



‘The basis of socialism is the human being... Socialism is the movement to restore human being’s conscious will.’

- Mansoor Hekmat

The great Marxist thinker and leader of the Worker-communist Party and worker-communist movement, 1951-2002



Question: It might be argued that the Iraqi regime, like the Taliban regime, is corrupt, dictatorial and fascist and that its downfall is the desire of all decent people. Why couldn't one be pleased, then, at the USA attack on Iraq and see a positive side to this war, like the war with the Taliban?

On the USA Attack on Iraq, Part II

Interview with **Koorosh Modaresi** on the USA's New Global Strategy

Koorosh Modaresi: Certainly, the downfall of the Iraqi regime is the desire of all decent people. The Worker-communist Party of Iran (WPI) alongside the Worker Communist Party of Iraq has struggled against the Iraqi regime; this battle continues. However, the issue at hand in this attack is not the overthrow of the Iraqi regime; this is the USA's formula on the issue. Saddam Hussein's regime can also be

overthrown by dropping a nuclear bomb on Baghdad; must we see a positive side to it? The USA was striving to establish its supremacy in the war on Afghanistan too but the issue at hand there was the overthrow of the rule of political Islam, which with limited casualties and destruction, could guarantee the coming to power of a regime that was nonetheless better. The outcome of the Taliban's defeat was not the

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The Gory Dawn of the New World Order, Part II

Mansoor Hekmat

Given the importance and relevancy of Mansoor Hekmat's article on the New World Order, WPI Briefing reprints the second and final part of this article first published in 1991.

The Linkage

In the opposite trenches we find not Iraq, as a country or a political regime, but Arab nationalism as a regional force - another contestant in the struggle for shaping the

New Order. This is not the old populist, anti-colonial Arab nationalism, but the banner of the post-OPEC Arab bourgeoisie. It derives its militancy not from the desperation of the Arab poor or the plight of the Palestinian people, but from the material possibilities opened to Arab bourgeois states to improve their standing in the regional and international power structure and the world economy. For long these aspirations were thwarted by the old East-West confrontation and balance. Western influence in the Middle East rested on Israel and Iran as pillars of the

policy of containment of the Soviet Union. Even pro-West Arab countries, Jordan, Saudi Arabia and later Egypt, found themselves unable to affect the same level of economic and political integration with the West that was enjoyed by Israel and Iran under the Shah and was essential for capitalist development and technological advance. Moreover, long before its eventual collapse, it had already become evident that the Eastern bloc could not offer any framework for economic growth in the countries within its sphere of influence. But Arab states, with a total population 50 times

that of Israel and vast economic resources, oil and labour, could not find a correspondingly strong voice in the world economy and international politics, as long as broader global considerations tied the West to Israel.

And here is the undeniable linkage - whether or not Arab statesmen care an iota about the plight of the Palestinian people (which they generally don't), the Palestinian question has become an index of USA's and the West's attitude toward the Arab world. Israel and the

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USA's triumph as the uni-power of the world, whatever the USA's formula for that war. The result of that victory in Afghanistan from the viewpoint of the world's people was the defeat of political Islam and the triumph of some form of civilisation over Islamic barbarity. In fact, it is for this very reason that the USA has returned to the issue of Saddam. The Afghanistan war did not and could not, because of the nature of the issue, establish the position and law of the jungle the USA wanted. On this occasion though, the outcome of the USA war on Iraq will not be the overthrow of Saddam, but rather the establishment of the USA's domination on the world. This phenomenon will be worse for humanity and the people of Iraq than the Iraqi Ba'ath regime. I think that one must move beyond the formula the USA presents to the world with the aid of lackey journalism and declare that the issue at hand is something else. The USA's attack on Iraq is to establish the USA's supremacy. If there was a civilised and human regime engaged in overthrowing Saddam, then the question would have been fundamentally different. As I said before, we should not accept the account they have placed before us at face value. The issue is something else. It is not the case that we must overthrow Saddam at the expense of devastating the lives of the people of the region, world, including the people of Iraq.

Question: What factors can stop the USA attack on

Iraq and what is to be done? What is the WPI's position on the 'anti-war movement', which is taking shape and the groups involved in it? Will the WPI take part in this movement?

Koorosh Modaresi: The actualisation of the USA attack on Iraq depends on various factors, including establishing strategic and logistical facilities in the region and neutralising European countries to accept the USA's new role. One significant and fundamental factor, however, is the protests which can and must be organised internationally against USA militarism. If the USA and Western states face the surge of people's protests, then they will be forced to retreat; consequently, we will strive to constitute a significant pillar of the anti-war movement. In reality, however, this movement attracts various groups to it. As I said before, the outcome of the USA's militaristic policy will be to strengthen political Islam and nationalism. In the process of the shaping of the anti-war movement, this means that these groups will try to present themselves as the representatives and voices of the interests of the people of Iraq and the region, turn their own slogans and perspectives into the perspectives and slogans of the movement's participants and also draw legitimisation from this movement. We must not allow this to happen. This movement must be the movement of the civilised world and humanity against USA barbarity. Its demands must

not have any sympathy with Islamists and nationalists. We must enlighten, mobilise, gather sympathy and turn humanity into the banner of this protest. This is a complex struggle but in reality the civilised world and humanity is with us, particularly after September 11. We must use this opportunity. We must utilize this movement as the basis of the emergence of humanity's movement against USA militarism.

Question: What are the main slogans in the context of the activities of the Worker-communist Party of Iran against the probable USA attack on Iraq and what is the WPI position, in particular, on the slogan of 'Neither Bush, Nor Saddam'?

Koorosh Modaresi: Undoubtedly, one slogan cannot capture all this analysis and reality. More than focusing on one slogan, attention must be paid to declarations, resolutions, debating the issue in one's locality and the process of the formation of this movement. As far as the 'Neither Bush, Nor Saddam' slogan is concerned, I think that this slogan accepts part of the USA's account. Clearly, the slogan's elements are not only fine but they express the desires of any decent person. In the current situation, however, placing the two together implies that there is a war between Saddam and the USA and we are saying 'no' to both of them. This is not the case. As I have said, there is no war but an unjustified USA attack on Iraq. The is-

sue at hand is the USA not Iraq and not Iraq plus the USA. If our movement fails to be clearly against USA militarism and begins from a defensive position, it will not succeed. If someone asks my position on Saddam, my reply will be that the issue at hand is not Saddam. I will not accept this deception. You cannot paint a frog in the colour of a canary and then debate the principles of conduct towards canaries with me. The situation is exactly like the Gulf War. Then, too, we did not accept that the issue at hand was Kuwait and its independence.

Question: In the event of a USA attack on Iraq and the presence of USA forces in the region, the region's political geography will be altered and will affect the political situation in Iran as well as the political forces in opposition. What is your analysis of this change in the region and Iran?

Koorosh Modaresi: If the USA attacks and succeeds, then it will become a country residing in the region. Today, if the USA wants to use military force against anyone in the region it must first seek the agreement of several countries, sheikhdoms and emirates. By having a permanent base in an Iraq it has seized, the USA will be placed in a more established position, allowing it to do anything it wants. This is not a bright future. Neither we nor the people of Iran want to go to war with the USA. However, the USA has shown, and today with its 'Pre-

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emptive Strikes' policy has declared, that if the people of Iran, Saudi Arabia or any other place in the region decide to adopt a policy which is not to the liking of the USA or if any state in any of these countries comes to power that might, by its economic development, limit USA influence, the USA will simply occupy their oil producing regions or devastate the en-

tire country by using its permanent military base. With this policy, the USA is turning the Gulf region into its own backyard. If we have learnt lessons from the past and present, this is a gloomy future for the region. The USA will become the cause of instability and the growth of reactionary groups in the region in the same way that Sharon was the cause of the

growth of Hamas in Palestine.

Politically, the presence of the USA next to Iran is not beneficial for the Islamic Republic and will strengthen groups supportive of the USA. As I said regarding Iraq, we are not for 'weakening' the Islamic by at the expense of the people's devastation. One can overthrow

the Islamic regime by dropping an atomic bomb on Tehran. This USA policy will bring nothing but devastation for the people.

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Palestinian question stand in the way of full economic and political integration of the Arab world with the West. Arabs want to be with the West 'not as slaves, but as partners', says Arafat. Egypt attempted to achieve this objective by distancing itself from the Pan-Arabic cause and attempting a separate accommodation with Israel. The strategy failed. Militant nationalism hopes to achieve the same objective by show of strength. It is fighting the West in order to join it on more favourable terms. The initial occupation of Kuwait was a straightforward military act on the part of Iraq for its own national interests. For Iraq the best scenario would have been a quiet annexation without immediate regional repercussions. But once this was forcefully resisted by the West, exactly because of its real linkage with the future of Israel, and once a US military intervention against an Arab state became imminent, the aborted Iraqi act was embraced by militant Arab nationalism as a contribution to the broader regional cause.

It is not difficult to see why

for Arab nationalism the field of action appears to have widened and why even a destructive war may still count as a political advance. The collapse of the Soviet bloc has undermined the strategic significance of Israel for the West. Sooner, rather than later, the economic and demographic realities in the region are bound to impose themselves on Western policy. The old political geography of the world is bound to be revised, as is already evident from developments in Europe, the Soviet Union, Yemen and Korea. Moreover, the international division of power between bourgeois states must be revised to take account of the new economic and political poles that have emerged outside the boundaries of the advanced capitalist zones as a result of post-war technological advance and internationalization of capital. The rigid balance imposed and maintained by the old East-West polarization has broken down. Emerging regional forces can hope to influence their destiny through resolute action.

Some of the objectives of militant Arab nationalism have already been realized. Whatever the military outcome of the war, a dramatic change in the region to the detriment of Israel is already in progress. Improvements in US-Israeli relations, symbolized by the delivery of cash and missiles to Israel, will prove hard to sustain. The end of the war will also intensify Western, or at any rate European, pressures on Israel. Arab nationalism has already managed to force upon the West a recognition of the economic and political weight of the Arab world. Already the West has committed itself to far greater concessions on the Palestinian issue than it ever had. There have also been fringe benefits. In the Arab world, nationalism has regained the initiative from Pan-Islamism. Islam has been forced back to its secondary role in Arab politics, as a tool for mass mobilization for the essentially nationalist political action. Even in Iran, the recent conflict has helped to seal the fate of the Pan-Islamic Hezbollah faction. For Iraq, its mere survival,

after having put up a respectable military resistance, would be a political, and in the long term even military, victory. US occupation of Iraq or long term American military presence in the region will definitely backfire and turn the current war into a second Vietnam for the USA, a development which is likely to lead to a split within the new Western alliance and the isolation of US from Continental Europe. Short of this, however, the position of Iraq as a leading state in the Arab world will be consolidated after the war.

The War must be Stopped

This war must be stopped first and foremost for the barbarity that it represents. It has already claimed thousands of innocent victims. The whole idea of 'surgical' bombing is a myth. A whole country is bombed to the ground. Adults and children are killed by bombs and missiles and die of lack of water, electricity, medicine and sanitation. The horrors

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of this war for innocent Iraqi civilians cannot be hushed up by the Western media for long. When the facts emerge, as is gradually happening, the whole humanity will be put to shame.

This war must be stopped for the political, cultural and moral retrogression it imposes on the world as a whole. The signs are already here. Superpower military interventionism, colonial

mentality, national chauvinism, racism, patriotism, religious prejudice, terrorism, and lackey journalism are some of the dark forces already unleashed by this war on both sides of the conflict. These are the real features of the so-called New World Order that is in the making.

From Worker Today No.10, February 1991.

Mansoor Hekmat's Works in English

The Mansoor Hekmat Foundation has published Mansoor Hekmat's 'Selected Works' in July 2002. The 420-paged book can be ordered by contacting the Foundation (www.m-hekmat.com). These works can also be viewed on www.wpiran.org/English:

* The Experience of Workers' Revolution in the Soviet Union, Outline of a Socialist Critique, December 1986; * Left Nationalism and Working Class Communism, A Review of the Iranian Experience, 1987; * The International Situation and State of Communism, December 1988; * Our Differences, Interview with Mansoor Hekmat about Worker-communism, 1989; * Developments in Eastern Europe and Prospects for Worker-socialism, May 1990; * The Gory Dawn of the New World Order, US war in the Middle East, February 1991; * Challenges that Communism Faces Today, September 1991; * End of the Cold War and Prospects for Worker-socialism, Radio KPFK's Interview with Mansoor Hekmat, October 1991; * Marxism and the World Today, Interview with Mansoor Hekmat, February 1992; * Fundamental Characteristics of the Worker-communist Party, May 1992; * A Better World, Programme of the Worker-communist Party, Adopted by the First Congress of the Worker-communist Party of Iran, July 1994; * Mujahedeen's Forbidden Dreams, Why a Mujahedeen Government stands no chance of Coming to Power, September 1994; * The History of the Undefeated, A few words in commemoration of the 1979 Revolution, 1995; * Federalism is a Reactionary Slogan, Interview with Mansoor Hekmat, June 1996; * Islam, Children's Rights, and the Hijab-gate of Rah-e-Kargar, In Defence of the Prohibition of the Islamic Veil for Children, June 1997; * Islam is Part of the Lumpenism in Society, Interview with Mansoor Hekmat, June 13, 1999; * Iran will be the Scene of a Mass Anti-Islamic Offensive, Interview with Mansoor Hekmat, June 13, 1999; * June 20, 1981, Interview with Mansoor Hekmat, June 23, 2000; * Capital Punishment: The most Deplorable form of Deliberate Murder, Interview with Mansoor Hekmat, Fall 2000; * The Obvious Lessons of Berlin, Interview with Mansoor Hekmat, January 19, 2001; * The Rise and Fall of Political Islam, Winter 2001; * Ending Terrorism is our Task, September 2002; * The World After September 11, 12 October - 26 November 2001; * Ending Terrorism is our Task, September 14, 2001.

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