



**Mojahed Brother Mas'ud Rajavi**

**in charge of**

**National Council of Resistance**

**announces**

***Platform of the Provisional Government  
of the Democratic Islamic Republic of Iran***

**PLATFORM**  
*of*  
**the Provisional Government**  
*of*  
**the Democratic**  
**Islamic Republic**  
*of Iran*

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IN THE NAME OF GOD, THE MERCIFUL AND COMPASSIONATE

Compatriots, national, progressive, revolutionary, popular, Islamic dignitaries and forces:

I hereby present the appendant platform of the Democratic Islamic Republic of Iran. This platform is acceptable to all the members of the National Council of Resistance for the independence and freedom of the Democratic Islamic Republic of Iran. Joining the council is subject to its acceptance. The necessity for remittance arises from the fact that due to possible lack of elucidation and deficiency of sufficient explanations on my behalf, the Covenant for the National Council of Resistance (written by Bani Sadr) which, in essence, should be called the Covenant for founding and installing this council, has been by some, assumed same-featured with the platform. This miscomprehension has posed questions. We had repeatedly emphasized that the articles of the Covenant were merely necessary "minimums" for joining the council and thereafter any fair demand would be debatable, examinable and approvable, in the same way that during the first week of our arrival in Paris, issues of stellar significance such as the abolition of the constitution of Khomeini, and the internal autonomy of Kurds were officially approved and publicly announced.

Furthermore at the end of the Covenant the necessity of a comprehensive program for the materialization of thorough going independence has been stressed. Meanwhile it should be borne in mind that the Covenant was written under emergent circumstances during our last days of stay in Tehran. Where as Bani Sadr's program has been published in the Manifesto of the Islamic Republic of Iran, the Covenant deliberately bespeaks of Khomeini's breach of promise and contravention of his words regarding the rights and freedom of the people. I wish to criticize myself and apologize for the personal inattention in presenting the platform promptly. Expressing my gratitude to the criticisms and notifications made, I publicize "The Supplements" which dwell on inspirations derived from the struggling and progressive forces. Inadequacies and insufficiencies of the plat-

form are at the discretion of the council, subject to examination and rectification.

THE ROARING STREAM OF MARTYRS' BLOOD IS  
THE SURETY FOR THE VICTORY OF OUR PEOPLE

MASOUD RAJAVI

In charge of  
the National Council of Resistance  
striving to gain independence and  
freedom for the Democratic Islamic  
Republic of Iran

مسعود رجوی

September 29, 1981

Certified by President Bani Sadr

September 29, 1981

Transitional stage and major tasks of the transitional period:

1. The Democratic Islamic Republic of Iran is a provisional government in charge of the transition of sovereignty to the people of Iran, and the establishment of a novel national and popular regime.
2. The provisional government's overall legitimacy lies in the just resistance of the people of Iran against the reactionary regime of Khomeini, and the blood of the most valiant Mojaheds and combatants of Iran shed for their opposition against dictatorship and dependency.
3. After Khomeini's regime is robbed of its "sovereignty" which has usurped the most essential and vital legitimate rights of the Iranian people, the provisional government to determine the new legal system and compile its constitution; will call, through free suffrage (with sufficient supervision and guarantees) for the constituent assembly.
4. Considering that the success of the constituent assembly heralds the emancipation and independence of Iran, the assembly must be devoid of the remnants of Imperialism and reaction, and all those forces and parties who have acknowledged their pledge of allegiance to them. The competence of the candidates will be investigated on these criteria before the elections. How this is to be carried out, will be specified later. But such investigations will be executed with complete impartiality, and if necessary by competent courts.
5. All authorities, responsibilities and institutions of the transitional period are temporary, and by the time the new authorities, responsibilities, and institutions are installed, will become null and void.
6. The final source of decision making, throughout the transitional phase is the National Council (resistance) for the independence and freedom of the Democratic Islamic Republic of Iran. The decisions made are based on its constitution.

7. Dr. Beni Sadr is the head of state and the republic until the new elections of presidency. He is not affiliated with any group, party, or political organization. Accordingly any "party formation" under his name is forbidden.
8. My responsibility (Rajavi) whether in charge of the council and its official speaker or as the organizer of the provisional government of the Democratic Islamic Republic of Iran is solely temporary.

## Chp. II

Phases of the provisional government's programs

Explanation: In addition to the fundamental tasks of the transitional period, since the administration and execution of the current affairs of the country is highly significant in its own turn; it behooves the Democratic Islamic Republic of Iran to describe succinctly in advance its political viewpoints in conducting the various affairs of the country.

The following viewpoints, therefore compose the most basic lines of the provisional government's policies. After expressing the viewpoints, the phases of the platform will be set forth.

1. Legitimate national resistance and provision of the popular sovereignty (to recognize the rights of the people in decision making and self-determination)

As it is universally known to the people of Iran and the world, Khomeini before coming to power, guaranteed the national and popular sovereignty, and promised openly that the votes and democratic rights of all individuals, layers, minorities, and nationalities would be unimpeachable. He also promised to ban torture, censorship and strangulation; consequently undertaking the obligation not to impair the liberties of the Iranian people, and that he would go back to Qom (religious center) again. But in practice he was so infatuated with pride

and power who thought of naught but establishing his autocratic counter-revolutionary, anti-patriotic government under the name of Velait Faghee Theocracy. To achieve this, he never refrained from propagating segregation, and all kinds of felonies and crimes against the people of Iran and her courageous children; thus shattering the trust, hope, and ideals of our people. As a corollary Khomeini has done nothing but adding unto the ruins and graveyards left by the Shah. Verily he has brought Iranians nothing but utter and increasing devastation (production and generation).

Despite all this, a line of treacherous, opportunistic and rightist groups, generally labelled "The United Front of Reaction" to accomplish their own interest groups, have sanctified and embellished him with "Anti-Imperialist" characteristics. These groups and parties throughout history have nothing to do but stabbing and betraying the just struggle of the people. But the most valorous struggling Mojsheds of the deprived people are not idle. They with their indescribable will and faith, have hoisted the banner of resistance against the enemy of God and the people, and have divulged the real essence of the opportunists, trampling the foe with incredible and striking blows. Now the world ought to accept the inevitable collapse of Khomeini. The world must approve the righteousness and legitimacy of our just struggle against an atrocious enemy whose crimes remain unprecedented in history; an enemy who has camouflaged his abnoxious, anti-humanitarian visage under sham "Anti-Imperialist Tendencies", and has beguiled many optimists of the world.

Acquization of popular sovereignty through the instrumentality of the provisional government of the Democratic Islamic Republic of Iran, is the most invaluable product of the just struggles of the Iranian people. According to devout Moslems' belief it is basically through this process that the will of God manifests itself in the social realm gradually.

2. Historic objectives of the provisional government and the real path of unity.

Freedom, independence, justice and social egalitarianism (implying total eradication of discrimination, ignorance and social oppression) are the historical objectives of the government. Deprived masses in their basic revolutionary slogans, consciously, or subconsciously sought these ends from the Islamic Republic of Iran. They, under the banner of Islam could not expect anything else. To use the perspicuous language of struggle, the historical objectives of the people's government as enumerated and stressed by "Father" Talaghani's perspicacity are in brief the negation of all forms of despotism, colonialism, and exploitation. It is solely through this process that national unity can be guaranteed, in the same way that it was in the process of persistent and direct struggle against the dictatorship of the Shah as a stooge of Imperialism, that Iranian nation regained his national unity and confidence; and the culture and elevated morality of the days of revolution flourished. It is, therefore through linking the past struggle of the Iranian nation to a promising, constructive future against diverse forms of despotism, colonialism and exploitation that the historic objectives of the new popular government can come to fruition. It is only by so doing that we can cherish hope in obliterating dispersion, disintegration, sectarianism and long-standing distrust. That is how our great political economic, social and cultural revolution becomes fecund. The roaring stream of the blood of the bravest children of this country has been flowing in the same direction. It is the duty of the popular government to endeavor assiduously to demolish the remnants of despotism, colonialism and secure the national unity in its totality.

3. Salvation of the original, progressive, national, and patriotic values.

It behooves me to allude to the elimination and reac-

tionary suppression of genuine and progressive national values. Khomeini, as it has been proven in action, despite his anterior hypocritical approach, has refuted and corroded nationalism. This hypocritical approach attired in cosmopolitanism and negation of capitalism and national boundaries; as usual aroused the avarice of the rightist opportunist; but in actuality disguised the lost medieval ideals; sad to say, presented under the banner of Islam. Hence, the objective in short was to curb all patriotic and national obstacles on the way of the reactionary dictatorship. The most outstanding example of this truth was the mortification and humiliation of Dr. Mosadegh, the precursor of the "National Movement"; and Khomeini's attempts to stereotype and edify outrageous reactionaries such as Kashanee and Shaik Fazlollah Nooree. Khomeini went as far as to thank Imperialists for slapping Mosadegh in his face. Therefore, the salvation of Islamic Revolution and acquisition of freedom and sovereignty of the people are necessarily in affinity with the emancipation of values, culture, original progressive national and patriotic entity. This process necessitates education and widespread promulgation of national concepts and values, and their demarcation from reactionary nationalism and chauvinism. To real devout Moslems 'Iranianism' and progressive nationalism are indeed in the service of liberating and Islamic ideals.

4. National, democratic, anti-imperialist content of the revolution.

From the very day after the revolution of February 11, 1979 the sacred and inspiring word of revolution, just like many other terms was drastically vulgarized. The term surrounded by ambiguity, was misused in various ways. The word to the masses whether emotionally or subconsciously and to the revolutionaries consciously implied fundamental evolutionary change in all relationships including political, economic

social and cultural structure of the society; whilst in actuality anarchy, chaos deprivation of mental, legal, professional, familial security, inefficiency of production and national economy were ostensibly pictured as the implications of the "revolution"; to the extent that reaction and its allies under sham revolution wrote and talked too much to reproach freedom. To them any defense of legitimate liberties, was regarded as a counter-revolutionary act. This bitter experience necessitates the definition and clarification of the contents and features of our revolution at this stage. It is obvious that the combatants, progressive forces and revolutionaries of Iran, no matter what their ideology or doctrine be, have general consensus that the independence and freedom of Iran and the most basic slogans and demands of the people of Iran at large neither during the Shah's reign nor Khomeini's have been met. Consequently the above mentioned slogan whose materialization is closely in commensurate with indispensable economic, social cultural, and political priorities of the Iranian society at this stage, are deemed as the most distinctive features and content of our revolution. These features and peculiarities are highly valued, and agreed upon by all members, layers, classes, inclinations, and different beliefs of the people's front. The above-mentioned features can be considered as the distinctive characteristics, and practical, objective contents of the present phase of the revolution. With allegiance to the general expectations of the people of Iran from Feb. 79 uprising; the features of the liberating, independence seeking revolution can be outlined objectively as national, democratic, and anti-imperialist. These features to devout Moslems, indeed explain the cause of Islam and their practical breach by Khomeini, is his greatest anti-Islamic crime. The national movement of resistance for the independence

and freedom of Iran is based on the common national, democratic, and anti-imperialist front of all the masses.

5. The significance of formal recognition of the content and features of the revolution:

Contrary to the superficiality and prosaic formalism of Khomeini's system, the recognition of the democratic, anti-imperialist characteristics of the revolution, has to unavoidably, obliterate all old criteria, structures, laws, social and comprador- reactionary relations and establish new relationships based on democracy and independence. It is through overcoming such impediments that perfect fruition of man's merits and liberties is concretized.

There will be room neither for comprador-capitalism nor for feudalism in the organization of the Iran of tomorrow. Consequently Khomeini's anti-democratic, anti-Islamic thoughts will be vanquished. It is self-evident that after the establishment of the people's sovereignty, revolutionary armed struggle and violent resistance will halt immediately; replaced by the struggle for constructiveness, production; democratic and peaceful ideological struggle. The struggle of the Iran of tomorrow is a revolutionary, legitimate, and prolonged one; undertaken to construct a progressive and advanced country with real socio-economic growth. The purpose, in short, is to radically change the despotic, colonial, exploitative culture and relations, which in its own turn in the view of the devoted Moslems will lead to real unity and Towhid (Divine Integration).

6. Guarantee for the victory of the revolution and the impossibility of retrogression.

The triumph of the revolution, apart from the aforesaid, lies in the development and consolidation of anti-exploitative tendencies. In other words, to guarantee freedom and the continuity of independence, all the people of Iran must be mobilized in unison to secure the survival of Iran through constant work and increasing efforts; to make their country immune from

colonial dependency. This process, engulfs both constructiveness and ideological struggle simultaneously a process whose importance is on the same par with the struggle for the accomplishment of independence and in fact is its continuation. But such a struggle is feasible only in the direction of an independent growth; and in the framework of total annihilation of repression and exploitation; a struggle which cannot be completed without reliance on the impoverished peasants and proletariat of Iran; otherwise the possibility of retrogression as it has occurred in many Third World Countries is not remote. This fact springs from the eternal dynamism of social evolution and human growth to the effect that whenever man, on the evolutionary process and phases of growth, does not take higher goals into account, the determinism of motion and time freezes his progress; pushing him into anti-climax progression.

7. Council system as the most evolved form of conducting affairs.

The surety for the ultimate victory of the revolution and the perpetuation of freedom and stable independence necessitates, on the other hand, the attainment of the most advanced "form" of managing the affairs; a "form" which indeed encompasses the gradual expansion of the council system in all spheres and administrative organizations of the country.

8. Refutation of the unilateral capitalist concept and interpretation of "growth".

It is customary in the capitalist world to evaluate growth and socio-economic development on the basis of material growth, statistics, and economic figures. This evaluation is necessary to a certain extent, albeit not sufficient for the description of "growth" in its economic, social, cultural, humanitarian, artistic, and ideological totality. Therefore without plunging into sophisticated philosophical and ideological discourse on the comprehen-

siveness of the concept, I strive to confine myself to the point that capitalist "interpretation of growth" in all Third World Countries, including Iran bears no certainty for the future of the revolution. Khomeini's conception of "growth and progress" which rests on no material and economic ground is tremendously reactionary and helpless. It expresses nothing but his double disability (in response to material growth and spiritual elevation of the society). Thus we must keep aloof both from the mirage depicted by the Shah and farce, baseless words of Khomeini, although they have one thing in common and that is, they are miles away from democracy. Nevertheless, condemning all mirages and false promises, our ideal "growth" is distinguished by particular inter-action of economics on one hand, and freedom, culture, and human deed on the other hand. For this very reason we propose the unity of program and action.

#### 9. Unity of program and action.

Unlike the "rulers" of Khomeini who act on their own impulse and whatever is related to the area of their responsibilities is postponed, we have firm belief that the objectives of a specific program cannot be translated into action unless the program is planned and executed in its totality. With afresh emphasis on the fact that the ultimate efficiency, and the attainment of the major goals of a program precondition integrated implementation of all its parts, we condemn any attempts made to maim and cripple the comprehensiveness of the program, because for instance, it is hard to imagine independence without freedom and vice versa.

#### Chp. III

#### Articles of the platform:

Now with due consideration to the viewpoints mentioned above, we will briefly discuss the articles of the program in different areas.

#### 1. Independence

Independence is the first lesson of our revolution in its overall political, economic, cultural, and military concept. But after the downfall of the monarchy, as the result of Khomeini's reactionary policies, we not only did not become independent but according to Dr. Bani Sadr our dependency increased. The acceptance of the doctrine of independence for a country which has been under political, economic, and military domination of America for more than a quarter of a century implies the least realization of the following:

- a) Termination of all subservient imperialist relationships, their divulgement and abolition in multifarious realms and prevention of economic dependency.
- b) Complete exercise of national sovereignty over all natural resources and national wealths, oil in particular.
- c) Withdrawal from the monobasic orbit of economy and budget relying on the oil revenue through the development of agriculture and national industries.
- d) Nationalization of foreign commerce to encourage agriculture and national industry and paving the way for the development of domestic product.
- e) Giving priority to agriculture without which, the accomplishment of a healthy and balanced development of the economy is impossible, as it has been demonstrated by un-developed countries of the world.
- f) Restoration of national industries and increasing reinforcement of industrial products, professional and technical training, utilization of the technical advances with heavy emphasis on the development of small and medium scale industries especially in the proximity of villages.

Note 1

The provisional government approves "national capitalism", private and personal property providing that they do not develop boundless dimensions, dependent and compradoric tendencies; and do not paralyze the socio-economic growth of the society. This is mainly because basic solutions to the acute problems of Iran are in contradiction with libertine economic liberalism. Liberalism by giving ground to "compradorism" leads to a new politico-economic dependency.

Note 2

The provisional government guarantees to patronize "third class retailers" and craftsmen. Reactionary traditions such as lashing "third class retailers" by Khomeini's regime will be barred. The regime while whipping the poor retailers, overlooks 15 billion dollars net profit (minimum) pocketed in 1981 by the merchants who support the Establishment. Nevertheless without the approval of the bazaar council and guilds the retailers cannot be forced into paying taxes against their willingness.

Note 3

Independence and hostility against imperialism do not mean enmity towards industrial countries in their historical, economic, technical, artistic and cultural totality. Such an animosity in reality is the restoration of the reactionary medieval ideals. Our insurrection was against relations based on colonialism and inequality not against all kinds of relationships (in absolute sense of the word). We nourish great hope in the proclivities of the people, and genuine democratic forces of the industrial countries. Contrary to the demagogic and formalistic policy of Khomeini, we do not wish to live in isolation to the surrounding world. But as it was reiterated, we reject inequal and colonial relationships. An adopted policy similar to that of Khomeini which instead of having the future and progress in perspective, takes shelter in the past and backwardness, can by no means set us free from the orbit of slavery and backwardness; but conversely leads us to the quagmire of reaction which in turn paves the way for the dominance of imperialism. For the very reason from the first day, imperialism found, and finds Khomeini preferable to progressive forces.

2. Freedom

Freedom of the people should be regarded as the guarantor and parameter of original social progress, otherwise the precondition for the emergence of dictatorships which cannot remain independent, is paved. Dictatorships that due to their incapability in mobilizing the people will, ultimately take sanctuary in a foreign power. This freedom is not an amusement but the necessity of revolutions such as ours. It is crystal clear that our freedom consists of democratic content and "popular" essence. To us, freedom is not only the reflection of the blossoming individual liberties but the expression of collective responsibility. A responsibility which naturally is in contradiction with libertine bourgeoisie. On the other hand, loyalty and trust in all socio-economic relationships replace acts of violence. To be precise: freedom does not imply plucking the fruits of the revolution by an exclusive group, layer or class, and should by no means lead to this. To insure this, the provisional government guarantees the following liberties by creating the necessary socio-economic preconditions:

- a) Complete freedom of thought and speech, and banning censorship and inquisition.
- b) Freedom of various press, parties, associations, councils and syndicates, save counter-revolutionary parties loyal to the Shah or Khomeini. This freedom, to the point of armed struggle against the legitimate and legal system of the country, is bound by no principal legal restrictions.
- c) Sanction of the right of criticism on all levels (including martial or civil incumbents).
- d) Abrogation of martial and "special" courts (whether Shah's courts of injustice or Khomeini's counter-revolutionary courts) investigations of po-

litical charges in ordinary courts in the presence of the jury. The accused has full right to self-defense, that is, the right to choose his lawyer, and the right to plead.

1. Prohibition of torture under any pretext.
2. Legal and professional security for all.
3. The dissolution of Committees and Islamic Guards of Khomeini's dictatorship.

### 3. People's Councils

The contents of the freedom being discussed, are manifested in their best form, in the expansion of popular councils. Khomeini in the past, under the pressure of "Father" Talaghani accepted the idea of council in words only but never felt commitment to it. We believe that the attainment and guarantee of the government of the people by the people may not take any other practical form than the amplification of diverse councils in all spheres. To accomplish this, the provisional government will set forth the direction for the functions of the councils on all levels: First, decision making councils in areas, like managing the affairs of the city. No centralism needs to be exerted from outside the council. Second, consultatory councils with lesser authority. These councils are either consultatory or have the right, for example, to veto the nomination of a given manager or commander. The provisional government of the Democratic Islamic Republic of Iran guarantees freedom of council elections, and other local and general elections. The provisional government will not allow the councils and other electoral circles to, artificially or by deceit, become a plaything of any group, party, or organization.

### 4. Equality of political and social rights for all the people:

The doctrine of the people's sovereignty makes it imperative that the public votes are esteemed and deemed as the mere legitimate political channel. In other words, since philosophical and scientific laws are not prone to follow democratic voting, and the collection of diverse trends and

views with respect to the political realm and organization of the country in a homogeneous framework is a supreme impossibility; it must be unanimously accepted that the political legitimacy should be tested through "referendum and general elections." This acceptance is accompanied by the promulgation of argumentation, free and general contentment. The provisional government of the Democratic Islamic Republic of Iran declares equal socio-political rights for all the people, therefore, all sexual, national, and ideological privileges are abolished. Elections and public votes are considered to be the only criteria for the legitimacy of the appointed authorities. Thus neither men, women, nor religion and nationality can politically and socially, without the support of the public votes claim any legal superiority; and all persons whether in the status of being elected, or as an elector are entitled to equal legal rights. It should however, be highly emphasized that any deliberate, opportunistic concealment of real beliefs, to attract more votes by craft, is severely condemned. It should also be emphatically pointed out that the abrogation of socio-political discriminations among the people is not tantamount to the conception that the rightfulness of the true Mohammedian religion will go into oblivion. Our rich Islam precisely, contrary to Khomeini's, does not draw its rightfulness and legitimacy (political legitimacy) from reluctance and compulsion. We profoundly believe that real afflorescence of Islam can actualize only in the absence of any discriminations, concessions, and socio-political determinism.

### 5. Rights of the Nationalities:

It is obvious that the persistence of the territorial integrity and popular unity of the country are closely in association with the realization of the just rights of all its constituent elements, and component parts. Thus internal autonomy, meaning, the elimination of redouble oppression from all "national branches" and furnishing them with all cultural,

social, and political rights within the framework of the unity, sovereignty, and indivisible integrity of the country, is a vital necessity. The provisional government of the Democratic Islamic Republic of Iran will also effort to materialize and consolidate the just rights of the local Kurdish nationals as an integral part of the Iranian progressive nationalism, and thus avoiding friction between them. This effort on the other hand is conformant with the general democratic, anti-imperialist battle, and the struggle for constructiveness and national reconstruction becomes feasible only in this framework.

6. The army of the Democratic Islamic Republic of Iran:

Popular reorganization of the army is the most indispensable necessity for the survival of the country and the evolution of the revolution; a priority demanded by the national and popular personnel of the army. These valiant and self-sacrificing personnels have primarily demanded the obliteration of dominance, reactionary relationships and offices. They want the army to come into contact with the people so that it never turns into a tool in the hands of foreign powers and internal oppressive classes. The most important features of the Democratic Islamic Republic of Iran's army are as follows:

- a) Its iron discipline is conscious and not blind obedience.
- b) Its internal relationship with due consideration to "hierarchy" is democratic. The lowest ranks are entitled the right to criticism; the right to participation and consultation with respect to various nominations and competence approval of their commanders.
- c) The army is in direct association with different social strata. The army is not only charged with giving military training to the people at large, but should as far as possible take part in the production and constructive struggle of the country, in this way, all efficient forces of the Iranian nation are the active reserves of this army on the one hand, and the army as a whole is in the service of

the nation on the other hand. It is only by so doing that we can nourish hope in a national and popular army. It goes without saying that an army which does not have social and national base, under the impact of its monarchial and reactionary texture; to utilize the most sophisticated arms, and by giving priority to arms rather than the combative man; will definitely turn to poles of foreign powers and dependency on the imperialist values. Such a trend through its enormous costs devours a great portion of the general budget. Here we encounter an army completely alien to the people, an army which is neither in the service of the people, nor does it have any popular characteristics. Such an army is in direct association with dominant ever-growing bureaucracy, and is the final fulcrum of Imperialism.

- d) The army through military colleges and instructors, constantly promotes its knowledge, and its political and military efficacy.
- e) To terminate armament dependency, the army by all means will strive to promote domestic techniques and industries to the point of self-sufficiency in defense.

7. Agrarian Reform and Rural Problems

Radical agrarian reform is obviously the urgent step that must be taken to rescue the devastated agriculture of Iran. Our guideline in action is the principle that land belongs to the person who tills it. The objective and material precondition for the success of the revolution lies in rescuing the agriculture, and finding solutions to diverse rural problems. In addition to land reform, consideration of the following and many other points is essential:

- a) Procurement of "minimum" technology. Providing the deprived peasants with loans (without interest). Provision of sufficient water and improvement of the irrigation system.
- b) Extension of lands under cultivation; restoration and activation of arable lands.

- c) Given the arbitrary agreements of the peasants, collective forms of land exploitation in order to avoid the diminishing output of the lands cut to pieces, and diminishing output of compulsory collective mechanism.
- d) Establishment of peasants' co-operatives. Strengthening collective and council spirit in the peasants.
- e) Indemnity of the deprived peasant from their liabilities to government, big landlords, and usurers. Abolition of taxes in agricultural affairs.
- f) Training educational personnel and agricultural experts. Determination of the future collective organization of agriculture.
- g) Organizing small rural workshops to absorb rural unemployment. Complete utilization of all rural productive forces.
- h) Providing the villagers with houses through the construction of suitable "small towns" with necessary services to discourage further migration to the cities. Development of cement and brick making industries.
- i) Emphasis on rural insurance and medical service. Development of gas, electric, railway networks, and roadways in rural areas.
- j) Termination of foreign export in animal husbandry and agriculture to encourage domestic production.

#### 8. Rights of the Working Class

The final victory of the Iranian revolution is in direct connection with the position, the role of the proletariat, and multitudes of the working class who create the cardinal dynamism of the revolution. The realization of the rights of this class is the explicit expression of diverse degrees of our social evolution and progress. To achieve this, the Democratic Islamic Republic of Iran will take following points into account.

- a) Abolition of all anti-proletarian regulations and ratification of new laws by the proletariat.

- b) Workers' participation in the management of various proletarian funds and banks, and if possible to be put under their supervision.
- c) Formal recognition of the right to strike, and peaceful demonstrations given acknowledged beforehand.
- d) Abolition of all government deficits such as taxes, insurance, etc. from the workers' wages and gradual provision of necessary expenses such as, insurance and pension.
- e) Indemnity of the impoverished workers from the liabilities incurred previously.
- f) Attempts must be made to provide all the workers with housing, transportation, sanitation. Provision of nurseries and kindergartens for their children. Priority given to their children to enjoy free education in universities and colleges.
- g) Progressional increase of the workers' share in the dividends of factories in proportion to the gross profit.
- h) Furnishing the unspecialized workers with professional and technical training.
- i) Efforts must be undertaken to consolidate the minimum subsistence level for all workers in proportion to increase in the expenses.

#### 9. Higher Education and Culture.

As it is known by the people of Iran, Khomeini's hostility towards national culture, higher education, and universities has been more than his opposition against the Shah's SAVAK (security force). Khomeini's fear of the youth, the vanguard, and conscious combatants has extended itself to high schools and even elementary schools. He closed the universities under the pretext of cultural revolution. He has made the high schools subject to enormous "purging", and brutal inquisitions. To perpetuate his counter-revolutionary dominance, he opposed the national culture and nationalism and thus, agonizing the people and the revolution.

Khomeini's greatest harm has been done to the genuine Alavi and Mohammedan culture. These pernicious repercussions of Khomeini's treason must, through dissemination of truths, be cleansed from the minds of the people of Iran and the world. The provisional government of the Islamic Republic of Iran, to compensate the damage done by Khomeini; to rejuvenate the national culture; to expand techniques, sciences and higher education which in turn must lead to a real scientific, cultural, and ideological revolution for the obliteration of all the remnants of imperialist and reactionary domination, undertakes to fulfill the following tasks:

- a) Complete independence of universities, colleges and their management under the supervision of the university councils.
- b) Efforts will be made to eradicate illiteracy and the far-fetched remnants of ignorance.
- c) Collective dissemination of athletic activities and physical education to maintain health, social vigor, physical and psychic equilibrium throughout the country and villages in particular. Exclusion of the athletic activity as a "luxury".
- d) Preservation of historical monuments, museums and cultural heritage.
- e) Promulgation of independent, humanitarian, realistic literature and art.
- f) Absorption of the "brains" and our specialist countrymen both inside and outside the country, and asking them to serve their own people and nation by providing the necessary scientific and research facilities.

#### 10. Socio-economic Equality of Women and Men

In addition to the aforesaid, the provisional government of the Democratic Islamic Republic of Iran, emphasizes on efforts to grant complete equal rights to Iranian women (free from any inequality or class exploitation).

In our belief, the incredible participation of "Mojahed Women" and other combative women along with men in the struggle is in itself the most objective testimony for the equality of women. Man whether individually or collectively unleashes himself from the fetters and compulsions in as much as he fights against them. Iranian women as the result of their honorable and admiring resistance, have found their way into the epoch of emancipation. This epoch of women emancipation is characterized by:

1. Enjoying equal social, political, economic rights with men.
2. Enjoying equal wages for equal work with men.
3. Enjoying special prerogatives that women are entitled to.

The most important of all is emancipation from dark, reactionary oppression, and capitalist conception of women as a "Commodity". It is evident that the consolidation and amplification of these achievements on a large scale, ie encompassing all the Iranian women, requires an all-embracing propagation, analysis and general education. These are the duties to be accomplished by the provisional government.

#### 11. Security and Social Welfare

The provisional government of the Democratic Islamic Republic of Iran, contrary to the reactionary regime of Khomeini that maintains "people have revolted not to enjoy security or social welfare," believes that the social fulfillment of essential material needs in itself is the necessity for the needs and higher impetus to blossom. To us the indispensable promotion of the general standard of living does not mean the adoption and expansion of the economy of consumption, promulgation of "welfarism," worship of luxury, and disregard of frugality. The western pattern of "consumption economy" and life bears no bright future for the revolution of Iran.

Efforts will be made to achieve the following:

- a) Subjugation of all kinds of anarchy and factors detrimental to the tranquility and security of the society.

\* reference to the statement reiterated by Khomeini that, "we have revolted not to buy melon at a lower price." He said "economics belongs to asses"!

- b) Nationalization of medicine and public health and expansion of rural hygienic networks.
- c) Expansion of public insurances in different spheres (disability and pension insurances in particular).
- d) Minimization of indirect taxes on indispensable articles and their increase on luxurious goods.
- e) Abolition of onerous debts claimed by previous regimes from the low income strata.
- f) Obtainment of subsistence, housing, and education for the petty employees (whether in the public or private sectors) and their children, elementary and high school teachers, in particular, and abolition of their debts to government.
- g) Qualitative promotion of the general nutrition, especially the consumption of protein for the infants and low income strata.

#### 12. Foreign Policy

The foreign policy of the provisional government of the Democratic Islamic Republic of Iran based on independence, non-alignment, withdrawal from all colonial, political, and military pacts and defense of the interests and territorial integrity of the country, pursues the following principles:

- a) Non-intervention in others' internal affairs and prevention of others' intervention in the domestic affairs of the country.
- b) Co-existence, peace, and international and local co-operations.
- c) Adherence to the United Nations Charter and universal declaration of human rights.
- d) Condemnation of all racial and fascist policies.
- e) Support of all anti-despotic, anti-colonial, anti-exploitation movements throughout the world.

In Charge of  
the National Council of Resistance

MAS'UD RAJAVI

September 27, 1981

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