

**Report
of
The Central Committee

To
The Fifth Congress
of
The Kurdistan
Democratic Party of Iran**

Presented by :
Dr A.R. Ghassemlou
The Secretary General

15-18 Azar 1360
(December 1981)

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INSTITUT KURDE DE PARIS

ENTRÉE N° 05 P.K

Honourable Guests, Militant Delegates to the Congress, Dear Comrades!

Allow me to welcome you on behalf of the Central Committee of the Democratic Party of Kurdistan-Iran and to wish you every happiness and success. In this Fifth Congress of our party, some of the best sons of the Kurdish people and the most devoted members of KDP are no longer among us. They are the honoured and eternal martyrs, who during the period between the Fourth and the Fifth Party Congress, sacrificed their lives for their cause, and joined the long caravan of the martyrs, on the path of freedom for Kurdistan and all of Iran.

Since the Fourth Congress, nearly ten thousand sons of the militant and righteous people of Kurdistan have been martyred by the executioners of Khomeini's regime, only for having demanded the most elementary human rights for their people. The martyrs of this phase of the struggle of our people, range from a two-month old baby to an elderly woman of 110 years of age; from toilers and artisans in towns and villages, to teachers and office employees; from peshmargas and rank and file party members to the highest ranking members of the party leadership organs. The memory of the great martyr Major Habibollah Abbasi, member of the Central Committee; martyr Captain Abdollah Afshin, member of the Investigation Commission and tens of cadres, political and military officers, and hundreds of the militant members and the heroic peshmargas of our party, as well as the memories of thousands of people in the heroic city of

Sanandaj; the invincible town of Saghez; the resistant town of Baneh; and the legendary town of Mahabad; and hundreds of residents in the villages of Ghalatan, Inderghash, Vosoukand, Khanagi, Sofian, Kolij, Hassan Lolan, Sar-ukani, and the other towns and villages of Kurdistan, that have been martyred for the cause of the deprived people of Kurdistan, will live on in the spirit of all those who shall march on the path of freedom.

Dear Sisters and Brothers!

No doubt, the best way of honouring and paying homage to the martyrs of the path of freedom, is the continuation of the struggle for the realization of the objectives for which they have sacrificed their lives. However, in order that the names of the martyrs always be a part of the struggle and the history of our party, and in order that those memories make us feel more duty-bound in the execution of our responsibilities with utmost care, and also in order that the sacred names of the martyrs bestow upon our congress more glory and credence, we propose that the Fifth Congress of the Kurdistan Democratic Party of Iran be called: "The Congress of the Martyrs".

Dear Comrades!

Although not even two years have elapsed since our Fourth Party Congress, today we are able to convene the Fifth Congress, thanks to the unsparing cooperation and efforts of the militant cadres and members of the party.

The important and sensitive phase in the struggle of the peoples of Iran, and the important changes that have taken place in the political and social conditions of our country after the Fourth Congress, as well as the events that have occurred in the lives of the militant people of Kurdistan and inside our party, all these have motivated the Central Committee to invite the representatives of the party organizations to participate in the Fifth Congress, before two years elapse since the conclusion of the Fourth Congress. We hope that the honourable delegates to the congress will take an active part in the sessions of the congress and work for the success of our Fifth Party Congress by making a careful appraisal of the present conditions of the struggle of our people and by making a serious observation of the present political situation in Iran, in order to accomplish the tasks that the present phase of the struggle of our people has assigned to us.

Dear Sisters and Brothers!

The Fifth Congress of the Kurdistan Democratic Party of Iran being held in the sensitive conditions prevailing in our country at present, is no doubt an important event in the history of the struggle of our party and the Kurdish people in general, and even all the people of Iran. At the present, millions of the militant and heroic people of Kurdistan are awaiting the results of this

congress. We are certain that the Fifth Congress of our party will fulfill its duties successfully and the decisions and guidelines of the congress will lighten the path for the struggles and activities of the party members and all the people of Kurdistan.

Comrades!

The experience of almost two years since the Fourth Congress, once again indicated that the militant people of Kurdistan consider the Kurdistan Democratic Party of Iran as the leader of their struggle for freedom and thus they follow its policies and slogans. The popular masses of Kurdistan have through their political awareness and experience discovered that the power that truly defends their interests and will be faithful to their cause until the very end, is indeed the Kurdistan Democratic Party of Iran. For this reason, neither the poisonous propaganda of the propaganda apparatus of Khomeini's regime; nor acts of sabotage committed by certain deviated and submissive groups, nor the adventuresomeness and the slanderous remarks uttered by irresponsible political groups have succeeded in reducing even a little of our party's influence and popularity among the Kurdish people; and the popular masses of Kurdistan are backing their benevolent party, as solidly as ever.

INTERNATIONAL CONDITIONS

Honourable Participants of the Congress!

The specific situation of the world today

indicates the deterioration of international relations and the creation of a number of crisis-developing zones which increases the danger of military confrontation between the governments. It appears that the era for peaceful co-existence is faced with serious problems. The relations between socialist countries on one hand, and that of the capitalist countries on the other hand, specially the relations between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. is returning to the years of cold war. This situation is itself the result of certain transformations which have come about in advanced capitalist countries and socialist countries.

Capitalism is presently facing a deep economic crisis. This crisis manifests itself particularly in the most important domains of industry, such as heavy industries. Except for Japan which has been able to keep itself away from such crisis to some extent, the production of steel, machinery, and automobile industries has dropped in the U.S.A. and western capitalist countries. Furthermore, the national income of the largest capitalist country, the U.S.A., for the year 1980 not only failed to show any increase, but even decreased below the level of 1979.

One of the most concrete phenomenon present in the capitalist crisis, is the disintegration and disruption of financial relations. Inflation which often directly results in price increase of commodities, has affected all the capitalist countries, and has created an unprecedented confusion in the financial balance

and foreign trade of many countries. The increase in the price of oil has disturbed the financial equilibrium of a large number of capitalist and developing countries. In order to be able to import sufficient quantity of oil, these countries are obliged to increase their exports, however, most of them are not capable of doing so due to the tough competition on the world market. Therefore, they often have no other alternative but to sell their goods in the world market at prices lower than the actual value, in order to augment their exports, which in turn results in the devaluation of their currencies, and the consequent rise in the value of the dollar, the strongest currency of the capitalist world.

Likewise, Japan has been able to strike another economic blow against the markets of the developing countries thanks to the low wages paid to Japanese workers, and has succeeded in absorbing an important share of the markets in a great number of countries, previously owned by the U.S.A. and Western Europe.

One other indication of capitalist crisis is the unprecedented rate of unemployment. The unemployment figure in capitalist countries has reached thirty million. High prices and unemployment have put pressure on the living standards of toilers in capitalist countries, and have resulted in numerous social problems in those countries. Dissatisfaction among the popular masses of various capitalist countries has resulted in changes in the governing powers of those countries.

The most fierce sector of capitalism has taken over the power in the United States, and Reagan as the representative of this sector pursues an anti-toilers internal policy and a policy against peaceful co-existence in the international relations; whereas, in France and Greece, leftist governments have come to power whose goal is to give predominance to socialist relations in the society. The unity between the socialists and the communists in France, and the victory of the leftist socialists in Greece, have brought about alot of hope for the toilers of other capitalist countries.

However, from another point of view, the danger for the beginning of a period of cold war has created some major problems. The policy of militarization is strongly pursued. In the year 1980, 550 billion dollars was spent on the purchase of arms and military equipment throughout the world, more than half of which belonged to the United States. Reagan's policy of lowering taxes in the United States and opening the way for giant American monopolies, especially those involved in the manufacture of arms, is another reason by itself, for the further militarization of the U.S. and the world economy.

The socialist countries could not help but be affected by the capitalist crisis and the arms competition. The crisis in international economic relations dominated by capitalist economic ties, has also affected the economy of socialist countries. Certain problems have developed in the economic conditions of some socialist countries such as Poland and Romania.

These two countries have not been able to create an equilibrium in their foreign trade balance with capitalist countries. As a result, they now owe several billion dollars to advanced capitalist countries. The agitated political situation prevailing in Poland today, is due more than anything else to the disrupted economic conditions. No doubt, in order to be able to confront the capitalist countries, socialist countries are obliged to devote an important share of their national income to producing arms and ammunitions.

The social consequences of capitalist crisis, are more evident in the Third World countries. Unemployment, illiteracy, illness and poverty have engulfed the countries in which the majority of the world population lives. In an era when mankind has made unprecedented accomplishments in the fields of science and technology; when a human being is able to travel to the moon, in the year 1980, fifty million inhabitants of the Third World were faced with hunger, and several million lost their lives due to the shortage or lack of food.

Following Reagan's take-over, American authorities issued instructions for the production of the Neutron Bomb, a bomb mainly meant to kill human beings and cause less material damage. On numerous occasions, they have openly spoken about the occurrence of a limited atomic war. The plan for stationing U.S. atomic missiles in Western Europe has resulted in protests being voiced by socialist countries as well as the popular masses in Western European

countries. Therefore, widespread demonstrations and protestations, unprecedented since the second world war have taken place in many European countries against the war-mongering policies of the United States.

Reagan's administration is planning to re-establish and develop U.S. military bases in the other countries of the world, particularly in the Middle Eastern countries such as Egypt and Turkey. The organization of the "Rapid Deployment Joint Task Force", the concentration of a large quantity of arms and ammunitions, and the dispatch of American soldiers to this region, are all indications of the extensive military and political plans of the U.S. Imperialism in the Middle East. The U.S. Imperialism intends particularly to use the presence of the Soviet army in Afghanistan as a pretext for its military intervention in the Gulf area.

The Middle East situation fully reflects the critical conditions prevailing in the capitalist world. In no part of the world have so many international, national, political, economic and military contradictions come to the forth all at the same time. The U.S. Imperialism considers the control of the Gulf region and the Strait of Hormoz as the basis of its policy in the Middle East, and intends to create an extensive military network from Pakistan through Saudi Arabia, and to lead it itself. It is further planning to sign one or more military pacts in this region, if possible. Therefore, the danger of the U.S. military intervention in this region is very serious and no doubt, such intervention will produce unpredictable consequences.

The most fundamental problem of the United States in the Middle East is the unsoluble hostility among its friends. Israel is the main political and military base of the U.S. Imperialism in the region. However, the U.S. economy cannot survive without the oil of Arab countries specially that of Saudi Arabia. The U.S. can neither abandon Israel, nor can it afford to give up Saudi Arabia. Despite its many efforts, the U.S. Imperialism has not yet been able to impose the Camp David Accords on any Arab country except Egypt. The conflicts between the Arab countries and Israeli occupiers, and in particular, the Palestinian issue, have remained without any solution.

Although the U.S. and Israel reject the participation of the PLO in the negotiations for solving the Palestinian issue, the Arab countries recognize this organization as the sole representative of the Palestinian people. Israel has started the war in South Lebanon against the Palestinian revolutionaries and uses many other instruments such as the U.S.-dependent Amal Organization, also supported by Khomeini's regime, in order to crush the PLO.

Our country Iran cannot remain aloof from the overall political situation of the Middle East. The regime of the Islamic Republic is straying in its foreign policy, and has no clear course of action in its foreign policy other than chanting some empty and frivolous slogans. The regime chants slogans for the liberation of Jerusalem, and at the same time, it purchases weapons and ammunitions, secretly and openly, from Israel and the United States. Although,

in words, it pretends to support the Palestinian people and to be the enemy of Israel, in action it takes steps against the PLO by attacking this organization and its leaders.

The overall policy of our party in the Middle East and on the international level has been clear for a long time. The people of Kurdistan are against the occupying policy of Israel and support the Palestinian people and the PLO. The people of Kurdistan like all the people of Iran, are against any intervention by the U.S. Imperialism in the Gulf region and will in turn, resist such intervention with all their force.

In addition, our party is against the conclusion of any military pacts in the Middle East region, and supports the countries that pursue an independent national policy and those which are not affiliated to any military pact.

The present epoch is the era of peoples' liberation. The role played by the popular liberation movements is of particular importance in the world today. The Kurdish liberation movement in the Kurdistan Iran, is a part of the historic struggles of the oppressed nations on the path of freedom; it is a part of the movement composed of socialist, democratic and revolutionary forces against imperialism all over the world. The policy of our party regarding international relations is based on the foundations of these important principles and our party has so far pursued this policy in a progressive manner.

THE CURRENT SITUATION OF IRAN

Honourable Delegates to the Congress!

Our native country Iran, is entangled in a deep general crisis. The most profound dimension of this crisis, is an economic one. According to the deficient statistics of the past three years, not only the rate of production has not increased, but it has dropped by 30%. If we take into consideration the fact that during the past three years, the country's population has increased by approximately three million, then the depth of the crisis Iran is facing will become more clear. A large number of factories have been shut down and as a result, thousands of newly unemployed persons have joined the great army of the unemployed.

The per capita income has fallen rapidly and the per capita rate of consumption has likewise dropped. According to the official statistics, the consumption of meat during the past year was more than 40% lower than the time of the Shah. The fall in the local production and the necessity of purchasing war materials has resulted in the rise of imports in such a manner that in the year 1980, the volume of imports was sixteen times more than that of exports. On one hand, Khomeini's regime does not have the technical possibilities of increasing the oil production, since most of the specialists have left the country, also on the other hand, the price of oil has dropped on the world market. As a result, the Islamic Republic has no more foreign exchange reserves. According to all the experts, Khomeini's regime will face a complete dead-end in its foreign trade in the

near future, since it is unable to export sufficiently, in order to be able to import adequately. At present, there is a shortage of many commodities, and the livelihood of the popular masses of Iran has been "couponized" (war-rationed). The situation will further deteriorate in the near future and Khomeini's regime has no means for the solution of these problems.

Since the government treasury is empty, and it does not have the capability of regularly bearing the costs of running the ministries and the government institutions; and it is not even capable of covering the expenses of the Army, Basij (mobilization of the "oppressed"), the Revolutionary Guards; and the enormous costs of the war with Iraq and the war against the people of Kurdistan, the most important method that the regime has chosen for solving these problems, is the printing of new bank notes. According to the Central Bank statistics, only in the year 1359 (one year ago), the inflation rate reached 45%, which is a world record. The volume of money supplied to the market by the Central Bank during the past three years has tripled, the negative consequence of which is the unprecedented rise in prices, at present. The prices of some items have tripled or quadrupled and the living conditions of the toilers which already was bad enough, has even worsened. Therefore, there is no doubt that the effects of the economic crisis will become fully apparent during the coming winter. While discussing the economic problems, we should take into consideration the important fact that the

Islamic Republic neither has a clear economic program for solving this crisis, nor is it capable of preparing such a plan. In fact, experience has proven that the only program of Khomeini's regime is to be without one.

The crisis has also affected social aspects of life in our country, and social contradictions intensify day by day. When workers, farmers and toilers in general, express their anger and protest against poverty, unemployment and disorganization, they are gunned down by the G-3 carrying Revolutionary Guards. Khomeini has mentioned a number of times that economy belongs to animals, and people have not brought about a revolution so that melon will become cheaper.

In addition, the regime interferes in all the personal aspects of life of our fellow-citizens. Moreover, it has declared art, music, sports, and even chess as Harâm (taboo). In particular, the limitation of social life and personal freedoms for women has reached its peak and the situation has become such that women, who are half of Iran's population, have been deprived of any economic, political and social activity.

In so far as culture and science is concerned, Khomeini's regime is attempting to return our native land to the dark period of the Middle Ages. No trace remains of culture, art, literature, film and music. Radio and television have no programs except for passion plays and the senseless words of the mullahs. Iranian culture has lost contact with world culture.

Universities and advanced training academies throughout Iran have been closed down.

The decline of moral values is one of the disturbing phenomenon caused by Khomeini's regime. Cheating and deception have been elevated to the level of the official government policy. The people of Kurdistan who witness the situation of the country with their own eyes, and are aware of the war conditions, know very well to what extent do the government officials and those who control the media engage in deception.

The imposition of the "Velayat-e-Faqih" principle (The Rule Of The Jurisprudent), has created disagreements between Islamic faiths, such as Sunniism and Shiism. Eight million followers of Sunniism have turned into second class citizens; and hundreds of thousands of followers of other religions (religious minorities) such as Jews, Christians and others, are under severe reactionary pressure. The disputes and contradictions existing among the rulers, the war with Iraq which has already gone on for a year, as well as the war launched against the people of Kurdistan which has continued for the past two and a half years, all testify; on one hand, to the crisis in which the regime finds itself, and on the other, the incapability of its rulers for solving the crisis. The agitated and unsolvable political situation, has resulted in the intensification of the disputes within the ruling elite. Despite the removal of Baniadr, the differences between the leaders and officials of the Islamic Republic Regime are still continuing. No doubt, the more aggravated the social contradictions become, and the more

incapable the regime gets in solving the existing basic problems, the more apparent will become the differences and controversies existing among the ruling gang; a situation which implies that the conditions will be more suitable for toppling the oppressive regime of Khomeini.

SOME IMPORTANT EVENTS IN THE PAST TWO YEARS

Dear Sisters and Brothers!

In the period between the Fourth and the Fifth Party Congress, our beloved native country Iran and specially Kurdistan witnessed a series of important events. Not even two months had yet elapsed since the conclusion of the Fourth Congress, when the Regime of the Islamic Republic that had on the basis of Khomeini's message dated 26th of Aban (November, 1979), ended the war in Kurdistan in Autumn of 1359 (a year ago), in order to stabilize its power and to re-organize its forces, once more began its reactionary attack on the people of Kurdistan. This time, the invasion of Kurdistan by the reactionary forces was alot different from the savage attack launched in the summer of 1358 (two years ago). The recent invasion of the barbarians also included the economic embargo of Kurdistan, when they even prohibited the supply of medicine and powder milk for children, on the supposition that the heroic people of Kurdistan would be forced to submit. When they discovered that this inhuman act had not left the slightest effect on the undeterred will of the militant Kurdish masses, they opened the fire of guns and cannons, and threw mortar-shells, rockets, and bombs on women and disabled elderly people, residing in towns and villages of Kurdistan.

The war-mongering and riotous maneuvers of the invading forces of the regime had already started in the winter of 1358 (two years ago), for that matter. The congress sessions had not yet ended, when we received news from the north and south of Kurdistan about the enemy invasion. In the Kamiaran region located in the south, military invasion continued along with economic blockade. The reactionary forces intended to disarm the Kurdish revolutionaries around Oroumieh, in the north of Kurdistan. However, the intensive and cruel invasion of the executioners of Khomeini's regime began in the spring of 1359 (a year ago).

The first victim of this savage invasion was the heroic town of Sanandaj. Drawn in blood, Sanandaj was under the fire of tanks, canons, mortar-shells, helicopters and phantom jets, for approximately forty days, during which thousands of inhabitants fell martyr or were wounded; hundreds of houses were destroyed killing those who lived in them; the financial damages inflicted upon the town reached tens or may be hundreds of million tomans. In sum, whatever could be considered as symbol of habitation and life of a twentieth century human being, such as hospitals, schools, communication centers, etc., were destroyed by the sinister hands of the regime. Colonel Sadri, the mercenary commander of the Sanandaj Garrison, proudly announced that he was firing 450 mortar-shells per hour at the town of the heroes!!

It is necessary here to point out that when the forces of the regime were planning to cross the town of Sanandaj in order to go

towards Saghez so as to be able to implement their war-mongering intentions, our party made a great effort to allow them to pass through the town, so that the war would be transferred to outside of the town in order to prevent defenseless people from being killed and the town from becoming destroyed. However, unfortunately, certain of the inexperienced and irresponsible groups started the war inside the town and when the enemy began to strike the town with all its infernal forces, our peshmargas had no other choice but to defend the people. Therefore, the members and peshmargas of our party heroically defended the brave town of Sanandaj and left the town ten days after all those who supported the idea of an urban war. Unfortunately, our party lost more than twenty of its peshmargas, and tens of others were injured. However, at last the people of Sanandaj became aware of our party's correct policy and realized that the Kurdistan Democratic Party of Iran avoids an urban war in order to protect their lives and properties.

After Sanandaj, the unyielding town of Saghez and the heroic town of Baneh were attacked. These two resistant and invincible towns were each for a month under the fire of machine-guns, cannons, mortar-shells and rockets of the reactionary forces, where women, men, young and old, fell victims of the fascist policy of Khomeini's regime.

The invasion of the rural areas by the reactionary forces began simultaneously with their attack on the towns of Kurdistan. From north to south, the flames of an unjust war was

spreading everywhere, burning towns, villages, mountains and fields all at the same time. Towards the end of the summer 1359 (almost a year ago), Khomeini's regime directed its savage attack on the blood-stained town of Mahabad, the town of the heroes, and the town of Ghazi Mohamad (the founder of KDP). The reactionaries and the enemies of the people had particular hatred for the people of Mahabad. In the year 1358 (two years ago), during the war of Mahabad, the brave and undefeatable children of Kurdistan had inflicted deadly blows upon them. Thus, they wanted to take revenge from the people of Mahabad, as an act of retaliation. The commander of the garrison openly stated that they had received instructions to level the town of Mahabad and to plant onions and potatoes there. Ever since that time, the popular town of Mahabad has three times been the target of cannons, and mortar-shells of the enemies of freedom, and each time for a period of fifteen to thirty days, during which, more than one thousand defenseless people and tens of militants of the path of freedom have fallen martyr or been wounded.

The savage and blood-thirsty attitude of the reactionary forces had reached its peak in the rural areas as well. Whenever they could not resist the invincible power of the peshmargas, and were forced to retreat, they attacked the defenseless inhabitants of the rural areas and engaged in their massacre. The villages of Ghalatan, Inderghash, Vosoukand, Khanagi, Sofian, Koliij, Sar-u-Kani, and Daralak and tens of other villages of Kurdistan have been witness to the atrocity and bloodshed practiced by the

so-called guardians of Islam! In short, no town remained secure from the attacks of the reactionary forces; and hardly a village remains on this vast territory, where the evil hands of the enemies of freedom have not engaged in an act of crime.

However, the brave and freedom-loving people of Kurdistan, withstood against the man-slaughter and the voracity of the enemies of mankind, like an irresistible mountain, and never compromised. The town residents were burying their beloved ones in their courtyards, but were not prepared to bow their heads before their enemies. The commander of the Mahabad Garrison, after six months of desperate efforts and bombarding the town, openly demonstrated his helplessness by making the following statement: "during the six months that I have been here, not even one person living in Mahabad has ever referred to the garrison". The inhabitants of the burned and destroyed villages of Kurdistan, carrying their arms, had joined the peshmarga ranks to defend the liberty of their people. They said: "now that our village is burned, is there anything remaining for us to lose?" The massacre, carried-out in a number of Kurdish villages, not only failed in causing panic among the dignified inhabitants of the villages, but on the contrary, it resulted in their buying more arms and defending themselves, so that they would not be subjected to the same events that had taken place in Inderghash, Vosoukand and other villages. Thus, the Kurdish people demonstrated to the whole world that it would not spare any sacrifice in the pursuit of freedom and, therefore, it has the right to a free existence.

Dear Sisters and Brothers!

As you are aware, a few weeks after the conclusion of the Fourth Congress, parliamentary elections started all over Iran. Although our party had been termed "outlawed" by Khomeini's government, and eventhough we did not believe that this regime would allow the deputies elected by the people to enter the parliament, we nevertheless, participated in the elections and despite the fact that Khomeini's regime was not ready to carry out the elections in many southern towns of Kurdistan under the pretext of "lack of security", on the basis of confessions of the representatives of the Ministry of Interior, who had come to Kurdistan to supervise over the elections, the election for members of parliament held in Kurdistan was an example of sound and democratic elections. In the course of the elections, which was the first of its kind to allow the people of Kurdistan to vote freely and to elect their own representatives, the candidates of the KDP gained the majority of the votes, in the first round, in most of the voting poles. In the remaining poles, the party candidates all gained the necessary number of votes to enable them to enter the second round of elections.

The parliamentary elections were an opportunity for the people of Kurdistan to once more announce their support for the Kurdistan Democratic Party of Iran. Altogether, 80% of the people of Kurdistan voted for the candidates of our party.

But as expected, Khomeini's regime did not pay the slightest respect to the votes of the

people of Kurdistan, and did not permit any of the deputies elected by the people to enter the parliament. In many voting poles, when it came to discover that the party candidates had won, it even declared the elections as null and void!!

In the last days of autumn 1359 (last year), the story regarding the hostage-taking of the U.S. Embassy employees ended with their release by Khomeini's regime. The reactionary rulers of the hypocritical regime kept the people of Iran preoccupied with the hostage issue for nearly 15 months, pretending that the occupation of the U.S. Embassy was an anti-imperialist act. They carried their shamelessness so far as to conclude that this action was the symbol of a greater revolution than that of 22nd of Bahman 1357 (11th February 1979). Certain opportunist and compromising parties and organizations also figured that this illegal act was a sign to indicate that the regime was anti-imperialist and they did their best in praising it. Unfortunately, certain of the true revolutionary organizations also made the same error and unconditionally defended the illegal act committed by Khomeini's regime. The regime took advantage of the atmosphere it had created and was able to strengthen its foundations, to pass its retrograde constitution, and to enforce the monopolistic power of the Islamic Republic Party, the party of the stick-wielders, on the people of Iran.

From the very beginning, our party was of the opinion that taking American diplomats as hostage cannot be an indication that the regime

is anti-imperialist, and this act was only meant to deceive Iranian public opinion. We believed that this act was against the international laws and regulations and its only result would be to bring discredit to Iran in the eyes of the people of the world.

As time passed, the position we had taken proved to be correct. Although Khomeini's regime had initially put a number of conditions, such as the return of the Shah and his properties, against the release of the hostages, however, after 444 days of commotion and after the many blows inflicted upon the reputation and the credibility of our country, the regime of the hypocrites came to terms with the so-called Great Satan and released the hostages while none of its conditions had been fulfilled.

As we have witnessed, hostage-taking of the U.S. Embassy employees confronted our country with economic embargo, making the poverty-stricken people of Iran face the shortage and even the lack of numerous highly essential commodities of the every day life. The hostage-taking resulted in nearly 12 billion dollars of Iran's foreign reserves being frozen. By releasing the hostages, Khomeini's regime was only able to recuperate $\frac{1}{4}$ of these assets.

Dear Sisters and Brothers!

The irrational policy pursued by Khomeini's regime and its clamorous exportation of the revolution (!), finally imposed a destructive war on the people of Iran last year. As a result of Iraqi government's aggression against

the Iranian soil, which was to a great extent the direct result of the grandeur-seeking policy of Khomeini's regime, thousands of square kilometers of the soil of our beloved native country, Iran, became occupied by a foreign army. The occupied lands being located in a region considered to be vital for our country's economy. A number of towns, and hundreds and even thousands of villages in Khuzistan and south of Kurdistan were destroyed, more than two million inhabitants of the war-stricken areas were stranded, and had to find refuge in other parts of Iran. They are now facing the shortage of housing and living facilities and are living under most undesirable conditions. As a result of the wrong policies of the reactionary rulers, tens of thousands of Iranians have lost their lives, or have been injured or become invalid, and billions of dollars of financial damages have been inflicted upon the disorganized economy of our country.

A few days after the start of the war between Iraq and Iran, the Central Committee of KDPI, in an official communique, denounced the transgression of the Iraqi government upon Iranian soil and announced that if the central government recognizes the basic demands of the people of Kurdistan, our party is prepared to mobilize all its forces against the invading Iraqi army. The Central Committee, nonetheless, specified that Iraq's invasion of Iran, is to a great extent the result of the wrong policy pursued by the leaders of the Islamic Republic who constantly talk of exporting the revolution and instigate the people of the neighbouring countries against their governments. Evidently, our good will was, as usual, not reciprocated

and it even produced adverse results; for, following this message, the oppressive forces intensified their invasion of Kurdistan. This destructive war is unfortunately still continuing and there are no clear perspectives as yet, for its end. It appears that Khomeini's regime considers the continuation of this war as a means of its survival, and therefore, rejects any proposals for negotiations for the ending of the war.

In the period between the two congresses, the differences and internal conflicts between the factions of the ruling power increased day by day and, following Khomeini's several attempts to cover up, at last their disagreements leaked into the open. Khomeini, who at first pretended not to be taking sides in the conflicts between the rulers of the regime, finally as expected, took sides with the most reactionary factions of the ruling elite and as a result, Banisadr was removed from presidency and he merely managed to rescue himself from the clutches of the Islamic Republic Party stick-wielders.

During the final days, when the conflicts between the rulers of Iran had aggravated, our Central Committee, recalling all the wrong policies and positions taken by the President, proposed to Banisadr to come to Kurdistan, the bastion of freedom and freedom-lovers of Iran, in order to continue his struggles against reaction and also to protect his life, now that he was in such a state for having defended the minimum of democracy and having revealed the crimes and treasons committed by the monopolistic party. However, Banisadr did not

accept this invitation and after a while, he went to France aboard a military plane with Kak (brother) Massoud Rajavi, the leader of the Mujahedin-e-Khalq Organization of Iran.

In the past two years, mass-executions without trials of the freedom-seekers of Iran, suppression of democratic freedoms, and banning of activities for parties and revolutionary organizations were continued by the regime. In particular, after the removal of Banisadr and the apparent uniformity among the ruling elite, the massacre of freedom-loving individuals and even the execution of youth under the age of 15 increased in a horrible fashion, so that during the past five months, according to the formal government statistics, almost 3,500 of young militants of Iran were executed by the executioners of Khomeini's regime. Unfortunately, the number of executions is much higher than the announced figures, and as we have ourselves witnessed, they have so far executed more than one hundred among the Kurdish youth, without even publishing the news. In Khomeini's regime, just like at the time of the Shah, torture has turned into an official tool for the destruction of freedom-lovers, to the extent that up to now, hundreds of the revolutionary sons and daughters of the people of Iran have fallen martyr under the savage tortures exercised by the mercenaries of the regime.

Honourable Delegates to Congress!

In our opinion, the most important event of the past two years was the fact that, as a result of the oppressive policies and the crimes

committed by the regime, Iran's revolutionary forces, and at the summit of them all, the Mujahedin-e-Khalq which could no longer endure the existing conditions, began an armed struggle in order to put an end to the evil existence of the reactionary dictators. Within the past five or six months, the revolutionary and democratic forces have inflicted severe blows upon the constitution of the regime, as a result of which several leaders of the regime such as the president, the prime minister, the stick-wielders' party leader, the army chief of staff, the minister of defense and many cabinet members, and deputies of the reactionaries' parliament were killed.

Armed struggle has already begun in many parts of Iran, in towns and villages, in order to topple Khomeini's regime and this struggle attains new victories everyday. If a few months ago it appeared that our party and the people of Kurdistan were alone in the battlefield against Khomeini's regime, today all the true revolutionary forces who are thinking of liberating our beloved country Iran, have stood up against the regime. The glory remains for the peshmargas of Kurdistan for having been the first Iranian force to stand against the reactionaries and to have raised the flag of armed struggle.

The natural consequence of the wrong and irrational policies of Khomeini's regime has been the fact that, it has alienated itself both inside the country and on the international scene. In Iran, all the genuine and revolutionary forces, the democratic and progressive

classes, as well as all the oppressed people of the country have discovered the true nature of Khomeini's regime and in addition, they have realized that the main factor for all the shortages, the chaos, the deaths, and the homelessness of the people of Iran is Khomeini himself and therefore, they have devotedly come forward in order to topple the regime of the reactionaries. Because of the grandeur-seeking policies of the ruling class mullahs, and also because of the transgression on all human traditions and international regulations, Khomeini's regime has come completely to be detested by the world public opinion. It can be claimed with confidence that not even one government can be found in the world today to desire truly the continued existence of this regime or to approve of its unpopular actions.

Therefore, Khomeini and his gang have cleared the path themselves, for the destruction of their regime and nobody has the slightest doubt that the government of the Islamic Republic is rapidly moving towards the precipice of destruction.

THE PARTY POLICY IN THE PERIOD BETWEEN THE FOURTH AND THE FIFTH CONGRESSES

At the outset, it is necessary to state that both before and after the Fourth Congress as well as after the Fifth Congress, the only principle which had and will define our party's general course of action is the interests of the people of Kurdistan-Iran, and the national movement throughout Iran. In the framework

of this general principle, the basic points of our party's policy are summarized in four general objectives, which we assume that the Fifth Congress will also approve of. Our party policy after the congress as well, will be to pursue the implementation of these objectives. These objectives are as follows:

- Struggle against the political, economic, military and cultural influence of imperialism, particularly the U.S. Imperialism.
- Struggle for establishing democracy and democratic freedoms all over Iran.
- Struggle for obtaining the political, economic and social rights of workers, farmers and all the toilers in towns and villages.
- Struggle for obtaining the national rights of the oppressed peoples of Iran in the form of autonomy and in the framework of a free and independent Iran.

Although the struggle against imperialism is of a more important and general nature, and its value and importance should never be underestimated, and eventhough the four principles mentioned above, are in fact the four angles of an overall struggle, the Central Committee has for some time been of the opinion that because Khomeini's regime has left no trace of freedom and democracy and since there remains no possibility for the democratic forces to pursue their activities openly and legally, in the present conditions, the main duty of all the progressive political forces is to struggle against reaction and despotism

in order to establish democracy and to bring to power a democratic regime. The reason why the struggle for democracy has become the goal of the current struggles of the Iranian people, is because the existence of democratic freedoms will pave the path for a struggle against imperialism; and for obtaining the economic and social rights of the toilers, and autonomy for the oppressed peoples of Iran, and at the same time, it will guarantee the progress of the struggle.

Contrary to the propaganda put out by certain of the so-called leftist forces, which under the present conditions, support the criminal regime of Khomeini, and which try to make up theories in order to justify their deviated positions, a struggle against imperialism is not an independent subject, but has a clear and defined implication.

Struggle against imperialism means a struggle for uprooting the political, economic, military and cultural influence of the imperialism. An anti-imperialist struggle is meant to ensure the political independence and to develop the economic independence of the country. This intention will be materialized through the struggle against imperialism with the participation of the great popular masses and their democratic and revolutionary forces. No regime can become anti-imperialist merely by chanting anti-U.S. slogans. It is not possible for a regime to be truly anti-imperialist, but like Khomeini's regime, to prevent the popular masses from having the freedom to struggle against imperialism with all their strength. It is not possible for a regime to be anti-imperialist

but like Khomeini's regime, to oppress with all its power, the most revolutionary and the most determined anti-imperialist forces, such as the Kurdistan Democratic Party and the Mujahedin-e-Khalq Organization. It is not possible for a regime to be anti-imperialist, and like Khomeini's regime, to answer the just national demands of the oppressed Kurdish people with bullets. It is impossible for a regime to be truly anti-imperialist, and like Khomeini's regime, to confront the economic and social demands of the toilers by prosecution, imprisonment and execution.

A genuine anti-imperialist regime is a democratic one, which supports the oppressed people's struggle for liberation, and strives to realize the just demands of the toilers. History has shown, and it is quite logical, that since every oppressive and unpopular regime, every reactionary and dictatorial regime, indeed, serves imperialism, it will sooner or later become completely alienated from the popular masses and will be compelled to take refuge in the bosom of imperialism and to guard the interests and the influence of the imperialists. Therefore, struggle on the path of democracy for Iran, struggle to gain autonomy for Kurdistan, is at the same time a struggle against imperialism. No force and no regime in the world today can be anti-imperialist and yet be hateful of freedom, to feel hostile towards the freedom of the people; to step on the rights of the toilers and to have no respect for human rights. A regime like Khomeini's, not only is not an anti-imperialist regime, but it is an ally and a

supporter of imperialism and it paves the way for the domination of the imperialist influence once again on our beloved country Iran, through its actions.

After the Fourth Congress, the party policy regarding the ruling elite, was in fact the continuation of the policy it had held before the congress. As all the people of Kurdistan and the majority of the people of Iran are aware, the Central Committee has tried its best to find a peaceful solution for the Kurdish problem and to protect our people from the evils of war, conflicts, deaths and homelessness. Eventhough it has been criticized by various political groups for its efforts for peace, but the party leadership has continued this correct policy and has used every opportunity to engage in negotiations for reaching a peaceful solution.

The Fourth Congress had not yet completed its work, when the President, responding to a request submitted by the Central Committee before the congress, gave his consent for the dispatch of our party's delegation to Tehran for the purpose of conducting talks with the President. The first task of the Central Committee designated by the Fourth Congress, was to send a delegation to meet with the President. The party representatives brought up to the attention of the President in the course of their discussions, the six well-known principles of autonomy. These six principles were apparently accepted by the President but when Banisadr brought up our party's proposed plan in the Revolutionary

Council session which was dominated by narrow-minded mullahs, it was rejected by them.

The party delegation's lack of success did not impede the peace-seeking efforts pursued by the Central Committee. The latter repeatedly demonstrated its willingness for the peaceful solution of the Kurdish issue by sending open letters, messages and by any other means possible. When a three-member delegation sent by the President, arrived to Mahabad in order to discuss the Kurdish issue, our party leadership demonstrated its utmost good will and it even convinced the other political forces of Kurdistan that it is necessary to be ready to accept ceasefire, and to take this opportunity to put an end to the war in Kurdistan. However, the ruling reaction very soon renounced all the solutions which it had proposed itself.

Some time later, when the compassionate and patriotic personalities were still trying to find a solution for the Kurdistan issue, we were informed by telephone from Tehran that if the party agrees, the government is prepared to grant an Islamic Autonomy to Kurdistan. In reply to this proposal, and with the approval of the Political Bureau, the Secretary General of the party, announced in a meeting held in Mahabad with the participation of 60,000 people, that 90% of the Kurdish people are Moslems and if an Islamic Autonomy is granted to Kurdistan, our party and all the Kurdish people will welcome it.

However, regretfully, all the good will and peace-seeking efforts of the Central Committee

were interpreted by the Central Government as signs of weakness and helplessness, and the latter was never prepared to have a rational approach towards solving the Kurdish issue. On the contrary, the leaders of the regime were repeatedly stating that the peshmargas and the people of Kurdistan in general, should put down their arms and surrender. They went as far as to instruct the soldiers that they should not remove their boots until they have disarmed the last remaining peshmarga. Our party advised the government authorities about the dangers and the consequences of this wrong policy, on numerous occasions. In fact, during the above-mentioned meeting, the Secretary General of the party, on behalf of the Kurdistan Democratic Party of Iran, the brave peshmargas, and the people of Kurdistan, openly stated that the Kurdish people will not put down their arms until such time as their basic slogan: "democracy for Iran and autonomy for Kurdistan" has been realized. The monopolist reactionaries lent no ear to the voice of rationality and reason, and thereby forced upon the Kurdish people a war that is still going on.

Now that almost two years have passed since the resumption of war in Kurdistan, we believe that the only way to solve the problems of Kurdistan and throughout Iran is to topple Khomeini's regime, a regime that has no regard for the international laws and has blocked the way for any democratic and legal struggle, in such a manner that no political force in Iran has the possibility for expressing an opinion about the political and economic problems of the country. Khomeini's regime has turned into

the enemy of all the peoples of Iran, as a result of its un-popular policies; and it is exercising full oppression against all the nationalist and progressive forces of our country. It is therefore, the duty of all the political forces of Kurdistan and throughout Iran to mobilize all their means in order to inflict the final blow upon the weak and shaky constitution of the regime and to put a permanent end to this miserable rule of the reactionaries.

Honourable Participants of the Congress!

In order to speak about the party policy regarding the political forces of Iran, we have first to exclude some armed and unarmed groups that grew like mushrooms in Kurdistan and dissolved after a while. We can, then, divide political groups into three categories: The first category is composed of the true, responsible, and progressive forces that indeed struggle against the dictatorship of the reactionaries. Obviously, the Mujahedin-e-Khalq Organization are at the top of these forces. Our friendship and contacts with this organization is not something new. Our party had a friendly relationship with the Mujahedin several years prior to the fall of the Imperial Regime, and so far, this relationship has always been developing. We hope that in the near future, the friendship and cooperation between our party and the Mujahedin-e-Khalq will enter into a much more advanced phase. Last winter, when the Secretary General of the party had gone on a trip abroad, according to the request made by our Mujahed brothers, he met

with the representatives of the Mujahedin, and a new phase began in the relationship between these two forces. It was the Mujahedin who broke the silent conspiracy exercised by the regime against the struggle of the Kurdish people and the KDP. It was the Mujahedin who for the first time published an interview with the Secretary General of the Party in their publication. Following that, they also printed news items, etc., about Kurdistan, in most issues of Mujahed, (their official organ).

Since that time, our party and the Mujahedin Organization have had continuous contacts and have reached an agreement on creating a joint front, and have even agreed on the basic slogans of the front. It is evident, that our party's participation in the National Resistance Council has helped to expedite, the eventual creation of a wide front composed of the nationalist forces of Iran.

Another one of these genuine forces is the People's Fedayeen Guerrilla Organization of Iran (Minority). Our party has a close co-operation with this organization as well, and recently, our party and the People's Fedayeen Guerrilla Organization of Iran (Minority), wrote a joint letter to the Mujahedin regarding the establishment of a joint front in which were included the four general objectives of our party policy, and this alone indicates the closeness of positions taken by these two political forces. Moreover, our party peshmargas and the People's Fedayeen Guerrilla Organization of Iran, have active and close co-operation in the war and confrontations in Kurdistan.

Our party has friendly relations with the United Council of the Left, the Democratic National Front of Iran; and the Group for Freedom of Labour, which are three revolutionary organizations belonging to the first category. They have useful co-operation with our party in the field of publications and propaganda. We also have friendly liaisons with several other political groups and a number of Iranian freedom-loving and patriotic personalities.

The second category, are those groups that are active in an armed struggle against Khomeini's regime in Kurdistan, such as Komeleh. Unfortunately, whenever this organization takes one step against the regime, it takes two steps against our party. It appears that having a feeling of hostility towards our party is among its most important tasks and historic missions. In reality, if our party had not demonstrated a responsible attitude up to now, a great deal of the party's means and energy would have had to be used to confront it.

Our party policy regarding such organizations, has been that Kurdistan is neither the monopoly of the KDP nor of any other political power, and they have the right to conduct their own activities as a political force. However, in order to create healthy and correct relations between our party and such organizations, it is necessary that they end their hostility towards the KDP, and to stop their propaganda and military attacks against our party. In addition, they should respect the opinion and votes of the majority of the people of Kurdistan who support our party and not to interfere in

the administrative affairs of Kurdistan. Anyhow, we do not consider ourselves as being hostile towards Komeleh and believe that if they conduct themselves in a responsible manner, the possibility of creating a healthy relationship and a peaceful co-existence between the party and Komeleh does exist.

The third category are composed of those groups that have turned into a support for Khomeini's regime, and are openly hostile towards our party and the national-democratic movement of the Kurdish people, as well as the overall revolutionary movement of Iran. They defend the crimes committed by Khomeini's regime and try to cover them up, even outside Iran, in order to find some prestige for it. These groups are: the Tudeh Party, the Fedayeen (Majority), and the 7-member gang of jash (mercenary).

We trust that as long as the above groups hold the same positions and that as long as the war continues in Kurdistan, the Kurdish people will not recognize them as political organizations, but will consider them as the enemy's fifth column. By the way, they have already shown in practice, that they are the enemy's fifth column, since they spy for the enemy and have on numerous occasions betrayed the members and supporters of the party as well as the peshmargas and have caused their arrest, some of whom have since unfortunately been executed. The peshmargas of Kurdistan are obviously aware of their duty in dealing with mercenaries (jash) and spies.

Under the present conditions, the above-

stated gangs have no place in the liberated Kurdistan and do not have the right to conduct any activity. If they are seen anywhere, they will be identified as jash (mercenary) and spy and will be treated accordingly.

Dear Sisters and Brothers!

Our party policy regarding the necessity of establishing a joint front is quite clear. Our party has for a long time consistently been in favour of creating such a front. During the present phase as well, before anyone else, it was the KDP that expressed the wish for creating a democratic/anti-imperialist front, and even presented on 27 Farvardin 1359 (last year), a plan outlining the basic slogans, to the progressive and revolutionary political organizations of Iran.

We are now happy to announce that all the genuine and revolutionary forces of Iran have jointly agreed on the importance of creating a united front, and three of the conditions for creating the front have been fulfilled: First of all, the main forces such as the Mujahedin-e-Khalq Organization, the KDP, and the People's Fedayeen Guerrilla Organization of Iran, have started a persistent struggle for overthrowing Khomeini's regime. Secondly, the basic objectives of the front have been determined in action and they are: putting an end to the influence of imperialism, and in particular the U.S. Imperialism; bringing to power a democratic regime; the fulfillment of the economic and social demands of the toilers; and the provision of the national rights of the oppressed peoples of Iran. Thirdly, the

reactionary wrath of Khomeini's regime has actually determined the method of struggle for its overthrow. The regime has blocked the way for any political and peaceful struggle and as a result, all the revolutionary and progressive forces of Iran, have reached the conclusion that the only way to confront the fascist acts of Khomeini's regime is to launch an armed struggle.

Yet, more important is that large popular masses of Iran not only welcome the creation of a front, but firmly demand the political organizations to expedite the establishment of such a front. It should be noted that in the history of the Iranian people's struggle for freedom, the conditions for creating a united front have never been so assembled. Due to this, we hope that in the near future, our beloved country will have a democratic/anti-imperialist front that will bring together all the genuine and revolutionary forces of Iran; and will be able to establish itself on the ruins of Khomeini's regime as a democratic substitute. We are already confident that popular masses all over Iran, will support the joint front composed of the nationalist forces with all their might.

As regards the issue of creating a front, we would like the participants of the congress to note the following two points. First, Banisadr, the former president of Iran, had requested Kak (brother) Massoud Rajavi, the leader of the Mujahedin, to set up a resistance council and had also proposed a program for this council, before leaving the country. Due to the value that we attach to our friendship and co-operation with the Mujahedin, we did not

find it appropriate to openly announce our position regarding this program, but even then, we informed the leadership of the Mujahedin, through an official message, that we did not accept Banisadr neither as president and nor as the head of the Resistance Council, and in addition, we did not consider the program proposed by him as a progressive one, since it did not contain the basic demands of the Kurdish people, and the other peoples of Iran.

The second point is that when Kak (brother) Massoud Rajavi published the transitional government program in Paris, we rapidly announced our support for this program, because we found that most of the fundamental demands of the Iranian people were reflected therein. It is herewith necessary to repeat that we never have been, nor are, or will ever be, ready to join a front that has not included the basic demands of the people of Kurdistan in its program.

After lengthy meetings and discussions held between the leadership of our party and that of the Mujahedin, our party announced its decision to join the National Resistance Council, in a formal letter addressed to Kak Massoud Rajavi, dated 5 Āban 1360 (27 October, 1981). Our decision to join the Council, was meant to pursue the two fundamental objectives: Primarily, because the present conditions of the struggle of the Iranian people have turned the issue of unity between the revolutionary forces into the topic of the day and any shortcoming or negligence in realizing this unity will jeopardize the revolutionary movement of our country; and secondly, because the transitional government program of

Kak (brother) Massoud Rajavi contains the basic slogan of our party "democracy for Iran and autonomy for Kurdistan", and the overall objectives of the government program correspond to the policies and slogans of our party. Our party's decision to join the Council has left a favourable impression on the popular masses in Kurdistan, and at the same time it has been warmly welcomed by all the freedom-loving citizens throughout Iran.

No doubt, the serious and close co-operation between the two main forces of the Iranian opposition, the Mujahedin Organization and the Democratic Party, cannot only have a positive effect on co-ordinating the other forces of the opposition, but it can also regenerate the struggle of the Iranian people, for the overthrow of Khomeini's retrograde regime. We hope that our party joining the Resistance Council will be a beginning for the creation of a vast democratic/anti-imperialist front, and the freedom-loving forces of our country will become permanently saved from dispersion.

Dear Comrades!

The policy of our party in connection with the non-Iranian Kurdish forces, has been, and we trust that it will continue to be that we consider the victory of the Kurdish people in any part of Kurdistan, as a victory for the other parts of Kurdistan. However, taking into consideration the fact that Kurdistan is divided between four countries and each of these countries have their own particular characteristics, we are of the opinion that relations

between the Kurdish forces should be based on the following principles:

None of the Kurdish forces should interfere in the internal affairs of the other sections of Kurdistan. They should never create a type of relationship with any of the governments ruling over Kurdistan, as to harm the liberation movement of the Kurdish people in that particular section of Kurdistan, and also, whenever the Kurdish forces have the means, they should provide financial and spiritual aid to the Kurdish people's liberation movements in the different sections of Kurdistan.

It is evident that our party has always been faithful to these three principles and has taken important steps in this regard. Fortunately, the majority of the other Kurdish forces have also observed these principles, to the best of their abilities. The only force that has trampled on these principles and has had no respect for them, is the Kurdistan Democratic Party of Iraq, with the leadership of the Barezani family, which is now known as "Ghiadeh Movaghat". As we are all aware, during the time of Mullah Mustapha Barezani, the armed people of the Barezani's would chase the Iranian Kurdish freedom-lovers on behalf of the Shah's regime, and once arrested they would be turned over to the Shah's regime, dead or alive. At present too, the Barezani family acts as the mercenary of Khomeini's regime inside the territory of Iranian Kurdistan, and has staged a war against the Kurdish people and the KDP.

During the past four months, the Ghiadeh jash (mercenaries) with the leadership of the Barezani sons, and with the co-operation of the oppressive forces of the regime, the army, the passdaran (revolutionary guards), the mercenaries and the disgraceful spies of the 7-member gang have treacherously attacked several parts of Kurdistan, specially the northern parts, and killed several of the defenseless inhabitants of these sections and martyred and injured tens of the heroic peshmargas of Kurdistan. They also caused the death of tens of the deceived Iraqi-Kurds, killed by the Kurdish peshmargas. Obviously, we do not consider it a remote possibility that the treason committed by the Ghiadeh mercenaries was instigated by their great master, the U.S. Imperialism, and they have at the same time been able to meet the approval of Khomeini's regime. During the past several years, our party leadership in order to prevent a war of Kurds against Kurds, has ignored the un-popular actions of the Barezani family leaders and has even refrained from disclosing their crimes.

However, since the mercenaries of Ghiadeh, Savak and Moussad have reached the peak of their shamelessness, and staged a war against us inside our own territory, the party leadership decided to disclose all the past and present treacheries committed by the Barezani leadership to the public opinion of Iran and the world, and to take steps in purging them from Iranian Kurdistan. We believe that after the congress, our efforts should continue for publicizing the treacherous nature of these mercenaries and take

steps towards expelling them from the sacred soil of Kurdistan. We hope that all the popular masses of Kurdistan in all sections of Kurdistan, along with their patriotic forces, will co-operate with our party and the Kurdish people in disgracing Ghiadeh and denouncing its treacheries, and will reveal, as much as possible, the ugly faces of these mercenaries in the presence of all the freedom-loving people of the world.

As to the foreign policy, our party follows the principles outlined in the party program some time ago. A persistent struggle against imperialism and specially the U.S. Imperialism in order to uproot the influence of the world imperialism in Iran and the provision of political independence as well as pursuing an independent economic policy on the international level, is one of the main pillars of our party's foreign policy.

During the past two years, our party has fully applied this truly anti-imperialist policy and it has made advance an uninterrupted struggle against world imperialism both inside the country and on the international level. However, our party at the same time, rejects any deviating and deceitful theory which under the pretext of staging an anti-imperialist struggle, establishes an unpopular dictatorship, leaving no trace of democracy and oppressing the genuine anti-imperialist forces. As far as our party is concerned, a struggle for autonomy, and a struggle for democracy, as well as a struggle against imperialism, are the three dimensions of one and the same struggle. Those who consider the struggle for obtaining the rights of the oppressed peoples, and the struggle for

establishing a democratic regime, as a struggle of secondary importance, have either misunderstood or deliberately serve the enemies of the people.

Our party supports the liberating movements of the oppressed peoples all over the world. This struggle, wherever in the world it may be, or to whichever oppressed people it may belong, is linked to the struggles of all the oppressed people and is a just, progressive, and anti-imperialist struggle. Therefore, our party has friendly relations with a great number of liberation movements in the Middle East, Africa, Asia, and Latin America, and it strives as much as possible to strengthen and develop such relations.

The Kurdistan Democratic Party of Iran, ever since it was founded, has considered the friendship with the Soviet Union and thereafter, with all the socialist countries, to be in the interest of the oppressed Kurdish nation, and it is still of the same opinion. Therefore, our party has tried, and will continue to try and have friendly relations and co-operation with all the democratic and progressive countries, who in their foreign policy, support socialism, democracy and the rights of the oppressed peoples. As regards world politics, joining ranks with the revolutionary and progressive forces against the reactionary and imperialist forces is our party strategy on the international scene.

Our party rejects the theory of there being two super powers, and the classification of the

Soviet Union as "social imperialism", and it believes that these theories will eventually serve the interests of the world imperialism and in particular the U.S. Imperialism. However, although our party takes count of the importance of having friendly relations with the socialist countries, it considers the maintenance of the party's independent policy, and safeguarding the political independence of Iran as the principle foundations, which it should always pursue.

ORGANIZATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Honourable Participants of the Congress!

The famous slogan "organization is our most important weapon" has for a long time been a familiar topic for our party. Let us closely examine this slogan. If we look through the history of the Kurdish people's liberation movements, we will notice that most movements of the Kurdish people have been led by a sheikh, a feudal, a mullah or a tribal chief. The consequence of this situation was that whenever the leader of the uprising was killed, died, or was deceived or became a traitor, the uprising was also subject to a retreat, since everything depended upon the leader. It is to prevent the reoccurrence of this situation that we wish the organization to be the leader of the Kurdish people's movement and to protect it from the hazards of individual leadership. We look for an organization that is vital, active, and mobile. An organization that will not be dependent on any of its members. If one day, God forbid, half or more members of the leadership cadre should no longer exist, those who remain

will take charge. Even if all the members of the leadership cadre should pass-away, the lower cadres will, as a vital organism, create a new leadership, and continue the path.

When we consider "organization" as our most important weapon, we should know that it does not just happen to be that way. What it means is that we can buy all kinds of weapons in return for money, we can borrow them, or get them from the enemy as spoils of war, or obtain them from an individual or a friend. But we can neither buy organization with money, borrow it, nor can anybody give it to us. The organization should stem from the heart of the nation and to grow thereafter. Experience also indicates that if we have organization, we can also obtain all the other necessities. But even if we have an adequate quantity of arms and sufficient financial means but lack in organization, we can not accomplish anything. Right now, we observe that wherever we have a strong and efficient organization, our economic, social and military affairs move smoothly as well, and on the contrary, wherever we lack an active organization, all our economic, military and social affairs fall behind.

When we refer to organization, we have in mind an organization that has proper divisions and an orderly make-up, has a program of function and activity and can become a point of conjunction between the party policy and the popular masses. If we consider the present conditions of Kurdistan, we will notice that our party leadership pursues a correct and essential policy on the whole, which is responsive to the current conditions of our

people's struggles, and which the popular masses support with all their might. However, between the correct and essential policy of the party, and the large masses of people who support this policy, there exists a connecting point which regretfully is still not very strong. This connecting point is "organization". We are in need of an organization that is capable of speedily and actively informing the masses of Kurdistan about all the decisions made by the party leadership, and to transfer all the demands and requests of the people to the leadership with the same speed and agility. So that the leadership will be able to base its policies, in a more correct fashion, on these demands.

It is necessary for the party committees and divisions to have a systematic program and to hold regularly their meetings. In the meetings held by the party committees and divisions, the day-to-day political, economic, and social issues should be discussed and reviewed, and suitable solutions should be found for the existing problems. It is necessary for the party organs to strive constantly to develop their self-education, and to raise the level of their political knowledge as well as that of the members and supporters of the party. In the party meeting sessions, discussions should be held concerning all the important issues, and the decisions should be made "en masse", then for executing the decision, the responsibility should be delegated to one of the members. As is reflected in the party's Internal Rules, independent action and decision-making is rejected by the party and individualism as well as idol-worshipping should be eliminated.

It is a great pleasure to note that since the Fourth Congress, our party organization has made great strides. It is appropriate to thank all the cadres, the party officials, and the comrades in the organization department for this achievement. However, taking into consideration the sacred and heavy responsibility that the history of our people has put upon our shoulders, we should accept that this progress is not enough and we cannot compare what has been so far achieved to what should still be achieved.

Now, let us point out some of the deficiencies in our organizational affairs, so that we can do our best to remedy them in the future. One of the important principles in the organizational activity of our party is democratic centralism. This important principle has been clearly defined in our party's Internal Rules. It is with much regret that we have to admit that this principle has not yet been put into practice by many divisions of our party organization. In certain divisions, centralism is so strongly pursued that it has turned into a form of mastery, and in some other sections, democracy is practiced to the extent that it has practically turned into anarchy and chaos. Designating the organs from bottom-up which is a fundamental part of democratic centralism, has not yet been properly pursued; the reason being that certain members of the party occasionally mix personal and family ties with the affairs of the party. As of the end of this congress, the organization sector should make a serious effort to apply the principle of democratic centralism, and to implement this important principle in all the party organs.

One of the other inadequacies in our party's organizational affairs is the shortage of cadres. A cadre is the spinal cord of the party and is the main contact point between the leadership and the party organizations, and through them, the popular masses. We should now see what is meant by party cadre to which we attach so great an importance? We are in need of a cadre who is more than anything a faithful and patriotic person, who is fully aware of the policy, tactics, and strategies of the party, and is capable of strengthening the relationship between the party and the popular masses; who has a good reputation among the people and is respected by them; who is a model of devotion and self-sacrifice for the other party members, who is a part of the people, who lives among them and lives the way they do, and who genuinely feels their sufferings and problems; who does not panic in moments of difficulty, and has the ability to confront the enemy and is able to protect the party organizations from enemy attacks during emergency conditions. Now that an armed struggle has been enforced upon our party, the party cadre should be a courageous person, who would not become desperate at the time of war and during the enemy attacks; and who is finally able to make independent decisions, should the need arise.

In between the two congresses, we were able to set up several cadre-training classes, and to train more than two hundred eager youth. It is necessary herewith to thank all the comrades who co-operated in training and educating these youth. However, it is important to remind you of the fact that the party cadre

cannot become perfect by just going through a training session, it is only on the scene of party activity that the cadre develops and makes his abilities known. The cadre-training course is set up only for the purpose of teaching certain general principles, and to encourage the cadre towards self-education, studying and gaining experience.

One of our other deficiencies in the field of organizational activities is combining party work with military work, or party work with administrative work. It does happen that a party comrade issues a certain order like a military commander would do, and so imagines that this method can be effective in processing a party affair. Also, at times, a party organ communicates its guidelines through circulars only, and expects to achieve ideal results. Whereas, none of these methods correspond correctly to the principles of party work, and cannot produce favourable results. In order to be able to carry the guidelines, slogans, and policies of the party to the members, and to try and get them to help implement the party decisions with a sense of responsibility and faith, it is necessary for us to comprehend that party work with members and supporters implies a vital work and a direct contact. We should sit down with them and clarify the issues for them. This process should be repeated as many times as necessary, until they can comprehend the topic of discussion and become convinced. We cannot use any other method except a method of "persuasion", inside the party and with party comrades.

Of course, bringing up this subject does not mean that we should never issue circulars, or if a member fails in carrying out his duties, we should not interrogate him. The purpose is that it is essential to consider the methods of "persuasion" as the principle method of party work, and if we do occasionally use other methods, they should serve and be in the framework of the above mentioned methods of internal party work.

One of the other shortcomings in our organizational work, is the lack of a theoretic publication for educating party members. The Fourth Congress had approved that the publishing of "Tekoshar" (militant), the internal party publication, of which twenty issues had appeared before the congress, should be resumed. However, due to the difficult conditions of the struggle, the organizational section did not get an opportunity to implement this important task. We hope that the new party leadership will consider the publication of a theoretic organ as one of its important future duties, and will take expedited action in this direction.

The deficiencies that we referred to, do exist in our organizational work and activities, and in order to rectify them, we should refrain from covering them up. It should, however, be stated that all these inadequacies also result from a number of specific factors, both objective and subjective. The objective factor is that our party was faced with a war enforced upon it, ever since it resumed its open activity, and the party organs have not had the time it takes to remedy these deficiencies, and in

addition, our people are not quite used to party and organizational work, and it will take a much longer time, for them to discover the necessity and the value of organizational work. The subjective factor is the shortage or the non-availability of cadres, which unfortunately is still very much evident, specially in certain areas.

Despite all this, we look forward to the future of our party's work and activities with a hopeful attitude, and we are proud of the progress that we have made so far. We trust that our responsible comrades, and in particular the leadership that will be elected at this Fifth Congress, will attach the necessary importance to organizational work and most of the deficiencies that exist today will be corrected in time for the Sixth Congress. Another important issue which we would like to bring to the attention of the congress, and we hope that the "Congress of the Martyrs" will pay full attention to it and will demand the new party leadership to work on it carefully and actively, is the issue of giving job priorities to the two most important strata of society, women and young people.

A rapid glance at the composition of this congress easily shows that our party has done very little organizational work among women. Although women compose half of the population of our society, the number of female representatives in this congress does not even reach 1 of the number of male representatives. 10 This phenomenon can obviously be considered as a great inadequacy and even a great fault for a . . .

revolutionary party. The more women participate in the political, social and economic activities of a society, the more progressive that society will be, and such a society can look forward to a better future. In order to rectify this great deficiency, it is necessary for the sisters who are party members to make a greater effort in encouraging other sisters to engage in political activities, and to gather them around the party. The brothers who are staff and party members should also attach a great importance to this issue and start with their own family and relatives, and to encourage them to join the party ranks. They can then take charge of the organizational work among women.

It has become clear for us that we have made considerable progress in attracting young people to the party as compared to the time of the Fourth Congress. In the plenum held in the month of Tir (June - July 1981), the Central Committee decided to attach a greater importance to the issue of attracting young people to the party. Fortunately, positive steps have been taken in this regard. The Union of Democratic Youths of Iranian Kurdistan has been founded, based on clear principles, and has started its activities. A great number of the district and town committee members have been chosen from among the youth during party conferences. However, we believe that this is not enough; since our youth do not possess sufficient experience in organizational work, it is essential that the co-operation between party organizations and the young people to be seriously strengthened - after the congress as well. Young

people should be provided with the necessary guidelines and to be encouraged towards more work and activity.

It is necessary that the congress propose to the new party leadership, to be more active than before in pursuing party work among women and young people. The more women are absorbed in our party, the more hopeful we can be of our party's progress; and the more young people are assembled in our party, the brighter will be the future of our party.

Dear Comrades!

As we all know, the acts of sabotage conducted by the leadership of the Tudeh Party, and the submission of certain of its supporters to the ranks of the KDP, finally resulted in a small group of the leadership cadre elected by the congress, and a few of the members and supporters of the party, to separate their path from that of the militants of the Kurdish people and the KDP, in the months following the Fourth Congress; and according to the leaders of the Tudeh Party, "to return to the bosom of the mother party". They are known as the "Jash (mercenary) gang of seven", in the history of the Kurdish people and that of our party.

In the initial stages, when the gang's betrayal came to the open, the leaders of the Tudeh Party and the mercenaries of Khomeini's regime gave great dimensions to the issue, and pretended that an important schism has occurred in the KDP. Even parts of the sympathizing popular masses of Kurdistan and some party

members and supporters were concerned that this gang may be able to create a major obstacle on the way of our party's activities. They were worried that the reactionary government of Khomeini may grant certain small concessions to this gang in order to cause uncertainty and irresolution among the popular masses.

But we were certain from the very beginning that the aware and alert people of Kurdistan would very soon discover the treacherous nature of this group, and would throw disgrace upon them before the history of the Kurdish people, and the peoples of Iran. We knew that they have turned their backs on to the interests and aspirations of the people of Kurdistan, and have thrown themselves in the arms of a regime that is not even prepared to confess the existence of the Kurdish people. We all witnessed that our attitude proved to be correct, and the party members and supporters as well as all the people of Kurdistan, very soon branded them as traitors; and the gang of seven practically turned into a small gathering, isolated from the popular masses and deviated from the glorious path of the liberation movement of the people of Kurdistan.

The question may possibly arise as to why did the party leadership not become aware of the treason committed by this gang sooner, and did not expel them from the party ranks? This is a good question, of course. The reality is that, their suspicious moves were noticeable during the course of the Fourth Congress, and even before that; however, the analysis of the party leadership was that if the party makes

haste in expelling them, and does not give them a chance to show their treacherous faces to the people, they will put on a pitiable face, and turn themselves into false heroes. Therefore, we waited until they removed the mask from their ugly faces, with their own hands, and the people of Kurdistan became aware of all the plots and conspiracies planned by them and their counselors. We still are of the opinion now, that we may have been rather negligent about this matter, but on the whole, the method that we employed in order to disgrace and expose this gang was correct, so that when three other members of the Central Committee joined this gang, the Kurdish people very soon banished them from their ranks and considered them as deviators.

PROPAGANDA WORK

Dear Sisters and Brothers, Honourable Members of Congress!

It is highly unfortunate that many of us have not yet perceived the importance and value of propaganda work. Whereas, next to organizational work, the most important part of party work is propaganda. In fact, if organization despite all its value, is not accompanied by correct and proper propaganda, it will turn into a body without spirit and will not have the means for progress and development. Propaganda work should be considered much more important and necessary, especially in the current phase of our people's struggle, at a time when the regime has mobilized all its propaganda facilities against

the revolutionary forces of Iran and in particular against our party.

The party propaganda should communicate the ideas, policies, tactics, and strategies of the party, and the decisions made by the leadership to the popular masses, and mobilize them for struggle to fulfill the party objectives which are the objectives of all the people of Kurdistan. To expose the enemy's evil plans and conspiracies, staged against the Kurdish people and its truth-seeking movement; and more important still, to neutralize the poisonous propaganda broadcasted by the propaganda apparatus of the regime, and to make the people of Kurdistan and the rest of Iran, aware of the true events that are taking place.

We are glad to state that our party propaganda has made alot of progress during the period between the two congresses. The difficult conditions of political activity and armed struggle, did not give us an opportunity to publish "Kurdistan" newspaper on a daily or weekly basis. At times, the situation was such that "Kurdistan" could not appear regularly even once a month. However, on the whole, "Kurdistan" as a serious publication, trusted by the popular masses of Kurdistan, has been published without making its readers wait. Fortunately, the radio "Sound of Kurdistan-Iran" has been able to fill the vacuum created by the shortage of publications. In fact, the "Sound of Kurdistan" is like a sound newspaper, published daily, in hundreds of thousands of issues, which reaches every town and village and is received in every home. Still more

important is that, both literate and illiterate persons listen to it and benefit from it - be it the worker in the factory, the farmer in the farm, or the shepherd on the mountain and in the pasture.

Radio "Sound of Kurdistan-Iran" presently has daily programs which last three hours and fifteen minutes, broadcast in the languages of the three great nations of Iran, the Persian, the Azarbaijani, and the Kurd. Our party as well as all the people of Kurdistan, are proud of radio "Sound of Kurdistan". It is the first time in the history of the Kurdish people, that a radio has been set up on the Kurdish soil, with financial and technical assistance provided locally, and without any help from outside sources. A radio that has been regularly broadcasting for the past one and a half years, and is continuing to advance. The programs of Radio Kurdistan have been able to attract and satisfy the people of Kurdistan, and a substantial part of the Iranian people. Therefore, tens of letters of appreciation sent by listeners, are received daily, by the radio station.

Allow us to express our gratitude on behalf of all the participants of the congress, for the efforts of all those who have co-operated in installing and operating the radio, including all the writers, translators, and announcers of the radio programs, as well as all the peshmargas who guard the radio premisses day and night, and consider it as precious as their "pupil of the eye". We hope that the day will come when we can introduce the engineers, employees, writers, translators, announcers and the guards of Radio Kurdistan, to all the

people of Kurdistan, so that the appreciative and grateful Kurdish masses, will be able to shower their worthy and compassionate sons and daughters with flowers.

We find it appropriate to request once more all the party comrades and the listeners of radio "Sound of Kurdistan", to co-operate with the radio more than before and to send appealing poems, prose and news-reports of events taking place in their areas. It is not correct that certain party organizations should limit their correspondence with the radio, to mere submission of war news. The radio should become, in every way, the means of contact between the masses of Kurdistan and people all over Iran. Moreover, it is also incorrect to listen to the radio news and programs, and not to pay any heed to them. We should consider the radio as a tutor and a means of receiving education. It is necessary for all the party members and supporters to listen carefully to all the radio programs; to learn from them whatever they do not know, and to write to the radio about the things that they have a knowledge of; so that others may benefit from them.

Dear Comrades!

Despite all the importance that we attached to the role played by the radio, we should not forget the important role of direct propaganda. We should know that no method of propaganda can replace direct and live propaganda. It is through this type of propaganda work that we can talk to the people, in their own language, and to comprehend their pains, problems and

demands. It is, therefore, necessary for the party officials and cadres to be among people as much as possible, to talk to them about political and social issues and to correctly perceive their points of view and to communicate them to the party organs.

Where propaganda is concerned, our main inadequacy was the fact that our voice could not reach the other parts of Iran. Fortunately this insufficiency no longer exists, thanks to radio "Sound of Kurdistan". In addition, several of the patriotic Iranian organizations, such as the Mujahedin-e-Khalq, People's Fedayeen Guerrillas (Minority), the Freedom of Labour Group, and the United Council of the Left, have provided considerable assistance to us in this regard, and have carried our voice to the peoples of Iran for which we are thankful to them, and we hope that this co-operation will continue in the future, as well.

FINANCIAL AFFAIRS

Dear Representatives!

The financial department of our party has undergone many changes during the period between the Fourth and the Fifth Congress. Regular supervision is now being exercised over the party income and expenditures, where both the financial section of the Central Committee and the town organizations are concerned. The Financial Commission and the Central Commission have audited the income and cost books of most of the party organizations, and have spotted the deficiencies in the financial sections of these organizations.

Although a great portion of the living expenses of the dear peshmargas are borne by their parents and relatives, however, the financial department of the party has so far been able to furnish regularly the symbolic aid that has been considered for the peshmargas; and ever since last spring, the financial help to the peshmargas has, when possible, increased.

However, despite this progress, we should also consider the fact that the deficiencies existing in the activities of the financial department are great in number. The most important deficiency existing in this department is that a considerable part of its income is provided from outside-party sources such as tax, zakat (religious tax), and customs duties. Whereas, none of these can be considered as party sources of income. The party's Internal Rules has outlined party's sources of income, which are as follows: membership fees; help provided by party members, supporters and friends; and the income derived from the party foundations and organizations, such as publications and artistic organizations.

We should bear in mind that a political party can be hopeful of its future only when it is financially self-reliant; in other words, all its income should be provided from sources that have been considered for this purpose. It is true that at present our party covers certain costs which are not considered as part of the party expenditures, such as costs of the peshmargas, and social affairs, but nevertheless, we should always be thinking of covering these costs through party sources of

income, as well. Even if we are not capable of covering these costs, living expenses of the party cadre should under no conditions be furnished from sources other than that of the party. As we all know, the Central Committee has published a plan for setting up councils in villages, districts, cities and towns, on basis of which all the outside-party income will be placed at the disposal of those councils, so that they can be spent on social affairs. In such an event, the only source that will remain in order to cover the costs and expenditures of the party affairs, is the party's own income.

Therefore, the Financial Commission of the Central Committee, advised all party organizations, through a circular, published last summer, that as of the beginning of autumn this year, except for financial aid to the families of the martyrs, it would not provide any kind of financial help to the party organizations. This decision has already been implemented in several organizations, and it should be put into practice by all the other sections as well, in the future. Moreover, it is necessary for the town organizations to furnish the Central Committee, with 20% of their income, as of spring 1361 (next year).

In order for the financial department to be able to cover all the party costs through party income, we propose that with the co-operation of the organizational sector, it should make an effort to collect, each month, membership fees of party members. It should regularly provide the financial sections of town organizations with donation tickets, and to cover a great

portion of the party expenses by way of collecting financial help. The process of collecting financial aid from party friends and supporters, also has the great advantage of strengthening the contact between the party and the popular masses, and encouraging party members to increase their presence among people, and to strengthen their ties with them. Our other suggestion is that the Financial Commission should regenerate the sources of party income, so that they can in the future turn into important sources of income for our party.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Dear Sisters and Brothers!

It is appropriate to state that for the past two years, our party has taken important and positive steps as regards international relations. Currently, our party enjoys relations of close friendship and co-operation with most of the world liberation movements, and in particular, the Palestine Liberation Movement, as well as the liberation movements of the peoples of the Middle East. It has also established friendly relations with a substantial number of democratic organizations, syndicates and communist and socialist parties, in socialist and western countries. For the past two years, our party has been able, on the whole, to familiarize the peoples of the world with the legitimate and just demands of the Kurdish people, and the liberation movement of the people of Kurdistan. It can be claimed with confidence that in the history of the struggles of our people, never before have the peoples of the world been so knowledgeable about the Kurdish issue and they

have never given it as much support. It is noteworthy that the trip abroad made by the Party Secretary General last year, had a considerable effect on the introduction of the just struggle of our party and our people.

Dear Comrades!

Our party has also been able to establish good relations with international organs. As a result of our party's efforts and activities, the European Parliament has agreed to bring up the Kurdish issue as the issue of an oppressed people, in its next session. The Cultural Organization of UNESCO, has promised to provide our people with all kinds of assistance in the field of education, upon formal recognition and the establishment of formal ties. As we know, Amnesty International has protested against the killing, prosecution and arrest of the freedom-loving Kurds, and has defended us on different occasions. The three international medical organs: Doctors Without Frontiers, International Medical Aid, and World Doctors, have so far helped the sick and the injured in Kurdistan by sending a number of medical teams, and have declared that they are prepared to continue their services.

During this period, the activities of the party organization in Europe has also been considerable. Our comrades in Europe have been able to attract a great number of Iranian Kurds residing abroad, towards the party, and have made efforts in setting up party committees and divisions for them. Also, where propaganda is concerned, the party organization

in Europe has accomplished a great deal. It has regularly distributed the Kurdistan News Bulletin in France and Sweden. It has established contacts with the well-known world press and radio stations, and has furnished them with the necessary news and information regarding the struggle of the Kurdish people which have been published on a regular basis. As for medical assistance, the European organization has made great efforts, and has succeeded in collecting a large quantity of medicine and medical equipment.

It has also played a positive role in the political activities of Kurds residing abroad and specially in the student organization. The latter has now split into two branches, both of which co-operate with our party, and our party is trying to re-unite them and to save them from discord. Komkar (The organization of Kurdish workers of Turkey in West Germany and West Berlin) which has a considerable number of members and supporters, has friendly relations with our party and helps us in every way possible. It is appropriate herewith to thank the comrades based in the European organization for their activities and to wish them further success.

In autumn of this year, the Central Committee was able to furnish educational grants to a number of students, and to send them abroad to continue their studies. Efforts continue for sending abroad more of those students. We hope that in the future, our party will be able to send abroad, a substantial number of revolutionary and eager girls and boys, for the

continuation of their studies and for the presentation of the struggle of our people.

There is no doubt, that the best method of gaining the respect and support of the world public opinion, for the Kurdish people and the KDP, is the struggle and activities carried out inside the country, by the party members, and the invincible peshmargas of Kurdistan. However, we should not forget that, if the news about the sacrifices of our people do not reach abroad on a timely basis and if they are not carefully processed and illustrated for the people, we will not be able to attract more rapidly and effectively the world public opinion to the struggle launched by our party and our people.

THE STRUGGLE OF THE PESHMARGA FORCE

Dear Sisters and Brothers!

It is not necessary to repeat that the Peshmarga Force of Kurdistan plays an important role in the current national and democratic movement of the Kurdish people, and has a fundamental role in confronting the suppressive forces of the regime and in neutralizing their attacks. If we wish to study the fundamental factors for the success of our people's current struggles for liberation, we can point out to three fundamental factors: Primarily, the correct and proper policy of our party which has altogether proven to be in conformity with the requirements of the current conditions of the struggle of our people. Secondly, the unsparing and overall support of the people of Kurdistan for the party policy and slogans,

and thirdly, the self-sacrifice of the devoted children of the Kurdish people serving in the peshmarga ranks, and resisting the enemy. The peshmarga is a genuine human being who has deprived himself from all the joys and comforts of life, and has stayed in the barricade of honour all through the cold winters and hot summers, away from his wife, children and beloved ones, in order to pave the way for the prosperity and liberation of his people, as well as his land. Peshmarga is the devoted son of the people who has placed all his life's assets with complete generosity, at the service of his people's objectives, without even expecting a salary, a bonus, or even a mere gratitude, in return. The peshmarga is the "pupil of the eye" of the Kurdish people and the source of inspiration for the KDP. Therefore, it is quite natural that the people of Kurdistan have put all their means at the disposal of the peshmarga, and our party has invested at least 80% of its financial resources for the regulation of the affairs and the activities of the peshmarga.

We would herewith like to thank warmly once more, the popular peshmargas for their courage and self-sacrifice and to wish them more success, health and happiness. It is appropriate to thank sincerely the "National Resistance Force" acting as the peshmarga-assistance behind the front line forces. All through the battles of Kurdistan, "The National Resistance Force" not only has served the peshmargas behind the front lines, but in most combats, it has fought in the front line as well, shoulder-to-shoulder with the peshmargas, on the barricade defending freedom and human qualities.

It is a great pleasure to note that today the people of Iran look towards the militant people and the brave peshmargas of Kurdistan, with respect and appreciation. The people of Kurdistan and the devoted peshmargas were the first to stand up against the Genghis-style invasion of the so-called Islamic government, and to keep long enough the flag of anti-imperialist struggle hoisted, for the re-activation of the other anti-reactionary barricades in Iran. The un-popular regime of Khomeini invaded mercilessly, and stepped on the rights and liberties of the people in all the other parts of Iran. It was only in Kurdistan that its head hit the solid mountain of determination of the Kurdish people, and was forced to retreat. This is a great honour for the Kurdish people and the peshmargas of Kurdistan, and we hope that this honour will remain in the future as well, through the self-sacrifice and worthiness of the blessed and heroic peshmargas.

We should all take pride in the fact that during the period between the two congresses, the Peshmarga Force of Kurdistan developed both in magnitude and quality, and underwent many changes. The peshmargas have learned valuable lessons both in classrooms and from their own experiences, which they have put into practice in their struggles and activities. The Peshmarga Force has made great improvements in war and support techniques, in attack and retreat tactics, as well as in intelligence and logistic matters, and many of the inadequacies have been corrected. However, in order for the Peshmarga Force to continue its development and

progress and to perform its duties better in the future, it is necessary to devote more time and effort to the matters concerning the peshmarga; to spot the deficiencies and to find appropriate solutions for the existing problems.

First of all, we should define the nature of the war in which the peshmarga of Kurdistan is involved. We should not forget that the peshmarga struggles to fulfill the objectives of the Kurdish people, which the enemies of freedom have not been prepared to accept through peaceful means, and have launched attacks in order to suppress those demands, thus forcing a war upon the people of Kurdistan. Therefore, the war fought by the peshmarga, is a war for the defense of freedom, for the fulfillment of just demands, and finally for the achievement of an honourable and just peace.

As far as the type of war is concerned, we should not forget that although the peshmarga of Kurdistan has at present taken position against the suppressive enemy in most areas, not allowing it to advance one inch, however, according to principles, the actual type of war fought by us is a guerrilla one. A guerrilla war has its own specific rules and regulations, which the peshmargas of Kurdistan learn better and better everyday, and thereafter put them into practice. We do not find it necessary here to bring up the subject again; however, we would like to remind you of certain important points in this connection.

The implication of a guerrilla war, is the confrontation of a people with limited means against a fully-equipped government army. In

this type of war, the popular masses are the main support and relying point of the guerrilla. Therefore, the peshmargas should try to touch the hearts of the people, more and more everyday, and to attract more of their support, by developing their own political awareness, by getting closer to the popular masses, and by demonstrating a favourable and a suitable behaviour.

In this type of war, the enemy is the main source of the guerrilla's supply of arms and ammunitions. It is, therefore, necessary for the guerrilla to determine carefully the place and time for striking the enemy. So that at the same time that he succeeds in inflicting substantial damages on the invaders, and confiscating a large quantity of arms and ammunitions; his own losses, damages, and usage of ammunition will be kept to a minimum. It is always required that the party peshmargas economize in the usage of ammunition, as a guerrilla should, and to refrain from wasting bullets, except by accident.

We should always bear in mind that a guerrilla war is meant to exhaust the forces of the enemy. Since the war against the reactionary and dictatorial forces that we are engaged in, will most probably last a long time, the peshmarga should therefore, prepare himself for several years of combat, and to refrain from making undue haste and bearing heavy casualties. We should not forget that one of the most important duties of the guerrilla is to protect his own life, therefore, the most victorious war is the one in which the peshmarga casualties are light or none at all. In order to achieve

this, the peshmargas are required to learn better and better the techniques of attack, retreat and strike.

A partisan war is usually a war fought in mountainous regions and rural areas. But, in order to use every opportunity to inflict blows at the enemy, it is necessary to create a co-ordination between fighting on the mountains and mountain-sides and strikes at the enemy positions inside towns, without ever opening a front and putting up barricades inside the towns. For putting up barricades and fighting a face to face war inside towns will, on one hand, result in the destruction of the town and the killing of defenseless people and, on the other hand, it requires considerable means and the usage of a large quantity of ammunition which is hardly possible to replace during such wars. In addition, we should combine armed struggle with peaceful struggles inside towns in order to use every opportunity for the continuation of the struggle.

It should be stated that although the peshmarga is the symbol of self-sacrifice and courage, deserving admiration and praise, however, he is still behind as regards order and discipline. Discipline, maintaining order, and following the instructions issued by party cadres in higher peshmarga ranks, are very important and effective factors both for the success of the war plans, and for the protection of the life of the peshmarga. In addition, security measures are not followed as much as they should be by our peshmargas. We have had

a number of cases where a peshmarga has discussed his assignment with others. The disregard for security measures has at times allowed the enemy to become aware of the plan made by the peshmargas and, as a result, the plan has failed. It is, therefore suggested that security measures and discipline, as the two essential principles of political struggle, and the two effective factors for armed struggle, be observed as much as possible, in the peshmarga ranks; and the dear brother and sister peshmargas are advised to refrain from under-estimating these two principles, under any circumstances.

Political work among the Peshmarga Force, and its co-ordination with military work, has improved during the past two years, however, it is still not enough. In connection with this subject, it is necessary to point out that the Peshmarga Force has been set up in order to realize the political goals of the party; and whenever the political goals are achieved, the Peshmarga Force will be assigned to other duties. Therefore, it is essential for every military act to be in the service of political objectives, and every important military decision made in various districts, to be with the knowledge of the executive team of the town committee, or it should at least be made with the co-operation of the responsible for the town committee. Obviously, the operation techniques and the details pertaining to military plans, are entirely up to the commander of "hez" (division), and those responsible for military affairs; and the political sector should not interfere in it. However, since every battle has certain political consequences, before attempting any military

operation, it is necessary to discuss its political results in an executive team session.

The Peshmarga Force is still weak as regards to logistics, and more effort should be demonstrated in this regard. We have had a number of cases where a peshmarga has had to stay in the barricade for twenty-four hours, without any food. We have also had cases where ammunition and military equipment have not reached the peshmargas on time, despite their availability, and as a result, the peshmargas have had to leave their positions. The party committees are to be blamed in this regard. The logistics section of the town committee and the peshmarga force in the area, should increase their co-operation, so that everything can reach its destination in time, and the peshmarga staying in the barricade would not be made to feel that he cannot rely on the supporting forces. We should make an effort to gradually bring about complete co-ordination between the party organization and the Peshmarga Force. In fact, we can only be completely sure of our victory when all the peshmargas strive to fulfill the party objectives with a sense of awareness, and when all the party members also consider themselves as peshmargas.

Another inadequacy that is unfortunately still evident among the peshmargas, is carelessness and shortcoming as regards guarding and patrol. We have so far borne heavy losses, on a number of occasions, as a result of this lack of caution. In Dashkistan, a "pal" (peshmarga unit), came under siege, due to the absence of guards, and unfortunately ten heroes

out of the group fell martyr. We have also had cases where prisoners of war have taken advantage of the peshmarga's carelessness, and have escaped from prisons, most of whom have fortunately been recaptured, with the co-operation of the people.

Efforts for the development of the peshmarga's political awareness and his knowledge of war techniques, are insufficient. Often, the off-duty hours of the peshmargas are wasted, and are not used for the practice and the handling of different types of arms, or increasing the political and social knowledge of the peshmarga. In addition, sports and physical recreation are hardly common among the peshmargas. This is obviously another inadequacy in the peshmarga affairs. A partisan should always be in such a physical condition as to be able to work, walk, and if necessary run, for hours. It is clear that this can only be achieved through exercises and physical recreation.

It should be stated that certain peshmargas consider work as something contrary to the duties assigned to a peshmarga, and are even ashamed of working. This is truly a wrong approach. A peshmarga should work alongside the toilers, and to take part in their productive efforts. Whenever the peshmargas are not on the war front and battlefields, they should engage in the construction of houses in the location where they are based. This will prevent them from being idle, and at the same time, they will help the party by not letting the costs of building houses and similar works, to be a burden on the party.

Dear Comrades!

Ever since the Fourth Congress, our party has had two major achievements in so far as the peshmarga affairs are concerned. The first being the establishment and development of the party hospitals. We are proud to announce that at present, the doctors based in our hospitals are capable of performing the most difficult surgeries, on the wounded and on the sick, with the limited facilities that they have been able to put together themselves, and each month several wounded peshmargas and several devoted youngsters are saved from death and return to the barricade of struggle, as a result of the sincere efforts of the doctors. Therefore, it is quite appropriate to express our heartfelt appreciation to all those who have co-operated in setting up and running the hospitals, and especially to the doctors and the medical staff for their round-the-clock activities.

Our second achievement, is the setting up of a communication system. As you are all aware, communication is a vital means in an armed struggle. Communication is in fact a vital part of armed action, and if this major blood vessel stops functioning, all the other parts of the armed struggle will be subject to rupture and disorder. We have the honour to announce that we now have an efficient communication system in all the important parts of Kurdistan, from north to south, and all the information about war events and the peshmarga requirements reach the Party Political Bureau, in the shortest possible time. Other than the integrated communication network, wireless

communication exists between many groups and branches of the Peshmarga Force, and they are able to provide assistance for each other in the shortest possible time. It should be noted that so far we have had 2-3 wireless training classes and we hope that efforts for the development of communication will continue in the future. Allow us to express our gratitude, on behalf of all participants in the congress, for the uninterrupted efforts of the engineers and the staff of the communication section.

Dear Sisters and Brothers!

Despite the efforts made by us and the medical staff of the hospitals, unfortunately still some of those who have received fatal wounds fall martyr; and certain others lose their legs, arms, and other organs. We greatly regret not to be able to do much for the invalids during the war conditions; nevertheless, it is necessary for us to do whatever we can for these devoted children, hoping that upon the victory of the revolution, our people will reward the self-sacrifice of their worthy children.

One of our other important tasks is attending to the families of the martyrs. We should remember the fact that no matter how much we sacrifice for our people, we can still not compare it to the devotion of our martyred comrades, who gave their lives for the nation. Now that these heroic children have sacrificed their lives for their cause, it is the duty of us all to make sure that their families,

especially their wives and children do not feel abandoned and lonely. We should cut down our food and living expenditures, and even that of the peshmargas, in order to provide a living for the families of our martyrs.

A few months ago, the Central Committee decided to pay the pension of the martyred peshmargas, to their families and dependents, on a monthly basis; in addition to the financial aid provided to them in the name of the martyrs. Fortunately, this decision has been implemented in most areas, and the families of the martyrs have been regularly assisted. Whatever we have so far done for the families of the martyrs, is obviously not sufficient. It is essential for us to try and help them out more till the day when our people will succeed with the help of God, and will serve the families of the martyrs the way they deserve.

Dear Comrades!

In order for the peshmarga affairs to make more progress in the future, we propose training and instruction programs to be set up in all the branches of peshmarga "hez" (divisions); in the political, social and military domains. Clear regulations and principles to be determined for the encouragement and the punishment of the peshmarga, so as to encourage those who demonstrate more efficiency and to punish those who do not fulfill their duties. A strict supervision should be exercised over the properties, arms and ammunitions of the peshmarga, and to prevent the unruly use of ammunitions. Bodily exercises should be considered as a part of the daily

program, and morning exercises are to be performed on compulsory basis for some time, in all the peshmarga bases.

SOCIAL AFFAIRS

The honourable members of congress are aware that due to the specific conditions prevailing in Kurdistan, and the non-existence of government bureaus or establishments in the liberated areas of Kurdistan, the administration of social affairs, as another important task, has been added to the political, administrative and military responsibilities of the KDP. Khomeini's government has annulled all the government units located in the areas controlled by the peshmargas, and the people of Kurdistan are looking for a place to refer to, in order to find solutions for their social problems; and this place can be nowhere for them, except the offices of our party. Even during the imperial rule of Shah Mohammad-Reza, the people of Kurdistan would refrain from approaching the bribe-taking gendarmes of the regime, whenever there was a possibility of referring to party officers.

We are proud to acknowledge that despite political responsibilities and in spite of being constantly faced with war issues and the enemy attacks, our party staff have been able to look after social issues as well, with the co-operation of the people of Kurdistan. We did mention the co-operation of the people, which has truly been the main reason of our success, in this regard as well as in others. To prove the accuracy of this statement, it is

enough to know that ever since the power of the peshmargas has been stabilized, there have been no incidents of brigandage in the liberated areas. Although most of the people of Kurdistan are in the possession of firearms, all year around, only one case of murder has occurred in the vast area of Mahabad, and even that was committed by knife and not by firearms. Moreover, whenever two or more persons have referred to the party staff and peshmargas for the solution of their problems, both parties of the conflict have co-operated with our staff, and have accepted the sympathetic guidance and suggestions provided by the responsible comrades. We consider this phenomenon as the sign of awareness and maturity among our people and we are proud of it. We can now claim with confidence that Kurdistan is the most secure and trouble-free region of Iran.

In order for social problems to be resolved in accordance with correct principles, the party has set up a legal department with the co-operation of several skillful and competent judges. In addition to conforming to the common laws of the country, the legal department has compiled special regulations in a "Penal Code" which has more harmony with the local customs, traditions and problems of the Kurdish community. We thank our brothers in the legal department for their activities, and hope that they will be of further service in the future.

Against our own wish, we have been compelled to set up a central prison and several local prisons. Of course, these prisons are mainly used for imprisoning those who have

betrayed the people; and the army personnel and passdars (revolutionary guards) who have been taken captive in the battlefields. However, at times, those who have acted against the social laws and traditions are also kept in these prisons.

As we mentioned before, we have had to set up prisons contrary to our own wish. In order to prove this point, it is sufficient to indicate that during the past two years, more than 500 soldiers, non-commissioned officers, and officers who had been captured armed, in the battlefields, but who had not committed a major crime against the Kurdish people, were released unconditionally; and without being exchanged. Those who are still in the prisons, enjoy similar facilities as the ones provided for the peshmargas in charge of the prisons.

Dear Sisters and Brothers!

We all know that Khomeini's regime is at war with the people of Kurdistan, in every way possible. In order to oppress also the next generation of Kurds, this un-popular regime annulled the branch of the Ministry of Education in Kurdistan, two years ago, and has not authorized the schools to be opened, in any of the Kurdish provinces where its evil power has not been established. Our party has not sat idle and has reacted against this inhuman policy of the regime. Feeling responsible for the future of the children of Kurdistan, it has taken steps towards the re-opening of the schools. In the academic year of 1359-60, a number of schools were opened up in all the

liberated areas, and to cite an example, in the Mahabad area, a total of 140 schools were inaugurated, with the co-operation and the efforts of the party staff.

Last summer, our party published a letter of invitation addressed to Kurdish intellectuals, and requested them to provide assistance in the re-opening of the schools and teaching Kurdish children. Fortunately, intellectuals welcomed this invitation with a sense of responsibility. In most liberated areas, teacher-training courses were set up, with the participation of a large number of responsible teachers and intellectuals, both male and female; and the intellectuals underwent preparations to accomplish their historic task.

We are pleased to announce that presently, schools have opened up in most villages situated in the liberated areas, and Kurdish children are being educated to be able to fulfill their future responsibilities. We should add that a book for the first elementary grade is in the process of being printed, and we hope that it will soon reach our dear Kurdish children. Our party will, no doubt, take further steps towards the development of culture and science, and we hope to gain more success with the unsparing co-operation of responsible intellectuals among our people. We would therefore, like to thank The Education Society for its efforts, and to express our sincere gratitude for the responsibility felt by our intellectual sisters and brothers, particularly the school teachers who have co-operated with the party in this respect.

Dear Comrades!

In our party program, it has been mentioned that fundamental transformations should take place in the present system of land ownership to serve the interests of the toiling peasants who do not own any land. Although in the introductory chapter of the program, the responsibility for the fulfillment of all the party objectives, has been delegated to the autonomous government of Kurdistan, but nevertheless, the Central Committee decided that since a vast part of the rural areas is presently under the control of the peshmargas, it is not proper to keep the people of Kurdistan waiting, and it is necessary to begin right now taking steps in the interest of the toiling masses of Kurdistan.

In order to realize this goal, the Land Commission has prepared a plan for resolving the land issue, and has submitted the plan to all the party organizations. Although this plan has been basically prepared with the cooperation of a large number of land specialists, nevertheless, due to the importance of the matter, we feel it is necessary to have the plan carefully reviewed once more, and following its final approval, to implement it as of spring 1361 (next year). We feel it is the duty of all those responsible for party organizations to study carefully the above mentioned plan; to compare it to the land conditions in their respective areas; and to submit their remarks and suggestions to the Land Commission based in the Political Bureau, at least by the end of Bahman 1360 (February 1982), so that the plan will be completely ready for execution, by

the beginning of the spring of next year.

One of the other social problems that our party has had to handle during the past two years, is the construction of roads. The section for road construction has been able to build approximately 500 kms. of new roads despite its limited facilities, and it has also carried out a considerable amount of road repairwork. It is interesting to note that whenever a new road has been constructed by the party in Kurdistan, the popular masses have immediately called it "The Democrat Road". It is herewith appropriate to thank the engineers, drivers, and all the construction workers for their activities, as well as the popular masses of Kurdistan, who have provided considerable help to the party in this regard, and to wish them more success in the future.

Another very important issue that the Central Committee has tackled, is that of the councils. The Central Committee was of the opinion that since we are for autonomy and wish that in the future the people of Kurdistan be able to decide their own destiny, and that they be able to handle the issues concerning their territory by themselves, it is necessary for us to start implementing the principle of "turning-over the internal affairs to the representatives of the people" in the liberated areas. Presently, in the majority of the villages located in the areas controlled by the peshmarga, the council members have been elected, and have taken up their responsibility in resolving their social problems.

However, the Central Committee has recently decided to take more basic steps towards the election of village, district, city and town councils. For this reason, it has prepared a plan for setting up councils. We believe that if the Fifth Congress approves the necessity of setting up councils, it should provide sufficient guidelines to the leadership elected by the congress, to implement the plan after its completion, in all the liberated areas of Kurdistan, as soon as possible; and to take speedy action in electing the village, district, city and town councils.

We should not overlook the fact that a deep organic relationship exists between party work and social affairs. The more party work is performed among the people, the more attracted they will be towards the party, and as a result, the popular masses will refer to the party in order to find solutions to their social problems. In addition, the more the party succeeds in handling social affairs, the more people it can assemble around itself. At the same time, we should remember that the engagement of party cadres in resolving social problems, will keep them from performing their party and organizational duties.

Therefore, in order to eliminate any interruption in the political and organizational activities of the party, and at the same time to allow social affairs to be carried out smoothly, the best method is that people everywhere elect their representatives for village, district, city and town councils through the encouragement of the party, so that social

affairs can be turned over to the councils, leaving party cadres and staff to perform their own political and organizational duties.

Our party has always had a high regard for arts, artists, writers and poets. Now that the regime of Khomeini has blocked the way for the flourishing of any kind of art in Iran, the development of arts in the liberated Kurdistan, is of great importance. Our party has provided a valuable contribution towards the setting up of Theatrical and Musical Groups Society; and these groups have given performances in many towns and villages of Kurdistan. We have had remarkable achievements in the field of production of posters, placards, and even sculpture. In addition, on the basis of a guidance provided by the party, and with the co-operation of the Union of Democratic Youths of Kurdistan, many meaningful and revolutionary films have been shown in the villages of Kurdistan. The film production section of the party, has been able to produce its first film based on the lifestyle and struggles of the Kurdish people, and we hope that this will be a beginning for the development of the art of film production and the national film industry in Kurdistan. We would like to thank all our comrades who have striven to develop arts, and we hope that they will have further success in their endeavours.

We are proud and honoured to state that during the past three years, our party has offered remarkable services for the progress of the Kurdish language and literature. It has not only supported Kurdish poets and writers, but by printing the party newspapers,

communiques and publications in the Kurdish language, it has taught the intellectuals to read and write in Kurdish, and at the same time, it has contributed to the flourishing and the further thriving of our language.

Dear Sisters and Brothers, Honourable Members of Congress!

The experience of the past two years has shown that our party has understood very well, the conditions of the current phase of the Kurdish people's liberation movement in Kurdistan-Iran, and it has correctly recognized the demands of the people of Kurdistan. All the events have indicated that our party has followed a basic policy in each specified phase of the struggle, and it has been able to create slogans suitable for that specific phase of the struggle. Also, in the period between the Fourth and the Fifth Congress, it once more became quite clear, that the majority of the people of Kurdistan support the KDP, and consider this party a competent and sympathetic leader of their freedom movement. It is now the duty of the leaders, cadres, and members of the party, to try to maintain and further develop, the closeness and solidarity existing between the KDP and the Kurdish people in Kurdistan-Iran.

In the history of the liberation movements of oppressed peoples of the world, seldom has a party been so popular and so much trusted by the popular masses, and rarely has it had so much of the eternal power of the people to rely upon. The support given to our party by the Kurdish people, is a great asset and a

remarkable opportunity which seldom occurs for a political party. We should not permit the diminution of the respect and popularity that our party enjoys among the Kurdish people. We should strive to maintain the support given to us by the popular masses, which is the main factor of our success.

No doubt, if we continue to be in the service of our people in the future, just as we have been so far; if the interests and ideals of the Kurdish people continue to light our path; if we strengthen our ties with the popular masses of Kurdistan more and more, and strive to solve their problems with a sense of devotion and self-sacrifice; and if our policies and slogans continue to be the full reflection of the demands of the people of Kurdistan, the Kurdish masses will support us, as they have done so far, and will do even more.

It is also certain that any political force that can succeed in attracting the attention of and gaining the support of the majority of the popular masses, it will also be respected by all the progressive forces and patriotic personalities, both inside the country and abroad, and will have an increasing number of friends and supporters. A party that follows correct policies, pursues just demands and enjoys the support of the masses and that of the progressive and democratic forces of the world, as well as the public opinion of the progressive humanity, is bound to succeed and nothing can cause its defeat or submission.

OUR DUTIES IN THE CURRENT PHASE

In order to fulfill the conditions for victory, we only have one way ahead of us and that is to recognize our duties well and to struggle consistently and persistently in order to accomplish them. The fundamental duties of our party in the present phase of the struggles of our people are as follows:

I - As we previously mentioned, unfortunately our party organizations have not yet reached the necessary degree of competence in order to face up to the responsibilities that the present phase of the struggles of the Kurdish people in Kurdistan-Iran has assigned to them. We can, however, claim with modesty that our party is one of the most powerful and well-organized parties and political organizations in Iran, but we should admit that we still have a long way to go in order to reach the ideal level, and the organizational question still remains our major weakness. Therefore, our most important task now, and after the congress, is to develop party organization and to improve the political knowledge of our party cadres, members and supporters.

II - The progress and expansion of propaganda work is one of the other important duties of our party in the current phase. It is through propaganda that the party can carry its ideas, policies, and slogans to the popular masses, in order to gain their support, to neutralize the enemy's poisonous propaganda; and eventually to encourage people to integrate its ideas to the extent that it will turn into

a massive material force, making the greatest victories possible.

III - To attempt to become financially self-sufficient, is one of the other sacred duties which should be pursued by the leadership and all the party organs, as of the end of the Fifth Congress. Self-sufficiency means that all the costs and expenditures of the party should be covered by party's only source of income such as the membership fees and donation provided by members, supporters and friends of the party, as well as the income of party foundations. Any other income should be considered as a secondary factor.

IV - To increase militancy and combativeness of the Peshmarga Force, both quantitatively and qualitatively, is another one of the important duties of our party. The new party leadership should strive to improve the political, military and logistic conditions of the Peshmarga Force. It should make an effort to improve the quality and quantity of the equipment and ammunition of the peshmargas, so that the peshmarga of Kurdistan will be able to defend the freedom and existence of his/her people in a more effective manner. The new leadership should do its best to increase the peshmarga allowance, and to try and improve food and clothing conditions of the peshmargas.

A very important issue in the affairs concerning the peshmarga, is the increase of the peshmarga's level of political knowledge. In order to accomplish this, efforts should be made first to teach the illiterate

peshmargas how to read and write. It is highly regrettable to have several high school graduate peshmargas in a "pal" (unit), and to notice that after a long time, there are still illiterate peshmargas remaining in the same unit.

In order to attend to the political education of the peshmargas and to launch a literacy campaign for them, it is suggested that a political cadre be designated for a group of at least fifty peshmargas. The political cadre should spend all his time with the peshmargas and fulfill this important task.

V - For the administration of the social affairs and in order to assure more service to the people of Kurdistan, it is necessary to set up popular councils in all the districts, villages, towns and cities located in the liberated areas, as soon as possible, and to turn over the internal affairs of Kurdistan to them. In order for the councils elected by the people, to feel that there is an executive power on which they can rely, the Peshmarga Force of Kurdistan is instructed to co-operate seriously with them.

VI - As we mentioned earlier, the resolution of the land problem to which has been referred in our party program, is one of the urgent duties of our party organizations. We ought to mobilize all our party facilities in order to help the toiling farmers who compose the fundamental force of the national democratic movement of the Kurdish people, and to do our best to provide better living conditions for them.

VII - Now that Khomeini's regime has deprived the people of Kurdistan from all the necessities of a social life, it is the duty of our party to try, to the best of its abilities, to expand culture and develop hygiene. It is for the KDP to consider about the future of the Kurdish children. It is the duty of our party to teach the people the methods and principles of maintaining hygiene; and it is incumbent upon our party to help the Kurdish artists so that they can contribute to the Kurdish art, music, and folklore.

VIII - Co-operation and co-ordination with the democratic and revolutionary forces all over Iran, is one of the effective factors for the victory of our people. Therefore, striving to organize a joint front through mutual co-operation and collaboration, is an important political duty assigned to the leadership elected by the Fifth Congress.

IX - Carrying the righteous voice of our people to the people of the world and to the progressive humanity; introducing the heroic struggles of the peshmargas of Kurdistan to the world public opinion; and attracting the assistance and support of the international humanitarian organizations towards the struggle of the Kurdish people in Kurdistan-Iran and the overall freedom movement of the people of Iran, is still another sacred duty that the party leadership elected by the Fifth Congress should strive to fulfill.

Dear Sisters and Brothers:

No doubt, at the present stage, the most

important and essential duty of all the peoples of Iran, and in particular the revolutionary and freedom-loving forces including our party, which is in the forefront of the struggle, is the overthrow of the oppressive and backward regime of Khomeini. The best and the most militant of the authentic and revolutionary forces have now gathered in the National Resistance Council. The program of the transitional government that should replace Khomeini's regime as a substitute, is on the whole, a clear and democratic program that will provide democracy for Iran and autonomy for Kurdistan.

The policy of armed struggle has been determined as the fundamental method of struggle by the most influential political organizations, such as the KDP and the Mujahedin-e-Khalq Organization. In fact, Khomeini's regime has not left any possibility for a legal and peaceful struggle and it has imposed an armed struggle on revolutionaries all over Iran.

Today, the slogan "down with Khomeini's regime" is not only the slogan chanted by the progressive and revolutionary forces, but the majority of the people of Iran also support this slogan. The authentic and revolutionary forces are different from anarchistic groups whose only task is to destroy. The revolutionaries of Iran wish not only to topple Khomeini's regime but to replace it with a democratic regime. As a result, these forces do not only chant "down with the oppressive regime of Khomeini", but they add "long live a democratic regime that has arisen from the hearts of the people". Therefore, the

perspective of the struggle is clear. Obviously, the most important task is to topple Khomeini's regime by way of an armed struggle and to replace it with a democratic regime.

In our opinion and as has been mentioned in this report, all the conditions for the overthrow of Khomeini's regime are there. We are certain that unity of action and co-ordination between the freedom-loving forces of Iran should and must topple the bloodthirsty regime of Khomeini. In order to achieve this and to establish a democratic regime in the future, our party is prepared to co-operate with all the real revolutionary and responsible forces, and is ready to fulfill its duties in a competent manner. However, allow us to repeat once more the fact that our party is not prepared, under any conditions, to co-operate with the royalist groups and those who have collaborated with the Imperial Regime in the past.

In conclusion, we would like to welcome you once more and to wish you every success and prosperity. We hope that you will actively participate in the congressional discussions and debates, so that this congress will be able to make fruitful decisions in the interest of the Kurdish people and the democratic and anti-imperialist movement of the peoples of Iran.

Long live the Fifth Congress of the KDP -
The Congress of the Martyrs.

Hail to the KDP - the guide for the
righteous struggle of the people of Kurdistan-
Iran.

Hail to the martyrs of the path of the liberation of Kurdistan and the whole of Iran, especially the martyrs of KDP.

Hail to the heroic people of Kurdistan and all the militant people of Iran.

Hail to the peshmarga of Kurdistan, the devotee of the path of the liberation of Kurdistan and all over Iran.

Hail to the democratic and anti-imperialist forces throughout Iran.

Long live democracy for Iran and autonomy for Kurdistan.

Down with the un-popular and reactionary regime of Khomeini.

Long live the struggle of the revolutionary forces of Iran for the establishment of a democratic regime.

IMP. CARLO DESCAMPS. S.A. F. 59163 CONDÉ-SUR-L'ESCAUT

