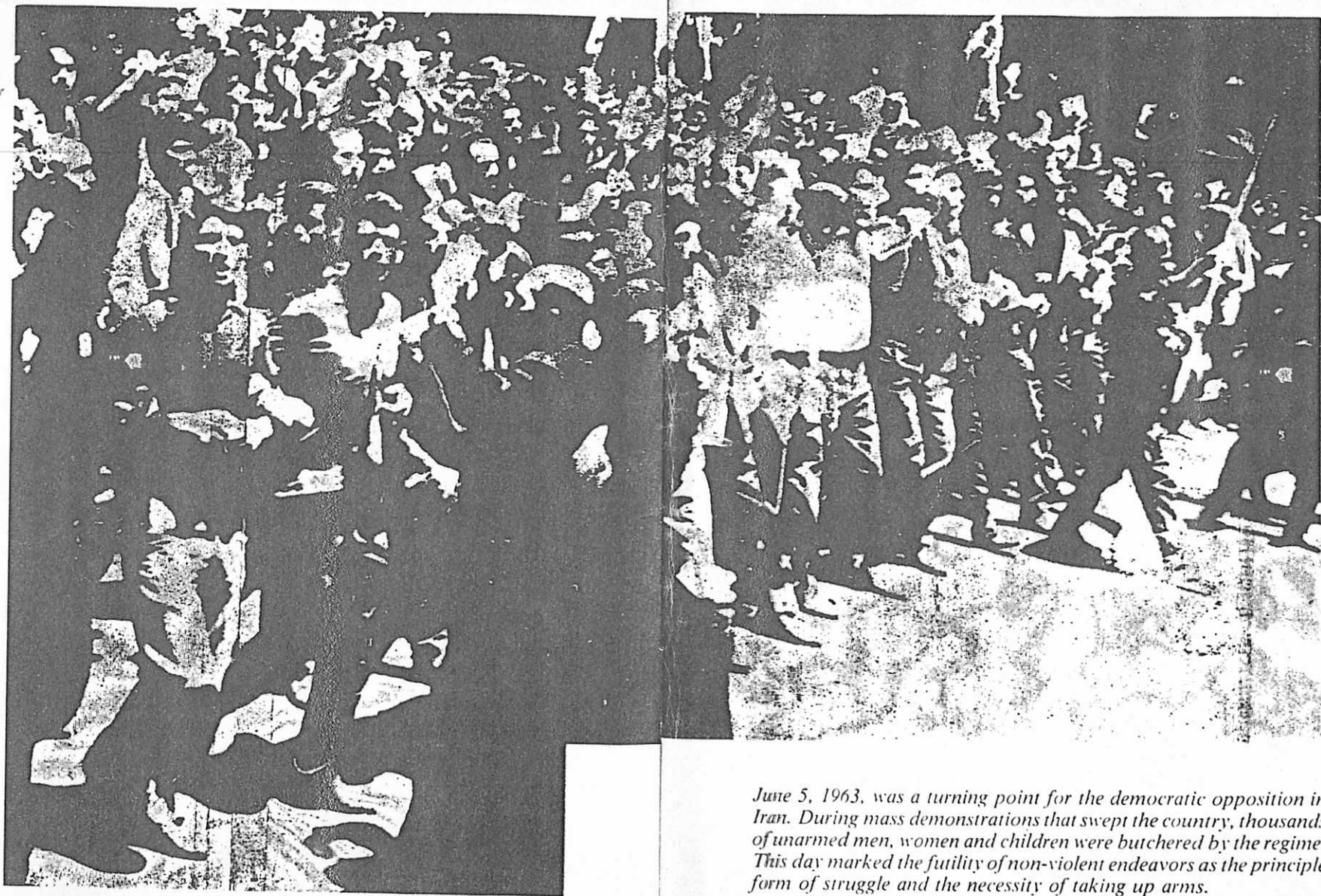
The economy has moved from a semi-feudal to a capitalist state thanks to the special attention of the U.S. and cooperation of other world powers, combined with the huge income of the oil exports. The country has become a surrogate for the U.S. and other western powers in the area. Since Iran has become the military, economic, and political base for imperialism in the region, it may be termed a sub-imperialist state.



"At this moment when my so-called trial is coming to an end, I address the honorable and great people of Iran and say to them that they must avoid dispersion and they must struggle against all the forces of repression and slavery and continue this struggle until they have definitely obtained all their aims." Pictured here, Doctor Mossadegh in military court.

According to statistics prepared by the Ministry of Labor, 63.5 percent of the working class families earn less than seven dollars a week, with Teheran being one of the five most expensive cities in the world. However, this has not prevented the Shah from becoming the greatest purchaser of arms in history. In 1974 alone, according to the statistics released by the Pentagon, over half of the total U.S. arms sales were purchased by the Shah. Iran's share of the U.S. arms was over \$4 billion, supplemented by more than \$1 billion worth from Britain, France and West Germany.

Iran has emerged as one of the new powers in the Middle East. Its actions have been exclusively on behalf of American interests or as a back-up force for less powerful U.S. allies, such as Britain. The invasion by Iranian troops of Dhofar, at the behest of Britain and the Sultan Qaboos with the encouragement and support of the United States, is an obvious case in point. These recent developments have made it mandatory to learn more about Iran, its government, its present and future roles, and about the opposition movements and the alternative that they present.



June 5, 1963, was a turning point for the democratic opposition in Iran. During mass demonstrations that swept the country, thousands of unarmed men, women and children were butchered by the regime. This day marked the futility of non-violent endeavors as the principle form of struggle and the necessity of taking up arms.

Preface to the Second English Edition (1976)

In this, the second edition of Pouyan's essay, "The Necessity of Armed Struggle and the Refutation of the Theory of Survival," published in English by S.C.I.P.S., several important items have been added to the first edition which appeared in the summer of 1975. There is a timely Introduction by Dr. George Habash, the Secretary-General of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine. "Honoring the Memories of Comrade Pouyan;" the Foreword; and Introductions to the first, second and third Persian editions of the essay, written by the O.I.P.F.G. also now appear for the first time in English. All of these additions have been translated from the fourth edition, in Persian, of the essay, published by the Organizations of the Iranian National Front (Middle East Section).

By providing these important additions, English readers will be exposed to the impact that Pouyan's essay has had upon the armed movement in Iran and the region as well as the discussions and considerations that it has engendered. The present edition furnishes for the first time in English the complete text of Pouyan's essay as it appears in its Persian edition.

Foreward To the English Edition

The writer of the following essay, Amir Parviz Pouyan, was born in 1946 in the city of Meshed, Iran. He studied in Meshed and later at the Faculty of Law in Teheran.

Pouyan's political activities started when he was a high-school student in the 1960-62 period of non-violent, anti-imperialist struggle. For those in the opposition, the massacre of June 5, 1963, soon put an end to all illusions of the effectiveness of a non-violent struggle. However, the Shah's "White Revolution," starting with the massacre of unarmed masses, caught the unprepared opposition by surprise. The initiation of some reforms combined with an intensified suppression of any opposition led to the dispersion of many elements of the traditional opposition and confused the remainder. The more faithful studied the reforms seriously and prepared themselves for the certain failure of them. Pouyan's transformation from a non-violent patriot to a full-fledged Marxist fighter reflects well the complete transformation of the progressive movement in Iran, its ideological radicalization and change from peaceful to violent methods of struggle.

The profound and heroic resistance of the Vietnamese people and the impact of the Cuban revolution also influenced the opposition during this period. The more perceptive members were shown the need for an overall reassessment of their ideas. They sought new ways to study the changes of society and new methods of struggle.

During this period of reflection, many in the opposition movement were attracted to Marxism and started studying it vigorously. In Marxism they found the ultimate weapon which could enable them to predict the changes and find the route toward a decisive struggle. Pouyan was one of these patriots. His intelligence and unwavering sincerity made him prominent among the militants despite his youth.

In search of new methods of struggle, Pouyan developed associations with different Marxist circles. One of these prompted him to become a writer for *Jahane Nou (The New World)*, a legal Marxist magazine. Pouyan soon found the magazine hypocritical and ineffective. Yet another group put him into contact with traditional Marxists, but here too, he discerned self-deception and impotence. Their only concern was to "survive," and Pouyan felt this a goal unfit for revolutionaries. They chose to remain absolutely immobile so as to keep away from the omnipresent eyes of the regime's agents.

However, at that time, these were the only Marxists in Iran. In order to demonstrate the revolutionary character of Marxist thought, it was necessary for people such as Pouyan to challenge the quasi-Marxist theories these groups propounded. Bijan Jazani, Zia Zarrifi, and other sincere Marxists had already challenged the old conceptions and had formed a militant group. Unfortunately they were discovered and arrested.¹ Others did not give up and continued their work.

In his search for new allies, Pouyan joined Masoud Ahmad-Zadeh, another talented revolutionary Marxist. These men made a fruitful team. Pouyan and Ahmad-Zadeh began to formulate their ideas together with other revolutionaries. A series of extraordinarily rich and meaningful papers were written during this period by these two men and also by Ali Akbar Safai Farahani, a prominent member of another group.²

These intellectual endeavors gave rise to the Organization of Iranian People's Fedayee Guerrillas (OIPFG). This organization has become the most militant, intellectually advanced, and decisive Marxist organization in the history of Iran. Its first armed action took place on Feb. 8, 1971, at Siahkal, a village in the woods of northern Iran. Militarily, it was unsuccessful although the government forces suffered severe casualties.³ Farahani and twelve other militants were arrested, tortured, and executed.

However, despite the military defeat, this action was an enormous political success. It started the chain reaction which Pouyan so precisely predicted in the following essay. Iran has never been quite the same again. During the five years since this action the armed struggle has been going on unceasingly, gaining in strength both quantitatively and qualitatively. Currently urban guerrilla warfare is the particular type of struggle taking place. At some point this movement will have to extend to the countryside since peasants form the majority of the population of Iran. Their lot has only worsened since the "White Revolution's" land reform.

Pouyan and Ahmad-Zadeh were both martyred in armed struggle. Pouyan fell on May 24, 1971, in an epic battle with the government troops in Teheran. Ahmad-Zadeh was ambushed, arrested, tortured, and then executed on February 28, 1971. Yet, the writings of these two revolutionaries remain indispensable for any serious study of the Iranian people's struggle. Their organization OIPFG has not only survived but grown and flourished enormously. Many other groups have joined their ranks. Despite the brutal repression and killing of many workers and the arrests of thousands more, the masses of workers and peasants have staged a series of strikes which are unprecedented in recent Iranian history. The militant character and the extent of the workers strikes is a singularly new phenomenon in Iran.

The traditional Marxist circles are non-existent today. They have either reneged, as predicted by Pouyan, or they have joined OIPFG. Their role has been refuted by the militants and negated by history.

Some notes should be made about the characteristics of urban guerrilla warfare in Iran. Contrary to similar warfare in Latin America and elsewhere, *the movement in Iran started on a strictly ideological basis, from the beginning aiming towards the formation of a communist party.* OIPFG has been and continues to be a Marxist organization and considers itself the nucleus of a communist party in Iran.⁴

The movement is totally ideologically and organizationally independent. At the same time, it expresses its solidarity with all progressive and revolutionary forces in the world.

The non-Marxist urban guerrillas in Iran should also be acknowledged. Shortly after the launching of armed struggle by the OIPFG, another organization known as the Organization of the Mojahedin of the People of Iran (OMPI)⁵ started its urban guerrilla activities. This organization was founded in 1965, two years after the 1963 massacre. They went through a series of changes and transformations similar to the other movements. However, they kept their belief in Islam and have tried to combine the Islamic revolutionary spirit with the Marxist method of analysis and class outlook. They are a large organization and are responsible for numerous armed actions.

It is quite important to observe OMPI with care, their ideas and methods have been analyzed elsewhere. It is the first systematic attempt to extract the teachings of the Islamic revolution in the seventeenth century and reconcile them with scientific socialism.

The two largest organizations, the OIPFG and the OMPI, are on very good terms with each other. Plans have been made to increase

their cooperation in a united form, while keeping their separate identities and organizations intact. However, as of now, the time for the implementation of these plans cannot be predicted.

The guerrilla movement started in the absence of any meaningful possibility for non-violent struggle, in a situation where the alternative methods of struggle had been exhausted, and where the non-believers of violence had nothing to present. Thus, it cannot be deemed an adventurist attempt by hasty militants. Neither can it be said that it was based on any "model." It can only be considered a thoughtful, mature, responsible, and revolutionary endeavor. Its justification and correctness was proven in the course of action and in achieving what was thought of as unattainable only a few years ago: a valid, viable, and growing revolutionary Marxist organization, a realistic chance for the formation of a progressive united front, and an atmosphere of acute political movement; all in complete contrast to the stand-still of only five years ago.

1] In April, 1975, nine revolutionaries were murdered by SAVAK, the Shah's secret police. Seven of them, Bijan Jazani, Zia Zarrifi, Mashoof Kalantari, Abbas Sourki, Ahmad Afshar, Mohamad Choupanzadeh, and Aziz Sarmadi, were members of "Jazani's Group." The other two revolutionaries martyred by the regime were Kazem Zolanvar and Javan Khoshdel, members of the Organization of Mojahedin of the People of Iran (OMPI).

2] Pouyan wrote many essays and translated several works. However, the present paper was the only one saved from the police.

3] During the fighting, two guerrillas, feigning surrender, drew the government forces towards themselves and then detonated two grenades martyring themselves and killing many of the enemy's agents.

4] Another organization, the Tudeh Party, claims to be the communist party of Iran. Its leadership has been in Eastern Europe for some 28 years and has no contact with or representation in the working class. The Tudeh Party was a large organization until the 1953 coup d'etat. Many of its militants were executed following the coup. The rest felt betrayed by the fugitive leadership and were disillusioned with the party. They either gave up the struggle (some even joined the secret police, SAVAK), or looked to other organizations for inspiration and leadership. Several attempts by the old leadership to reorganize the party failed because of its inefficiency, government intolerance, and most importantly because of the people's distrust. It is

interesting that this leadership even tried to exploit the government's fear of the guerrillas. It negotiated with the regime to set up a "legal" communist party. But even this failed. The leadership, although without any organization in Iran, has chosen to retain its claim of being the communist party of Iran, a nostalgic desire.

5] OMPI has recently announced that they have joined the Marxist-Leninist movement of Iran, "after 10 years of underground struggle, 4 years of political-military work and 2 years of ideological struggle within the organization."

Foreward to the Persian Edition

Two and a half years have passed since the armed struggle began. Although during this time the enemy has employed all its resources and equipment to suppress the movement, and even though many of our brave comrades have lost their lives in this battle and many others are held prisoner in the torture chambers of the enemy, despite all of this armed struggle not only has not tended to extinction but, by acquiring practical experiences and applying them, is expanding and blossoming day by day.

Armed struggle in Iran began under very difficult conditions. The people did not have any faith in political struggle, regarding it as fruitless. Why? Because, on the one hand, as a result of extensive and severe terror by the regime dependent on imperialism, people imagined the enemy's domination to be an everlasting force. On the other hand, because in the past opportunists, who claimed to be the vanguard of the masses' struggle, had many times in practice brought the bloody struggle of the people to a halt by shameful betrayals and by political deceitfulness, and by taking the opportunist path. The masses' confidence in their true and sincere vanguard had also been shaken. At this time, a new experience was needed for the vanguard to regain the masses' confidence.

The start of the armed struggle and its continuation, on the one hand, has destroyed the concept of unbeatable domination of the enemy in the minds of the masses; on the other hand, the decisiveness, the bravery, and the self-sacrifices of the pioneer combatants has restored confidence in the vanguard to the people.

It was in this way that the people started boiling from within and released the basic elements of insurrection and rebellion. During the past two and one half years we have witnessed several examples of

these revolutionary outbursts of the people under the influence of armed struggle.

Now we proceed to mention a few of these examples, and also the effects that armed struggle has left in many areas in such a short time.

1. The effect of armed struggle on intensifying the contradictions between the people and the regime; the astronomical increase in the military budget which is due only to the enemy's fear of a rise of armed struggle in Iran and also the liberation movements of the region and fear of the future unity of these forces has confronted the regime with an economic and social crisis. In addition, the enemy has been forced to employ other large expenditures in order to prevent the escalation of armed struggle in Iran. We refer to these expenditures in a chronological way:

- A. Expansion of police, SAVAK (secret police), and gendarmerie budgets.
- B. Approval of several budgets for anti-revolutionary research programs in order to prevent the growth of the movement.
- C. Unprecedented increase in propaganda activity and the allocation of an extensive budget for this purpose.
- D. Enforcement of security programs at all bureaucratic levels for the protection of the regime.

The economic crisis stemming from the regime's actions to preserve its own flimsy existence has resulted in the rise of the workers' spontaneous movements on a vast scale. In the past year we have witnessed many examples of the workers' violent strikes: the all encompassing workers' strike of the workers of Vahed company (bus service); workers of Cheet Ray company (printed cotton manufacturer); Dokhania (cigarette factory); Behshahre Industrial Group (with 6,000 workers); workers of Arj company (oven, refrigerator, heater, cooler factory); BMW factory (car repair-assembly), and a month and a half long strike of 4,000 workers of the national shoe factories in Tehran, Rasht and Pahlavi port.

A recent strike, which began with expedient slogans, due to the workers' persistence, resulted in clashes between workers and the mercenaries of the regime and in a seige of the factory by armed agents of the regime. Arrests and brutal tortures of many workers did not lessen their anger; rather they made them more violent. Finally, the enemy had to retreat and surrender to the workers' demands as a result of the workers' determination and firmness.

The enemy is clearly aware that the expansion of these kinds of strikes, which result from the existing severe economic pressure, is inevitable, and because it is not able to prevent them from expanding,

it has become weary and frightened—and any action with this basis will inevitably result in detrimental effects for himself.

The expansion of the economic strikes of the recent year, which is an inevitable result of the new conditions, is an important step toward the unification of the working class. In connection with the exercising of the revolutionary power of the proletarian vanguard, these strikes will bring about a basis for the unity of the workers and their own class vanguard, in order to play an active role in the existing political-military struggle.

In the past two and one half years, we have also witnessed the effect of the armed struggle on different strata of the people. The destruction of the concept of the absolute power of the regime in the minds of the masses is observed in their scattered or sometimes unified, violent reaction toward the pressures of the enemy's mercenaries. This kind of resistance, though elementary and basic, still holds within itself clear signs of growth and blossoming.

2. The effect of armed struggle on the conscious elements of the people: the destruction of the enemy's unilateral power by guerrilla attacks has had noticeable and direct effect on the progressive and conscious elements of the people. The courageous operations of the pioneer combatants has caused the flow of new blood in veins, has rejuvenated the old hopes and returned self-confidence to the fighters in the struggle against the enemy. And it is thus that many elements and groups have sprung up from within the people and have taken a step on this road with confidence and self-sacrifice. The moving, unified, and continuous strikes of the students of universities all over the country—for example, the bloody strikes of Tehran, Tabriz, Ahvaz, and Isfahan in the winter of 1972—contrary to before, exhibited an offensive mood in every position, and their slogans did not relate to their occupation, but were rather political.

The actions and initiatives of students all over the country—for example, in Lahijan, Dezful, Saary, Kermanshah, Chasreshereen—in the area of making explosive devices and in efforts to blow up the Shah's statues, as well as in printing and distributing political pamphlets, using machines expropriated from schools and offices by students themselves, are clear evidence of the direct influence of the armed actions of the revolutionary combatants on the conscious elements of the people.

In all these cases, all of the enemy's efforts to confront the combatants has turned out to be not only ineffective, but also detrimental to himself; because, by enforcing anti-revolutionary violence, it has intensified the contradiction between itself and the conscious strata of the people. The experience of the past two and one

half years clearly shows that, in spite of all the enemy's brazen savagery, arrest, torture, executions, etc., the active support of the conscious elements of the people is still expanding. There is not a single day that news of the joining of these elements to the armed struggle does not resound in the atmosphere of the cities of our country. The enemy is not able to stop it with any force, and each of his harsh treatments draws many more of these elements to the movement.

3. The effect of armed struggle on enemy cadres: The bright examples of the brave resistance of the combatants has been a blow, awakening the regime's officials, especially young cadres, who were serving the anti-revolution unconsciously. Agents who have witnessed the firm resistance of the people's combatants outside or under torture, have themselves confessed many times to the weakness of the enemy in the face of the surprising decisiveness and eminent faith of the combatants. These confessions, which were the result of moral support, will eventually lead to active support; we have many examples in front of us that have been hard blows to the enemy. Lieutenant Ahmady, an officer of prison number 12 at Saary who freed political prisoners and expropriated the enemy's arms in favor of the revolutionary movement, is one of these examples. The enemy's response to these kinds of actions, no matter what methods it uses, inevitably raises the consciousness of the cadres of the army and the police. By intensifying the existing contradictions in this area of the enemy's vital support, it destroys the loyalty and blind obedience of the cadres. The increase in unpublicized executions within the forces guarding the regime in itself is an example of the regime's deadly fear. It is also a clear demonstration of the intensification of the existing contradiction. For example, the incident of the execution of eighteen insurgent officers in Shiraz and a wave of resignations of armed forces cadres, with the many other examples witnessed during the past two and one half years, clearly shows this reality.

4. The effect of the armed struggle in revealing the nature of the opportunist: The beginning of the armed struggle and the brave actions of the true vanguards of the people, revealed the nature of opportunists who were justifying their calculated inactive role by holding on to models made out of the classic theories and who for a period of time had misled the simple-hearted and progressive elements by pretentious and hollow words finally surrendered them handcuffed to the enemy.

Now the positions of the groups and individuals are no longer evident by their claims, but by their actions; and the opportunists can no longer attract the sincere elements as before. On the other hand,

because the armed struggle has an offensive nature, it can only accept those elements who have erased from their minds all traces of petty calculations and selfishness. Inevitably, there is no room left in the trenches for the opportunist.

In this manner, the opportunists who find themselves caught, and exposed to condemnations, try to justify their inactive role by arguing with a demagogical benevolence—that the martyrdom of the most worthy and sincere combatants of the people is contrary to the problem of “Survival” and continuity of the movement.

They cannot comprehend our strategic understanding of the problem of “Survival” due to their petty bourgeois nature which determines their position. Those who do not have a correct understanding and knowledge of the processes of history are inevitably narrow minded since they seek the results of this method of struggle in Iran in a very short period of time, which does not exceed, in the final analysis, their own lifetimes.

Those who continue to attack the armed struggle of the vanguard of the people from the trenches of opportunism do not know that our understanding of “Survival” comes from a standpoint of historical reality and its strategic aspect. Our understanding of the survival of revolutionary groups and individuals is from the standpoint of the experience they provide for the next phases of the movement, not only their mere survival. While not playing an active and necessary role and, as a result, having no effect on society and the movement, and in regard to having this passive position, continuing to maintain formal survival, from a historical viewpoint, is not “survival” but, in the final analysis, annihilation. But taking the offensive and leaving behind experience from one’s self and then being destroyed—if we analyze the problems historically and in depth—is existence, is survival. Therefore, we have no regret that now most of the comrades who started the armed struggle have become martyrs, and the opportunists are in vain trying to count this as a reason of our defeat and annihilation. From our point of view, destruction of this or that combatant unit is not counted as annihilation.

This is a superficial understanding of these matters and this is exactly the same allegation which the enemy has repeated many times as “to have uprooted the revolutionary combatants.” Meanwhile, imperialism and its agents have understood the importance and invincibility of the armed struggle, in spite of all their false allegations. They also know very well the importance of the strategical unity of the combatant vanguards in Latin America, Africa, South East Asia, and the Middle East.

Is it a coincidence that old reactionary bonds between the regime

and its imperialist masters which had already been exposed are once again renewed? Why is there so much clamour about C.E.N.T.O.?¹ This clearly shows that the presence of armed struggle in Iran, as a genuine struggle, in an important point of the vast native land of the exploited masses all over the world, is of great significance to the masters of the regime. Thus, imperialism and its lackeys have clearly felt and understood that the liberation struggle of all people in all areas of exploitation are like single links of a chain, which at the final turn will wrap around the hands, feet and neck of imperialism and its dependents. And it is because of the terror of this anticipated death that they return to the old and already exposed anti-revolutionary treaties, and this itself is clear evidence of how imperialism looks upon the armed struggle in Iran as an important link of this chain. Imperialism, in addition to all of its undercover efforts, is forced to openly find a solution for facing the true combatants of the Iranian people. The truth is that the struggle which started in Iran is not in any way comparable with a short-term uprising. For us the victory rests at a very distant point and at the end of a hard road. We have set out in this road with the knowledge of these hardships. We are clearly conscious that, for the expansion of the armed struggle among the masses and their direct participation in this liberation struggle, we still have a long way ahead of us.

On this red and glorious road, we will give many martyrs, who will constantly be replaced by other true combatants. The movement will go through many ups and downs, and will still go forward like a roaring torrent; and it is thus that the masses will turn to the struggle, and with their active participation in the armed struggle, will bring about conditions for the creation of the all encompassing party of the working class; and it is in this way that the working class party, not by “words” but by “action”, will be formed.

This will be a party which has risen from long struggle and therefore is powerful, genuine, and truly revolutionary. A party which will organize all of the peoples of Iran against all of their class enemies. A party which, with its genuine internationalist spirit, will fight together with the other liberation movements in the Middle East and Near East and, in the long run, will play its role in the final annihilation of imperialism and the realization of the classless society in the world.

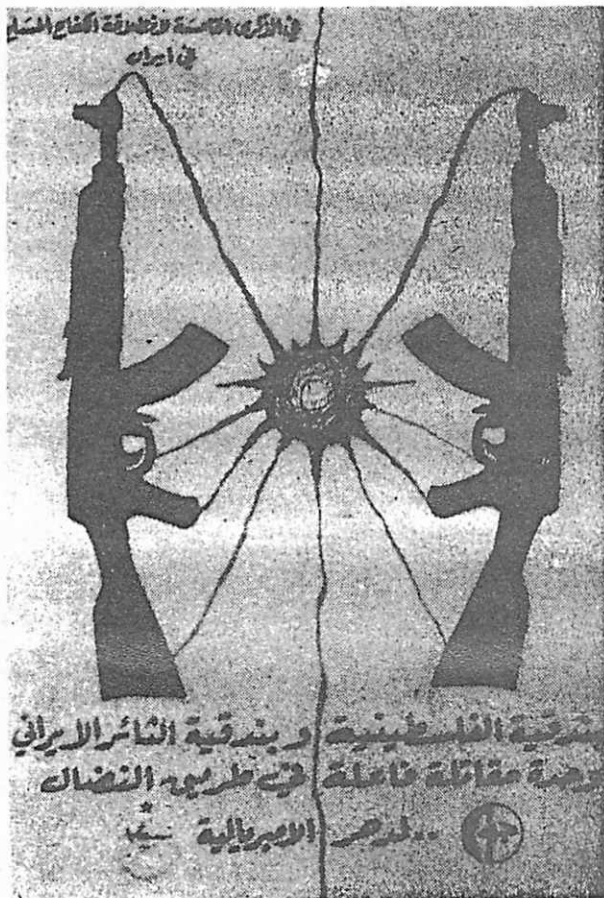
“With faith in victory.”

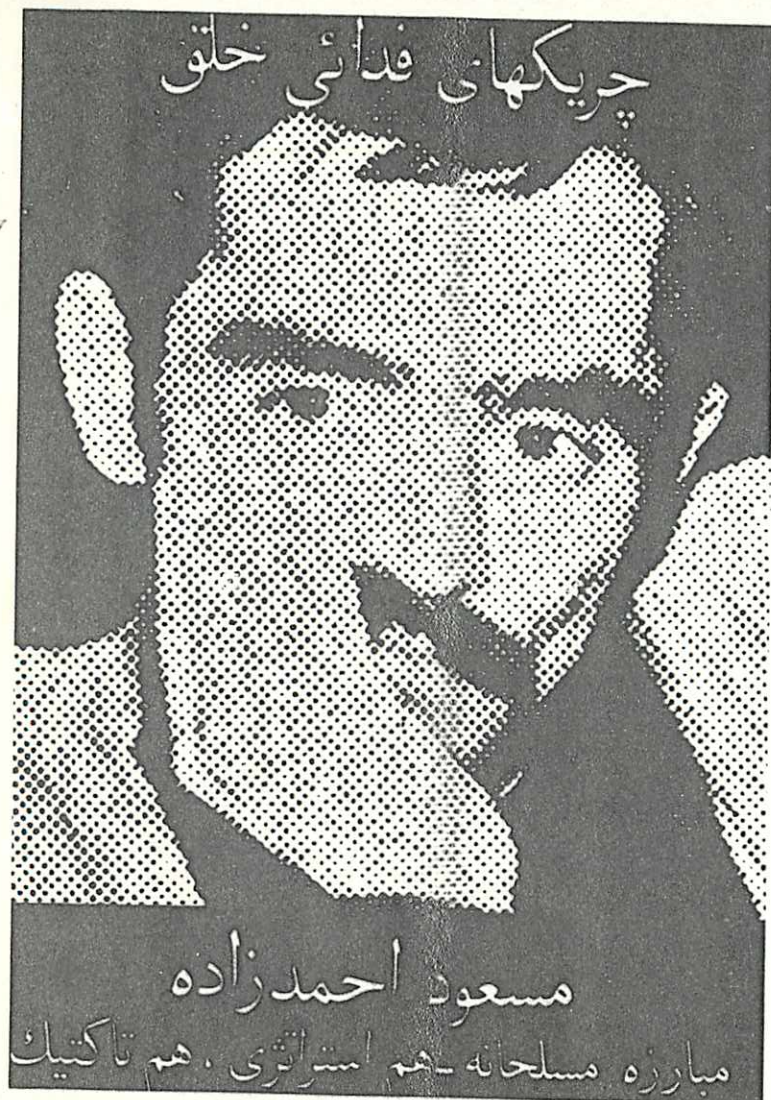
The People’s Fedayee Guerrillas

1] Here we have studied C.E.N.T.O. in regard to the new role given to it, that is, fighting the armed movements of the people of Turkey, Pakistan, Iran, and the Gulf region.



Dhofar (above)—On the eleventh anniversary of armed struggle in Oman, the Organization of Iranian People's Fedayee Guerrillas (OIPFG) joined by the Organization of the Mojahedin of the People of Iran (OMPI) and the Organizations of the Iranian National Front (OINF) expressed their firm solidarity with the Omani people's revolution under the leadership of the People's Front for the Liberation of Oman (PFLO). They condemned the recent invasions by the Iranian troops into Dhofar and warmly saluted the revolutionary struggle of the people of Oman. Pictured here are PFLO guerrillas in training. Posters—Posters of solidarity with the Iranian armed struggle movement issued by revolutionary Palestinian organizations on the fourth anniversary of the battle of Siahkai. Top right: PFLP General Command. Bottom left: PFLP. Bottom right: PLO.





Masoud Ahmad-Zadeh

A martyred member of the Organization of Iranian People's Fedayee Guerrillas (OIPFG), he played an important role in the development of urban guerrilla warfare. He is the author of Armed Struggle: Both a Strategy and a Tactic—an analysis of the conditions of the Iranian society: soon to appear in English.

Introduction

To the First and Second Editions

Today the filthy hands of the fascist regime, the rule of terror and suppression have once more been covered with the blood of the freedom-fighters. These were militants who employed all their abilities and creative powers, their deep and pure passions, their heroic courage towards the realization of the ideals of their people and the fulfillment of the great historic responsibility which faced them.

The martyred comrade Amir Parviz Pouyan was among these comrades. He was a persevering militant. His passion and desire for struggle had no limit, just as his faith in victory was invincible. He loved his people and hated their enemy without mercy. The most difficult conditions could not prevent him from remembering the necessities of the group and in a larger sense, the necessities of the revolution. The most critical situations made him ever more determined and hopeful. He and another comrade, while being completely encircled, fought for several hours, destroying everything which should not have fallen to the hands of the enemy and so that they themselves would not fall to the enemy alive, they took their own lives in the end.

We, who know him, believe he died shouting "Revolution Will Win" and "Long Live Communism"; and at those moments visualized the future more precisely than ever. He felt that any doubt concerning the realization of this future was incorrect. We hold dear his memory just as we honor the memory of all the other martyred comrades.

More determined than ever, more certain of victory, we will continue to struggle for our cause. As such, we ask all other groups to do away with their doubts and to rise and wage the armed struggle against the shameful military dictatorship.

Many essays and translations remain from this Comrade, which will be presented at the appropriate moment. Presently, we will present an essay of his written in the spring of 1970.

This essay, in addition to being an accurate and thoroughly theoretical rejection of the opportunist policy which believes in practicing at such a range so as not to force the military dictatorship into a confrontation (the comrade refers to this theory as the theory of "survival") is one of the first essays of the group which presents material for proving the correctness of "armed action" in theory. Our outlook on the "armed action" was promoted by our exchange of opinions and more than that by our practice and it was due to this that our comrade believed that this essay should be expanded and changed in some parts. Our new outlook on "armed action" is reflected in another essay called *Armed Struggle: Both a Strategy and a Tactic*, and here we only mention the cases which need some explanation and interpretation:

1. That the absence of progressive worker's circles coming into contact with the organized proletariat during spontaneous struggle has made contact with the proletariat on a mass scale impossible, does not at all mean, that we cannot have individual contacts with progressive workers; we have many examples of progressive and militant workers in the movement.

2. What we mean by the effect of "the exercise of revolutionary power by the vanguard" is, indeed, its strategic and general effect, and in no way do we apply it to tactical cases; we predict the possibility of the defeat of specific plans under this general aim and we will not be overly optimistic. We do predict some obstacles in our way. We must specify that "offensive", "propaganda", and "exercise of revolutionary power" comprise the only correct policy which can be followed at this present time.

But at the same time it is possible that a specific line followed by a group at a time, with due attention to this general line of policy could still face defeat. We will strengthen our ideological position in the face of the opportunists by pointing out this case; by not allowing them the chance to take our tactical defeats as a pretext to reject our strategy. This, the opportunists have done time and time again in history.

The People's Fedayee Guerrillas

Introduction To the Third Edition

The Necessity of Armed Struggle and Refutation of the Theory of Survival was written in the spring of 1970 and is one of the very first essays of its kind in Iran which presents material for proving the correctness of "armed action" in theory.

Our outlook on the "armed action" was promoted by our exchange of opinions more than that by our practice and it was due to this that our comrade believed that this essay should be expanded and changed in some parts. Our new outlook on "armed action" is reflected in another essay called *Armed Struggle: Both a Strategy and a Tactic*, and here we only mention the cases which need some explanation and interpretation:

(1) The fact that the ruling reactionaries try to separate the proletariat from its class consciousness is thoroughly correct. However, the idea that the proletariat has submitted to this enforced reactionary culture is exaggerated and incorrect.

(2) That the absence of progressive workers' circles coming into contact with the organized proletariat during spontaneous struggles has made contact with the proletariat on a mass scale impossible, does not at all mean, that we cannot have individual contacts with progressive workers: we have many examples of progressive and militant workers in the movement.

(3) What we mean by the effect of "the exercise of revolutionary power by the vanguard" is, indeed, its strategic and general effect, and in no way do we apply it to tactical cases; we predict the possibility of the defeat of specific plans under this general aim and we will not be overly optimistic. We do predict some obstacles in our way. We must specify that "offensive", "propaganda" and "exercise of revolutionary power" comprise the only correct policy which can be followed at this present time.

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The People's Fedayee Guerrillas



Amir Parviz Pouyan.

Honoring the Memory of Comrade Pouyan

Under the conditions of the rise of the armed movement of the Iranian people which by now is an undeniable reality, and which is continuing its growth progressively, we hold dear the memories of Comrade Pouyan who by spilling his pure blood has nourished the armed movement of our people.

Comrade Amir Parviz Pouyan was born in 1946 in the city of Mashad where he later attended both elementary and high school. From his youth, this comrade saw the poverty of the masses directly and was in close contact with them. Under the influence of his family's political atmosphere, he became acquainted with the political problems of society. On the basis of his primary recognition of the people's contradiction with the enemy, he took action at his school by such means as distributing pamphlets, organizing strikes which possessed political aspects, and encouraging his associates towards political activity. By reading, discussing and analyzing the problems that were occurring around him, he developed his political awareness.

The distinguished political activity of Comrade Pouyan began to take shape from the year he entered the University. In association with Comrade Massoud Ahmad-Zadeh and Abass Meftahee, he organized a group during these years. During this period, Comrade Pouyan and other comrades believed in the formation of a proletarian party based on the theoretical formulas of past revolutionary experiences, without correctly analyzing the objective conditions peculiar to Iran's society. Very soon, however, through honest encounters and an objective analysis of Iranian society, the comrades came to the conclusion that the particular situation in Iran,

in relation to the extension of imperialist domination, demanded a new process for the formation of a party.

In this manner, the comrades came to believe that only by taking a course of armed struggle and by organizing political-military nuclei could they in practice create the elements of the core of the proletarian party.

It was at this time that the Comrade began writing his famous work, *The Necessity of Armed Struggle and Refutation of the Theory of Survival*. He played a major role in organizing the "People's Fedayee Guerrillas" group. From 1970, he became a professional revolutionary in the forefront of the people's vanguard Fedayee in order to perform his historical mission and by shedding his blood raise ever higher the banner of the revolution.

Comrade Pouyan, this determined and bold fighter, increased the revolutionary commitment of our comrades by his honest and active encounter with the problems of the movement. In spite of his short-lived life, he had a pronounced activity in the group. He played an active role in preparing, planning and attending military actions; politically summarizing those actions and organizing political-military teams. Finally, on May 23, 1971, he and Comrade Rahmatallah Payrou Naziri, were surrounded by several hundred armed mercenaries and with revolutionary zeal and burning anger they took such a courageous stand that even the mercenaries themselves were shaken. The enemy, by bringing such a large force to fight these two guerrillas, the people's true revolutionaries, proved its own weakness in the face of the power of the guerrilla's forces. The people who witnessed this unequal confrontation experienced the real power and bravery of the guerrillas and the enemy's deadly fear of this power from a close distance. They could easily see the enemy's mercenaries who, with all their power, were still shaking from fear and who did not dare to get near the house, hopelessly try to force the guerrillas to surrender and be taken alive. But such a false idea, one hour . . . two . . . three . . . many hours passed by. Yet the comrades continued fighting arduously. Those who observed this unequal battle were astonished by the bravery and sacrifice. Hearts beating, they asked themselves, "Who are they, these obstinate fighters? What will be the result of this battle? . . ." They saw how these fighters in the cause of the people's liberation continued to struggle with an enemy, armed to the teeth, until their last drop of blood, never surrendering.

It was thus, during this epic battle, that after having destroyed all important documents, the two comrades finally took their own lives to avoid capture by the enemy, all the while shouting "REVOLU-

TION WILL WIN! LONG LIVE COMMUNISM!" The glorious epic of their lives has left an eternal mark in the hearts of the people. We who were acquainted with them know how triumphant these moments that held the death message for the enemy were for them and the thoughts which crossed their minds. . . .

Indeed for a person whose heart is full of love for the people and hate for the enemy, what is more joyful than striking a blow with a revolutionary act against the enemy? In these moments, no doubt, our comrades saw the great future awaiting. With their clear vision they saw a future where the people will be liberated from their chains of captivity, where all forms of oppression and class exploitation and exploitation of men by men will be eliminated. For a true combatant what other sight could be more glorious and more exciting than this?

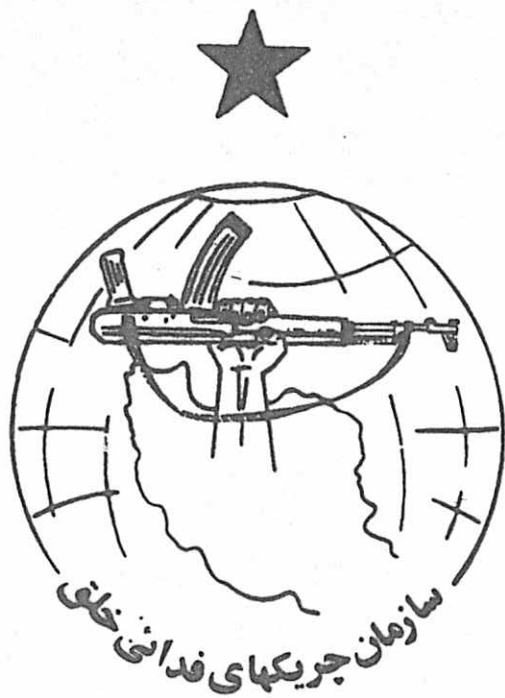
Comrade Pouyan believed that should we have a hundred lives, it is just to sacrifice those hundred lives because every day the masses give their lives a hundred times over.

Long live the memory of the true fighters for the liberation of the people:

Comrade Amir Parviz Pouyan

Comrade Rahmatallah Payrou Naziri

Peoples' Fedayee Guerrillas



*Emblem of the
Organization of Iranian People's Fedayee Guerrillas.*

On the Necessity of Armed Struggle & Refutation of the Theory of "Survival"

By Amir Parviz Pouyan*

The following article was written in the Spring of 1970; since then I have found no appropriate opportunity for its correction and development. Now this article is being published without any modifications or alterations, so that it can be corrected and developed in the future upon receiving the opinions of the comrades. It should not be considered complete. In my own opinion, its development is necessary.

In the three months since this article was written, we have frequently examined the policy of armed action and each time have naturally learned new things from our discussions. Therefore, it appears necessary for me to reflect in my article what we have learned, and to make alterations in my writing if it is so required.

The militant elements, especially the Marxists, are not at all in secure conditions. The police have mobilized all their forces and are trying night and day to discover the underground network of the struggle and to disclose the militants. The enemy does not hesitate in the least to use any suitable tactic or favorite methods to suppress the militants.

Following the defeat of the anti-imperialist struggle in Iran (1953) and re-establishment of the fascist rule of the imperialist agents, there has developed a state of terror and suppression in our country which has enabled the police to gain the collaboration of many of the cowardly, profiteering elements who have betrayed the people's interests.

* In translating this article particular care was taken so that the translation may reflect as closely as possible the original text.

Under the circumstances that the people's revolutionary intellectuals lack all types of direct and firm relations with their masses, our situation is not like the example of fish living in the sea of the people's support. Rather, it is the case of small and scattered fish being surrounded by crocodiles and herons. The terror and suppression, the absence of any democratic conditions, has made the establishment of relationships with our own people extremely difficult. Even to have the most indirect and consequently least fruitful contacts is far from easy. All the enemy's efforts are directed towards preserving this state of affairs. So long as we are without any relationship with our masses, it is easy to be discovered and suppressed. In order to be able to endure this situation, grow and create the political organization of the working class, we must break the spell of our weakness, we must establish a direct and firm relationship with the masses.

Let us examine the exact methods being used by the enemy to keep us away from the people. It has brought all the workers' and peasants' centers under its control. The military and non-military establishments control the commuting of the urban residents to and from the villages. It has obliged the peasantry of many areas to inform it of the entry of non-authorized urban residents to the villages.

In small and large factories there exists an office of the national Security and Information Organization (SAVAK) operating constantly. Employment of any workers or any office personnel is preceded by a full investigation of his past activities and connections. Even after employment the SAVAK, when possible, keeps the employee's every movement under full surveillance. Therefore, as difficult as it is for militants to gain entry into the factories, it is still more difficult for them to proceed with agitational and organizational work there.

The existing terror and suppression even make the use of secondary gathering centers of the workers and petty bourgeoisie, such as the tea houses, very difficult. In the cities, penetration among the workers is practically limited to accidental acquaintances, which are not always organizationally fruitful.

The process through which a worker is educated to become a disciplined revolutionary is a complex, arduous and lengthy one. Our experience shows that workers, even the younger ones, despite all their discontentments with the situation in which they live, do not exhibit much enthusiasm for political education. The reasons for this state of affairs lies in the total absence of any tangible political movement along with their lack of consciousness which has resulted, partially, in their acceptance of the dominant culture of the society.

The young workers, especially, waste their limited leisure time and scanty savings upon cheap petty bourgeois banalities. Most of them are tainted with lumpen idiosyncrasies. At work, if it is possible to utter a word, they try to make the working time seem shorter by resorting to vulgar conversations. The book readers among them are customers of the most decadent and filthy contemporary reactionary works. By preventing any mass political movement and by facilitating access to cheap entertainments, our enemy tries to accustom the workers to acceptance of the general characteristics of the petty bourgeoisie. Hence, by doing so, to spread among them the antidote to political consciousness.

The police create a state of fear and suppression in the factory more than anywhere else. All methods are used to keep the workers in a constant state of fear and apprehension. The large factories in particular have been turned into military barracks, where the "productive soldiers" are put to work. An army discipline is enforced so that there might be but the least waste of time or chance of contacts between the workers. Any tendency towards a strike or nonviolent demonstration of grievances is met with the most brutal reactions: detainment, long interrogations, expulsion, and at times torture. Each of these can have long-term negative effects on the future subsistence of the workers and would endanger his chance of being able to work or to be employed at other production establishments and often times results in his being replaced by one of the thousands in the reserve army of labour.

A worker who even before having had any record must confront innumerable difficulties merely to be able to sell his labour power, a worker who frequently must find an influential sponsor, or resort to the middlemen, or even to pay considerable amounts of money to obtain a job, would find it almost impossible to get employed after having a bad record. Thus, although reluctantly, he prefers to become a manageable sheep and remains indifferent to political problems in order to survive.

In factories, private or state owned, in any place which is a market for the sale of labour power, exploitation in its most shameless form is the order of the day. Workers are practically deprived of all sorts of social security, their labour power is bought only to the extent to which it is needed to proceed to a desired volume of production. They live in the eighteenth century, with the exception of having the privilege of the twentieth century police rule.

If we express the oppression being brought against them in words, they themselves feel this oppression with their flesh and blood. If we write about their sufferings, they themselves constantly experience

these sufferings. Nonetheless, they tolerate them, accept them with patience and, by taking refuge in petty bourgeois entertainments, try to ease the burden of this suffering. Why?

The various reasons can be summed up into one. They presume the power of their enemy to be absolute and their own inability to emancipate themselves as absolute. How can one think of emancipation while confronting absolute power with absolute weakness? It is precisely this assumption which is the reason, a negative reaction to their ability, for their indifference to political discussion, and even at times their ridicule of it.

A relationship with the proletariat, its goal being to draw this class into political struggle, cannot be established except by changing this assumption, by destroying these two absolutes in their minds. Thus, under existing circumstances, where there exists no democratic possibility for making contact with, giving political consciousness to, and organizing the proletariat, the proletarian intelligentsia must of necessity make contacts with the masses of its class through revolutionary power. The revolutionary power establishes a moral tie between the proletariat and the proletarian intellectuals and the continued exertion of this power shall lead to organizational ties.

Here we should pause for a moment and explain how this moral tie would come into being and how it would lead to organizational ties in its due course.

We have briefly discussed earlier the main means by which the enemy has chosen to keep us away from the proletariat, and the proletariat from us. We can sum up once more. We have seen that one of the main means is through terror and suppression which the workers and all the popular strata feel under the domination of the fascist police. The other means being the submission of the proletariat to a culture which the anti-revolutionaries try to imprint on their minds. There is, undoubtedly, a relationship between these two factors: fear from the police activities and submission to an anti-revolutionary culture. The proletariat submits to this culture because it is deprived of the material conditions for resistance against it. Rejection of this culture is possible only when the proletariat has begun the process of abolishing the bourgeois relations of production. In fact, it is only in the course of political struggle that the class selfconsciousness of the proletariat will find its greatest possibility to manifest and develop itself. The working class, so long as it considers itself devoid of all kinds of actual power to overthrow the rule of its enemy, cannot make any attempt in the direction of rejecting the dominant culture. It is after embarking to change the infra-structure that it employs the super-structural factors to assure

its victory. It would establish its own special moral and cultural outlooks and make them bloom, as the precursor of a new order, absolutely different from the old.

The absolute domination of the enemy, which finds its reflection in the minds of the workers as their absolute inability to change the established order, has the indirect effect of submission to the enemy's culture. Thus, terror and suppression, which are the crystallizations of the enemy's power, act as the cause for submission of the worker to the dominant culture. What here is an effect, immediately after its appearance turns itself into a new cause for the avoidance by the proletariat of the revolutionary struggle.

Therefore, in order to liberate the proletariat from the dominant culture, to cleanse its minds and life of petty bourgeois poisonous thoughts, to terminate its alienation from its special class outlook and equip it with ideological ammunition, it is necessary again to shatter its illusion that it is powerless to destroy the enemy.

The revolutionary power is used to deal with this matter. The application of this power, which in addition to its agitational nature is accompanied by distinct political agitation on a large scale, makes the proletariat conscious of a source of power which belongs to it. First it will find out that the enemy is conquerable, and it will see that the swift breeze that has just begun would leave no room for the absoluteness of the enemy's dominance. If this "absolute" is endangered in action, then the absolute can no longer survive in his thought. Therefore, it shall think of the power which has started its emancipation. Alienation from the vanguard will be replaced by the support which has materialized inside the proletariat toward it.

Now this revolutionary vanguard is merely distant from the proletariat but no longer alienated from it. The proletariat will think of the vanguard with passion not only because it sees that, for its sake, a small group has gone into battle with an enemy equipped with an extensive arsenal, but all the more so because it sees its own future directly aligned with the future of this small group.

The revolutionary power which is exercised by the proletarian vanguard is the reflection merely of a fraction of the power of the working class. Yet what is a swift breeze must turn into a devastating storm in order to make it possible to overthrow the established order. Thus, the incomplete reflection must be replaced with a complete reflection of its power. Hence, the exercise of revolutionary power plays a twofold role: on the one hand, it restores to the proletariat its class consciousness as a progressive class, and, on the other hand, it persuades it to play an active role in securing the victory of the struggle which has begun in order to secure its own future. This

course begins with passive support by the workers for the revolutionary struggle and, as it continues, will lead to its active support.¹

It is no longer sufficient to speak about the vanguard with enthusiasm and to wish it success wholeheartedly, but it is necessary to turn this "enthusiasm" into "cognition" and this "wish" into assuming a direct role in the struggle. Since the exertion of revolutionary power can, in its course, reach such a turning point, then it can also render the enemy's weapons ineffective. Neither terror nor suppression can hinder the march of the workers towards the source of their vanguard's power. Nor can bourgeois culture hold its previous dominance over their minds, serving as a super-structure for their flight from the struggle and submission to the established order. The spell breaks and the enemy looks like a defeated magician. What makes his defeat is precisely our victory in establishing a most intimate and direct relationship with the proletariat, which, in turning into an organizational tie, no longer confronts any hindrance from the workers themselves.

The unity of the proletarian vanguard, the Marxist-Leninist groups and organizations, could not but take such a road. Exertion of the revolutionary power would make the police domination more brutal but won't increase it. This domination cannot possibly increase, for today our enemy has mobilized all its forces to discover and suppress the militants. It only uncovers its real nature and would

1] As soon as the revolutionary power through its enforcement is turned into a living tangible reality, the masses, and especially the young workers, intellectuals and students, will demonstrate interesting initiatives in the struggle. We can't foresee the specific initiatives, but we can foresee their general picture by analysing the spirit which will blossom within the masses when the revolutionary power is exercised. People start with the simplest initiatives to express their dissatisfaction and aid the revolutionary power. Street walls will be covered with harsh slogans against existing conditions. Acts of petty sabotage in locations, establishments or whatever else belongs to the bourgeois, bureaucratic and comprador enemy, in general the rich, would expand the spectrum of initiatives. These acts of sabotage; as they continue, will especially endanger the very things that the enemy is extremely afraid of losing. Young workers, cleverly and without leaving any trace, begin to sabotage production. They wreck the machines, intentionally work carelessly or even steal the instruments of labour. These acts on the whole demonstrate the tendency of the masses to participate in the struggle and aid the revolutionary power. Each initiative is in itself an experience which prepares them for a greater act. In fact, the masses in this way increase their revolutionary capacity and experience and go one step forward in assuming a more essential role.

completely unmask its face revealing to the people its savagery which, so far, in the absence of any vehement revolutionary movement, it has deceptively disguised.

It is under these circumstances that the revolutionary forces, and at their forefront, the Marxist-Leninists, would come together in order to be able to endure the enemy's blows and survive. They would either have to join the enemy (i.e., by following a defeatist line practically to support the enemy), or they would have to join together. Remaining isolated is tantamount to annihilation. However, being drawn closer together and even joining together does not, as of yet, constitute unity.

The organizational unity of the organized Marxist-Leninists which creates the unitary political organization of the proletariat is realized during circumstances where the exertion of revolutionary power has, in the course of time, reached its climax. With each blow at the enemy, the absolute domination of the enemy in the minds of the revolutionary masses is demolished and this propels these masses a step towards participation in the struggle.

Thereafter it is the enemy who has to expose its face more clearly at each step in order to survive and suppress ever more swiftly and, consequently, more brutally its revolutionary enemies. The enemy increases its pressure on all the classes and strata under its domination by exerting counter-revolutionary violence against the militants. Thus, it intensifies the contradictions between these classes and itself, it propels the consciousness of the masses to leap forward. It insanely attacks everything like a wounded beast. It is suspicious of all but its allies, who are its sources of power and sustenance. Every small expression of dissatisfaction, every suspicious move, every word of discontent, is met with the worst reactions. It imprisons, tortures and shoots the people, yearning to restore the bygone security.

The methods it inevitably employs, however, would just as inevitably work against itself. It wants to prevent the masses from participation in a revolutionary movement, yet each moment pushes more of them toward that course of struggle. Thus it imposes the struggle on the people—seeing the continuation of its domination harder than before, it makes the people's tolerance of this domination more difficult than ever. The masses join the struggle, put their power at the disposal of their vanguard and vindicate the specific strategy of the revolutionary struggle with their active participation.

This strategy is the conclusion of the assessment of the degree of revolutionary determination of every dominated class. It necessitates the organizational unity of the Marxist-Leninist elements in order to

confirm the leadership of the proletariat, which undoubtedly is the most resistant and revolutionary class. The proletariat having joined the struggle and in order to make this struggle fruitful needs its own specific political organization. The proletarian vanguard is fed with the power of its class and the proletariat, in depending on its political organization, secures the necessary assurance for the fruitfulness of its power. Thus the Workers Party is born.

In constructing the party of the working class, the correctness of each policy is assessed according to the quality of the methods which it presents for the growing survival of Marxist-Leninist groups and organizations. The survival of these groups and organizations is important due to the fact that these are the actual components of a potential whole. Yet, if this "survival" lacks the character of growth, it fails to develop into a cohesive whole. Thus, every line that would aim at mere survival of the Marxist-Leninist groups and organizations and pays no revolutionary attention to their growth is an opportunist and defeatist line as well. Furthermore, we must demonstrate that the theory of "let us not take the offensive in order to survive," is in fact nothing else but saying "we should allow the police to destroy us in embryo without meeting any hindrance."

If defeatism is liquidationism then there remains no room for asking "why should we survive?" All the same, posing this question helps us recognize the opportunistic nature of the above mentioned theory. This theory of "refraining to take the offensive" means negating all kinds of constructive attempts to increase the possibilities of the revolutionary forces.

This theory wishes to keep the struggle within the limits of the extremely meager possibilities not controlled by the enemy such as simple gatherings of elements not remarkable in quantity, in fact hardly exceeding the number of one's fingers, and then occupying these elements with the study of Marxist and historical works along with the observance of secrecy. The sphere of activity of these elements to the furthestmost point is limited to totally passive and dispersed contacts with some people from each dominated class strata. Every element in these organizations continues his habitual life in this kind of activity and naturally no effort appears necessary to change it.

Notwithstanding, there is no doubt that this gathering has been formed on the basis of realizing the same goals of those of the active revolutionary group, paving the way for the formation of a communist party and mastering the revolutionary theory. Yet this organizational gathering which tries to secure its survival through taking a passive stand against the enemy necessarily has to have a

mechanical conception of the process of formation of a party and the mastering of revolutionary theory. It predicts that the party of the working class will be formed at "an appropriate moment" from the union between the Marxist-Leninist groups which have been able to save themselves from the enemy's blows. The revolutionary theory, too, is the product of the studies which these groups have been able to conduct on Marxism-Leninism, on the revolutionary experiences of other people, on the history of their country and on the passive and dispersed contacts they may have had with the people as the complementary condition. According to this theory, through a series of factors that are unexplainable to us, the historical determinism is to realize the formation of a party. Again the proletarian vanguard, which by now is united, is supposed to draw the masses into the struggle during "favorable conditions."

In this theory, "appropriate moment" and "favorable conditions" are metaphysical conceptions which, without explaining anything, are used to temporarily cover its obvious weaknesses. They are put to work in order to establish a link between the abstract interpretation and analysis of this theory and reality.

If this link is metaphysical, then undoubtedly this relationship will never be real and organic. It is also quite natural that a theory which is not derived from objective reality naturally cannot establish a proper link with the objective reality. The thesis, which to show its correctness and objectivity absolutely avoids going beyond its meager possibilities for existing, will in practice fall into an obvious subjectivism. Thinking of the future but lacking any means to reach it, it resorts to the metaphysics of "appropriate moment" and uses it as a bridge that can only be built in a non-dialectical mind. This theory, which by displaying itself in a formula desires to give itself an appearance of mathematical precision, will diverge, more than ever, from reality and from the dialectics of the revolution. It claims: study plus a minimum of organization, without any revolutionary striving for its growth plus the "appropriate moment" equals the working class party. And the party of the working class plus "favorable conditions" equals the revolution.

Undoubtedly, this formula cannot be correct as a solution for removing the present difficulties facing the revolutionary forces in the course of organizing the proletariat and the revolutionary masses. The "appropriate moment" and the "favorable conditions" will not materialize unless the revolutionary elements in every moment of their struggle meet the historical necessities properly. Then, what does this formula serve? It serves the opportunism

which justifies its paralyzing fear of the enemy by presuming that its disintegration is impossible and its domination indestructable. It limits its revolutionary tasks to a point which avoids any engagement with the police. It devolves the development of the struggle to a metaphysical, and consequently, imaginary determinism. Thus, we see that the grouping which originally had the aim of striving to construct the party of the working class, by taking an opportunist line, gets each moment closer to burying its goal, sacrifices these goals in practice in order to save itself. "Let us not take the offensive in order to survive," reveals itself in practice as "let us dismiss all revolutionary endeavors to construct the communist party in order to survive."

Nevertheless, the dialectic of the revolutionary struggle which finds its first great manifestation in the process of the genesis of a proletarian party, not only will not furnish this enthusiasm to survive but will give it the saddest of answers by imposing upon it an untimely death. It is at this same point that we clearly find out what was defeatist is liquidationist as well. It is no longer a debate over the fact that the policy aimed at "survival" has, because of its opportunistic attachments to this aim, lost the ability to grow, rather, the discussion is about the fact that such a line, in practice, would negate what it had devoutly set its aim at. This line, in the practice of struggle, will run into a dead-end and will have no way out except by choosing one of two exits: either to adopt an active and revolutionary stand against the enemy and thus save itself; or to turn renegade and look for affection from the police to secure its survival.

The enemy has specific criteria for its behaviour. It says, "come to terms with me in order to survive, accept my rule in order to save yourselves from my deadly blows." Any focus of activity which does not accept this call for unconditional surrender, whatever its field of activity, is considered a focal point of danger and, if it could not impose its survival on the enemy, it has nothing to do other than await the devastating attack by the enemy. There is nothing more rejoicing to the enemy than to have us as harmless victims. It shoots anyone remaining at the barricades. One either has to answer each blow with a blow in return or has to come out of the barricade holding a white flag. There is no death more precocious than dying at the barricades without shooting.

But it appears that not all of the pillars of the theory of "survival" are yet demolished because this theory assumes, as the condition for its soundness, the addition of the principle of secrecy to the principle of "refraining from the offensive." It argues that not only must we

refrain from taking the offensive but we must conceal each of our moves from the enemy's eyes and, naturally, the enemy not knowing us, thus cannot strike us.

If we asked what can guarantee the success of secrecy perhaps we will hear the answer that happens to be the most correct one—fully knowing the elements called into cooperation and continually striving to give them organizational training. The acceptance of this answer as a necessary condition for the preservation of an underground network is irrefutable. What can be refuted is the sufficiency of this condition. There is no need to refer to any historical experience to prove that this condition is insufficient. It is only necessary to take a look at our own present conditions. Our own short term experiences demonstrate that any kind of over-dependency upon the organizational efficiency of any one comrade is a mistake. In fact, none of us, no matter how careful and sincere, can go on without making mistakes in this area. What can guarantee one hundred percent flawlessness is absolute inactivity. When we take action, study Marxism, try to promulgate it, and enjoy some sort of contact (no matter how limited) with others, it is possible to make mistakes. Not only our own mistakes endanger us, but also the mistakes of others open us to a perpetual front of vulnerability.

In the course of action we inevitably come into contact with elements and circles who are practically careless in guarding themselves and others. At the beginning it is neither possible to recognize them, nor is it possible to educate them. I find it unnecessary to back up this reasoning with some tested examples, because I am sure that each militant comrade can enumerate many examples concerning this issue. In general it should be said that danger can always come from any one individual and that putting trust on individuals and their training, no matter how successful, cannot eliminate the dangers completely. However, the problem is that the danger does not end at the level of the individual. It begins with the individual and threatens the entire organization. We should think of how to free the organization from this danger.

Thought should be given as to what can open a defense umbrella over the entire organization, so that mistakes by the individual (what one should always expect) would not destroy the organization. One should find out what must be combined with the principle of secrecy (that necessary but insufficient condition) so that together they can provide the conditions for our growing survival. Secrecy is a method of defense but, by itself, it is a passive method and remains that way as long as it is not supplemented with fire power.

Thus, it is natural to emphasize that secrecy, without being

accompanied by revolutionary power, is a non-active and insecure defense. If secrecy and revolutionary power together must be the condition for our survival, it is unavoidable to refute the fundamental principle of the theory of "survival," i.e., the principle of "refraining to take the offensive." Hence, the thesis of "let us not take the offensive in order to survive" will necessarily be replaced with the policy of "we must take the offensive in order to survive."