

10/17/84

Dear Mike -

Upon rereading your proposal then  
for the book, I decided that the way I can  
be concrete in my suggestions in a way that  
would really in comprehensiveness - M-H view  
is after you have done some detailed  
research on any single context.

At this point I can only  
point to very broad historic points or  
awareness of traps. Thus:

① To mention  
2 such widely different, indeed totally  
opposite Congresses like 9th CG & 12th CG  
as of "Int-ism" - Sultan Zadeh characterizing  
both as - strong justice & principles

The relationship between  
them is what has to be shown. 1970  
was when Lenin was alive a new thematic  
point of departure = "if not Berlin perhaps  
Paris" characterized attitude to nat. rev.

② The 6th, on the contrary, was when  
Stalin won all, it was expelled  
"nat. rev." meant each was subordinate  
to "pr. in our country."

③ To look for  
int-parallel in such other sharp divergence  
as Luxemburg & Sultan Zadeh is wrong.  
The point of difference is it was on Marxist  
and materialism, this he was good on Islamic  
Culture while Zadeh was a Marxist  
even if the 4th Ray were both revisionism  
& both claimed Leninism - no, they were not  
It didn't make it easy to see so he, it  
sure, had claimed that was independence - just

of "diplomatic" reasons - mainly to  
get action started.

In a word, don't look  
for points of affinity = as Hegel  
had shown with methodology it

is not point of identity (Marx called

it bourgeois) but points of division

that set one historic point against

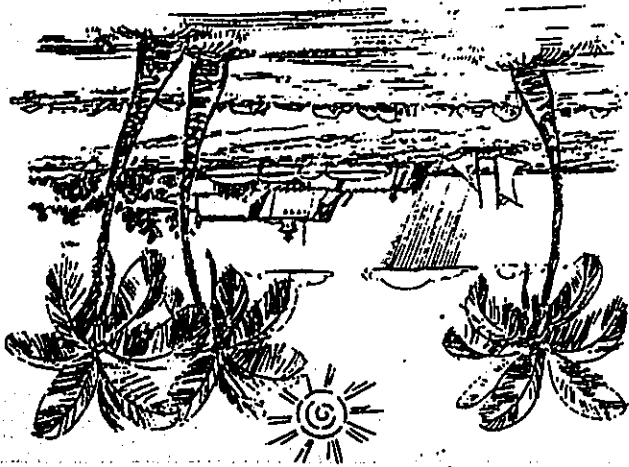
Let's therefore wait for  
a letter from you to meet on your  
new address.

Yours  
Ray

not wish to leave it as just  
So let other nations like  
Gibson + Edward Abraham's  
of "Kardians" impression should not be  
left that they, more in less  
prevalent. Their's necessities but  
Wendell's philosophy as a  
Nobis one should stand out  
otherwise your career  
philosophy will cover abstract - not  
that is almost the fill in

Dear Ned -  
Thanks for letting me read  
your prospectus at Upl + know of what  
you plan to develop in Chicago. So  
impressed me + I do very much wish  
to suggest some suggestion +  
expectations for future work. Unfortunately  
I probably had not here any free  
time to do it seriously.  
As a sort of introduction  
to my thoughts + I'm sure you to

ENTRADA TO HARBOUR, SAN JUAN, PUERTO RICO  
ENTRADA A LA BAHIA, SAN JUAN, PUERTO RICO



And of course the <sup>3</sup>Todaynews always is  
present, which make me to your <sup>2</sup>or  
Sultan Zake's relevance to this time  
"This one relevant to our day both  
in the rd. advanced lands + technological  
underdeveloped ones and the whole question  
of the peasantry as a revolutionary force."  
Research + very much needed original  
text -  
Your work is serious  
purs. Rex  
Your choice of Phil. Action Comm. is good +  
of course should do hard work.

16895

Raya

August, 23, 84

Dear Raya:

Also as you will notice, my work begins with 1905. I have been doing readings in the past year on specifically the impact of 1905 on the East. Most recently with the discussion you have opened up in the Perspective on the Second Congress of CI, and 1925-27, how the Communist leadership did not understand the significance of 1905, thus was unable to - have prepared the ground philosophically for 1925-27, and how we were able to draw lessons from 1905 in 1979 has really preoccupied me. Especially this being the 80th anniversary of 1905, and the 60th of that 1925-27 Revolution. We are devoting much attention this year to 1905 in E&A, and I would like to know what you do think about an essay on 1905 that would expand your formulations in the Perspective, - also as it relates to 1907 Congress.

In a recent letter I wrote to Pilar, I did a very rough interpretation of what I thought you were trying to discuss in the Perspective, which I am enclosing.

Thank you for your attention, especially for the meeting today which I hope could become the basis for a new WL committee. "A Philosophic Action committee" in Chicago

Yours,  
*Neda*  
Neda

16896

PROSPECTUS

Title:

The Writings of Ahmad Sultan-Zadeh

Abstract:

This thesis will analyze the available writings of Ahmad Sultan-Zadeh (originally known as Avtis Mikaelian) during the years 1920-30.

Sultan Zadeh, an Iranian/Armenian, who may be considered as the first Iranian Marxist theoretician, was active in the revolutionary movements both in Russia and Iran, from the period preceeding the Russian Revolution of 1917 until the mid 1930s. In the late 1930s, while in exile in the Soviet Union, he was first arrested and later killed along with a number of other Iranian intellectuals during the Stalin Purges of 1937-38.

Sultan Zadeh was a leader of the Adalat Party in Turkestan, and in June 1920 became a founding member of the Iranian Communist Party (ICP). As a representative of the ICP he participated in the Second Congress of the Communist International and the Baku Congress during the summer of 1920. In the late 1920s he became the editor of two Iranian exile

Journals, Setare Sorkh and Peypar, which were published for a few years in Germany.

The writings of Sultan Zadeh, which are thus far available to us, include more than 20 essays and pamphlets, as well as a book entitled Contemporary Iran. These works range from social class analysis of Iranian society, including its historical economic development, the impact of Islam, the question of land in this predominantly agricultural society, to studies on international politics, including oil in the Middle East and militarism in Europe.

Present State of Research and  
Justification of Suggested Research

Until the last decade there had been little written about Sultan Zadeh, and many of his writings were either unknown or unpublicized. Modern Iranian historians such as Adamiyat, Kasravi, Ra'in and Malik, as well as many of the publications of the Iranian Tudeh Party, have tended to focus on the activities of Heydar Khan Amogli, a contemporary of Sultan Zadeh who had been opposing Sultan Zadeh's theoretic formulations. Several biographies of the life and ideas of Heydar Khan, therefore, exist in Persian as, for example, Summation of Revolution, Heydar Khan Amogli by Reza Azdeh Malik, and Heydar Khan Amogli by Isam'il Ra'in. Heydar Khan was thus viewed as the original theoretician of the first Iranian Communist Party in 1920.

Works written in English on the same period of Iranian history, have tended to follow the attitudes of writers in Iran on Sultan Zadeh. The most prominent of these works have included The Communist Movement in Iran by Sepehr Zabih, 1966, and most recently, Between Two Revolutions by Ervand Abrahamian, 1982.

Writers on the history of the Communist International (Comintern) however, such as George Lenczowski, Russia and the West in Iran, Ivar Spector, The Soviet Union and the Muslim World 1917-58, Edin and North, Soviet Russia and the East, have paid particular attention to the role of Sultan Zadeh during the Second and Sixth Congresses of the Comintern.

Nearly a decade ago, Khosrow Shakeri, an Iranian Historian in France published his Historical Documents of the Workers, Social Democratic and Communist Movement of Iran.

These documents, which have now grown to 18 volumes, include much new information on Sultan Zadeh, and present, for the first time, a collection of Sultan Zadeh's writings in Persian.

These works demonstrate that Sultan Zadeh, in addition to being an activist, was an original theoretician who was analyzing many of the issues of his time that are relevant

to our day both on the rel. of advanced & technologically underdeveloped lands, and the whole <sup>present</sup> question ~~can~~ <sup>is</sup> ~~any~~ <sup>now</sup> ~~of~~ <sup>now</sup>.



### Demonstration

Even a preliminary study of the works of Sultan Zadeh reveals that one is dealing with a major thinker/political activist of modern Iranian history. Of particular relevance, both for the Iranian Society of that period and for the problematic of revolutionary movements in non-industrially developed lands, are the studies Sultan Zadeh made in the four following areas:

1. Social revolution in the East as distinguished from the West including the issue of peasant Soviets;
2. The relationship between the Soviet Union and the nationalist as well as Communist movements of the region in the early 1920s;
3. The status and activity of women in the Iranian society; and
4. Points of divergence between the Bolshevik leaders and Iranian intellectuals, particularly during the Sixth Congress of the Comintern.

The purposeful neglect of Sultan Zadeh, becomes more revealing when we compare the studies done on Sultan Zadeh with those carried out on one of his contemporaries in Latin America, Jose Carlos Mariáteque. Mariáteque was a founder of the Peruvian Communist Party in the early 1920s and he held very similar views to those held by Sultan Zadeh, particularly on the issue of social revolution in the underdeveloped lands and the issue of peasant Soviets. However, while numerous

dissertations and biographies exist on Mariateque, the research on Sultan Zadeh, particularly in English, has been very nominal.

Finally, the writings of Sultan Zadeh, can be seen in the context of the writings of Marx on the question of revolutions in underdeveloped lands. Of particular importance are Marx's writings in the last decade of his life, which have become available since the 1970s and are today the subject of much academic discussion.

### Outline of Major Chapters

The following is a tentative outline for the major chapters of the dissertation:

- I. The Iranian Adalat Party in Moslem Russia, its activities during the Russian Revolution of 1917 and the role of Sultan Zadeh in the Turkestan branch of the Adalat Party. A look at the two way road of ideas between Iran and Moslem Russia in the early 20th century.
- II. Formation of the Iranian Communist Party in Anzali -- the confrontation between Sultan Zadeh and Heydar Khan supporters and the ICP program.
- III. The Gilan Republic in Northern Iran, ideological disagreements between the leadership of the Gilan Republic and ICP.
- IV. The Second Congress of the Communist International, the relationship of Soviet Union to nationalist and communist movements in the East and views held by Sultan Zadeh, Roy and Lenin on the question. A look at the Baku conference and the subsequent fall of Sultan Zadeh from leadership of ICP.
- V. Interregnum -- writings of Sultan Zadeh during the post Reza Shah Coup. Sultan Zadeh's search for new revolutionary forces, the issue of women in the Iranian society and the question of national minorities.
- VI. The Second Congress of the ICP in 1927, and the Sixth Congress of the Comintern in 1928 -- challenges to Hilferding and Bukharin.
- VII. Sultan Zadeh as revolutionary journalist -- writings in Peykar and Setare Sorkh.
- VIII. The relationship between Sultan Zadeh's writings on social revolution in the East and Marx's writings on the same question, particularly the writings of the last decade of Marx.

Olga

Picture of Artiz Mikaelian (I think that's how you spell it also known as Sultanzadeh)



خبر رقیق آونیس ( سلطانزاده ) میکائیلیان نقاشی شده  
1 روزی عکس روی کتبی از رهبران سابق حزب کمونیست فرانسه  
گرفته و خموشی خود بها سپرده است. ( 1921 )

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Народный комиссариат по делам национальностей.  
Всероссийская Научная Ассоциация Востоковедения  
Серия политико-экономическая, под редакцией М. Пляшечки.

کتابخانه‌های علمی و تحقیقاتی  
سیاسی و اقتصادی - دیپلماتیک  
پایه اول  
آ. سلطان زاده  
A. Sultan Zade.

# СОВРЕМЕННАЯ ПЕРСИЯ.

ایران معاصر



Mosco 1922  
مسکو ۱۹۲۲

ترجمه از دوری بنفاری  
Translation from Persian to Russian

МОСКВА

16904

## ЛИТЕРАТУРА.

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Мы здесь привели только тех авторов и те книги, которые трактуют вопросы, затронутые в настоящей брошюре. Пренебрежения же исторического или религиозно-философского характера мы оставили в стороне.