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AFGHANISTAN'S NATIONAL FATHERLAND FRONT

*Documents of the Founding Congress
Kabul, 15-16 June 1981*

COMMUNIST PARTY PUBLICATION

No. 7: July 1981 (C 350)

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Printed by Jiten Sen at the New Age Printing Press, Rani Jhansi Road,
New Delhi-110055, and Published by him for Communist Party of India,
Ajoy Bhavan, 15, Kotla Road, New Delhi-110002.

Introduction

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Since the second phase of the revolution that began on 27 December 1979 the PDPA leaders, particularly Babrak Karmal, dedicated themselves to restoring the original character of the revolution and expanding the political base of the party as well as the government. To win the confidence of the alienated masses is not an easy task. But Karmal and his colleagues have been trying their best for the last 18 months to achieve precisely that. The successful holding of the founding congress of the National Fatherland Front is the reflection of that effort.

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More than a 1000 delegates attended this congress and they represented the working people, clergy, tribes, intelligentsia, peasants, students, youth, women, armed forces,

traders and national entrepreneurs besides functionaries of the PDPA. The preparations of the congress have been going on for many months and a largescale explanatory campaign to explain the objectives of the congress preceded its actual holding. The establishment of the NFF therefore is a direct blow to the imperialists, hegemonists and all forces of counter-revolution.

The formation of the NFF has been welcomed by the Afghan people. But this does not mean that attacks against it have ceased. The point however is that the social base of counter-revolution is being weakened and that of the revolutionary forces is increasing. Meetings and rallies are being held in different parts of Afghanistan to welcome the NFF and soon the bodies of NFF at province and district levels will be set up in the same manner as the national body.

The documents of the founding congress which are published in this pamphlet are self-explanatory and they show the degree of tolerance that the PDPA and the Afghan people themselves are prepared to exercise to live peacefully without outside interference. The NFF national committee (95 members), its executive (23 members) and the office-bearers have a number of non-party people including Dr Seid Afghani (chairman of Islamic Affairs in Afghanistan) who is a vice-president of the NFF. It also includes two persons of Indian origin.

Along with the establishment of the NFF, the composition of the revolutionary council has been expanded to include more people from various walks of life. These changes, to quote Babrak Karmal, are a part of the "process of strengthening the mainstays of people's power". The machinery of the state, he said, was being "restructured in line with the interests of the broad sections of the population".

The appeal of the NFF to Afghan compatriots both inside and outside the country as well as to the peoples of neighbouring countries, especially to Pakistan and Iran, are a testimony to the genuineness of the feeling of the

Afghan people to live together in peace on the basis of peaceful coexistence. All that they want is a halt to outside interference and the withdrawal of support to counter-revolutionary forces. The people of Afghanistan do not want to impinge on anyone's sovereignty or independence. They do not want anyone to do so in their internal affairs as well. And above all, they want peace to rebuild their country.

The NFF is symbolic of the national unity the PDPA is striving for. It is bound to meet with positive response from the Afghan people. But it also requires the support of the peoples who are genuinely interested in Afghan people exercising their right to self-determination and to rule themselves.

New Delhi
14 July 1981

SADHAN MUKHERJEE

The basis of such unity is provided by the alliance of workers and peasants as the socio-political pillar of our revolutionary state.

This alliance, the only confident and firm basis, guarantees the real unity of all the national and patriotic forces of our country.

Fatherland Front Fundamental Statement

*Esteemed Delegates,
Brothers and Sisters,*

On behalf of the high commission which was elected by the national and patriotic forces of Afghanistan on 6 of jaddi (27 December) for the preparation and convening of the founding congress, I congratulate you and welcome you on the occasion of the commencement of the work.

Our party and all our noble and free people attach exceptional and extraordinary importance to this congress.

The major result of the work of the congress should be the formation of the National Fatherland Front which is being created for the first time in the prideful and ancient history of our beloved and revolutionary country, Afghanistan.

This front will comprise prideful and active system of political and social organisations and will be formed by the representatives of all national democratic classes and strata of our society.

This will make it possible to rally and unite the energy, real and revolutionary fervour and efforts of all patriots of the country in the common task of the building of a new and blossoming Afghanistan.

The National Fatherland Front is the practical manifestation of the unity of all social forces and groupings, nationalities, tribes, and the followers of different religions residing in our single country, the beloved Afghanistan.

This is the text of the fundamental statement of National Fatherland Front which was read at its founding congress on June 15, 1981 by Babrak Karmal, General Secretary of the PDPA CC, President of the Revolutionary Council and President of the Presidium of the Revolutionary Council of the DRA.

The basis of such unity is provided by the alliance of workers and peasants as the socio-political pillar of our revolutionary state.

This alliance, the only confident and firm basis, guarantees the real unity of all the national and patriotic forces of our country.

Thus, a new step is being taken in the context of expanding and deepening of the glorious April Revolution and the revolution gains further in scope and dimensions.

We point out with satisfaction and gratitude that our friends abroad, where the systems and unions of political and social organisations of the masses have been existing for long and are successful in their action, have correctly and properly evaluated and praised the convocation of the congress and all the affairs related to the formation of the National Fatherland Front in the DRA. Vivid testimony of this fact are messages and friendly and fraternal greetings sent by the social and people's organisations of the socialist and non-aligned countries.

Permit me to express on behalf of the delegates of the congress sincere and heartfelt gratitude to these organisations and to assure them that their valuable and noteworthy experiences in ensuring solidarity and unity of the vast masses of the people, for the all-sided progress of the society will be carefully studied and learnt by us and that we will make use of them with initiative and creativity in accord with the specific conditions of Afghanistan.

Doing away with backwardness and achieving of national and social progress is an urgent and general need and an earnest of the society. Similarly, it is clear that the practical realisation of this task is connected with and calls for the unity of all advocates of progress, all patriots of the country, namely, the broadest masses of the people, the decisive majority of our compatriots.

Our beloved country, Afghanistan, is in urgent need of such a unity for solving of its vital problems. It is in this context that we speak of using the experiences of our

friends towards achieving the unity of broad masses and giving a definite organisational shape to this unity.

Dear Delegates,

The convocation of the congress and the formation of the National Fatherland Front in our country is the logical consummation of the great work done by the high preparatory commission and all the patriots who warmly welcomed the initiative of the delegates of the conference of national and patriotic forces.

At the same time the formation of the front is not only indicative of the successful accomplishment of the related organisational tasks but also a manifestation of the really great and extensive results that have accrued to our revolution, our state and our society as a whole under the confident leadership of the PDPA after the April Revolution, especially in its new phase. The broad reflection of the decisions of the national and patriotic forces' conference concerning the formation of the National Fatherland Front among the masses of the people and the social circles of our country is a testimony to this fact.

The news of this decision spread all over the country. People came to know of it everywhere and it received an extensive, warm, active and positive reaction. Hundreds of thousands of the illustrious and noble sons of our country supported the formation of the front and since the 6th of jaddi last year (27 December 1980) when the conference of national and patriotic forces elected the preparatory commission of the front's congress, dozens of huge public meetings have been held whose participants issued declarations in favour of the initiative for the formation of the National Fatherland Front and expressed their complete readiness to participate in its activities and for getting united for the sake of prosperity and progress of the people and the country.

Thus, the broader social circles and strata of the people of Afghanistan have expressed their readiness for the new and better form of unity around the programme of national and democratic transformations which was put forward

by our party for the construction of a prosperous and blossoming society.

Esteemed Delegates,

The formation of the NFF in the DRA has its origin in the national and democratic essence of the revolution in our country and is called for by the need of the successful implementation of the objectives and tasks of the revolution. For a better understanding of this fact it must be noted as to what kind of revolution the April Revolution is as a national and democratic revolution. What are its aims and tasks; why and what for did the revolution take place? To answer these questions we refer to the documents and basic sources of information of the party and state.

It is pointed out in the fundamental principles of the DRA and the theses of the PDPA Central Committee that the April Revolution being the natural result of the long struggle of the working people of Afghanistan genuine emancipation from cruelty, from the colonialists, the oppressors, the ruthless exploiters and from backwardness has set to itself the general democratic tasks, i.e., the eradication of all feudal and pre-feudal vestiges in national and social relations, limiting the land ownership of big landlords, distribution of lands to the landless peasants and farmers with small holdings and to agricultural workers, development of national economy, raising the living standard of the people, promotion of the national culture of the people living in Afghanistan and democratisation of socio-political life.

At the same time, our revolution possesses national and anti-imperialist character and reflects the national characteristics, deep religious sentiments, and the diversity of the customs and traditions of the different people, nationalities and tribes of Afghanistan. Achieving these goals is serving the interest of the broadest strata of the society and the decisive majority of the people.

Thus the national progress of the country can be

achieved through consistently and completely carrying out vast democratic transformations, that is, such transformations which directly benefit and serve the toilers of the broad masses of the people.

The national and democratic character of our revolution also defines the type and form of the state which has come into being as its result.

The basis of this state will be formed by the alliance of workers and peasants, supported widely by all real patriots and worthy sons of our beloved homeland, intellectuals, soldiers and officers of the armed forces, craftsmen, nomads, patriotic religious leaders, and the national industrialists and national merchants.

In this way the state which has come into being as a result of the April Revolution relies on the unity of the clans and the alliance of national and patriotic forces. Such an alliance is rooted in the will and inclination of all patriots of Afghanistan for ensuring an all-sided progress of the country, doing away with the backwardness and crushing the resistance of decadent forces, namely, a handful of feudal exploiters, usurers, monarchists, mercenaries, former high-ranking reactionary civil and military bureaucrats who are being supported by imperialism, hegemonism and the reaction of the region.

The political and organisational form and manifestation of such an alliance of national and patriotic forces is the National Fatherland Front which we are creating today.

What are the aims and the basic duties of the front? What is the position of the front in the revolutionary socio-political formation?

The conference of national and patriotic forces held on the sixth of jaddi (27 December 1980), relying on the scientific analysis of the ways and means of creating the unity of national and patriotic forces made the following conclusion:

"The NFF is a broad and popular system of political and social organisations whose backbone is the alliance of workers and peasants and which unites all the clans, strata,

national and democratic groups, all the patriots of social, national and religious forces for mutual cooperation for the sake of our beloved country."

Thus, the major task of the National Fatherland Front is bringing about the unity of the patriots of the country and to pool their determination, energy and efforts in the common endeavour for the construction of a new blossoming democratic and progressive society in Afghanistan. It also has the duty of propagating and explaining the general policy line of the PDPA and the policies of the RC and the government of the DRA and to see that the members of the front and illustrious and noble people of Afghanistan are rallied and mobilised for conscious and active participation in the work of building of a society based on the social justice with due respect and reverence to the principles of sacred religion of Islam and keeping in view the specific historical, national, spiritual and moral traditions of our people. The NFF will form the basis of the rule of the working people in the democratic republic of Afghanistan.

The front has the task to ensure the unity of the people of the DRA for joint endeavour for developing consistently and completely national-democratic revolution and to assist in the affairs of training and upbringing of the citizens of Afghanistan and their wider participation in administering the affairs of the state and the society.

In the framework of the front all patriots of the country will unite for common work and struggle for a bright and glorious future. Thus this front which is the offspring of April Revolution and especially its new evolutionary phase will transform itself into a catalyst for the further deepening and growth of the revolution. The activity of the front will help in drawing new forces and broad masses of the people in the work of economic and cultural construction, promotion of social initiatives and will be directed towards bringing about prosperity for the present and future sons of the country.

The activity of front will assist in the consolidation of

the defence might of the country and the mobilisation of the brave and freedom-loving compatriots for the struggle for the completely and decisively crushing the counter-revolution which tries to turn back the wheel of history and to hamper the further advance of Afghanistan towards all-sided social advancement and progress.

This activity will expand also in the sphere of international solidarity of our people with all forces of progress, democracy and peace because the front will maintain and expand the relations of friendship and cooperation with similar socio-political organisations outside the country.

In this way the essence and meaning of activity of the front consist of gradual eradication of the consequences and vestiges of the discredited habits of non-cooperation and disbelief among the forces, strata and groupings which as a whole form the people of Afghanistan and the drawing of all noble and patriotic fellow countrymen to actively participate in the construction of a new and proudful Afghanistan and its defence against the plots, conspiracies and interventions of the enemies of the April Revolution.

For this reason also we are not limiting the composition of the front to social organisations, that is, the mass units which are the founders of the front. The front has kept its folds open for all patriots of the country. The doors of the front are open for all nationalities and tribes of Afghanistan, followers of different faiths and different religious trends and in one word for all those who sincerely lend their lives to make their beloved land a blossoming, progressive, prosperous and mighty country.

Esteemed Delegates,

Our party and the revolutionary government, servant of the people, have accepted the historical responsibility of achieving this noble aim decisively and without the least hesitation.

We will spend all our efforts and energy in the way of

the welfare and wellbeing of the people and for serving them.

In our policy for the new stage of the April Revolution we take into consideration the vital and important interests of all patriotic national and social forces in their proper perspectives.

We will work firmly and seriously in this direction so that a place is secured for the working class of Afghanistan in the society and state which is in accord with and befitting its historical mission and that full employment and permanent improvement of living conditions of this class are provided on the basis of technical development and growth of productive forces.

We will take all necessary measures to see that the most important problem of Afghanistan's farmers, namely, the problem of land and water is solved in a rational, just and democratic way and in accord with the principles of the sacred faith of Islam on the basis of serious, effective and well deliberated changes which do away with the vestiges of feudalism, usury and chronic injustice in respect.

One of the important aspects of our work in future too will be to secure full opportunities for the craftsmen, tradesmen, shopkeepers, small merchants, national industrialists and national merchants so that they would put to use their energy and means strongly for useful and fruitful activities on the basis of confident and just laws in conditions of order and stability which are needed by all.

We give assurance to our patriotic intelligentsia that in the new Afghanistan the construction work of which we have already begun, all adequate measures will be taken for the blossoming of the nation, culture and fruitful spiritual activity for the progress of our beloved homeland.

We assure all the noble religious leaders, scholars, preachers, moazins and patriotic mowlavis, and to all muslims including the sunnites and shiites that in our country all necessary conditions and full respect and care will always be there for the professing and freely practising the principles and rituals of the sacred faith of Islam.

We invite all the nationalities and tribes to cooperate widely and effectively for the bright future and all embracing welfare. The policy of our party and revolutionary popular state concentrates on providing the conditions for progress for all the noble people of Afghanistan. This policy is established on the basis of earnest respect and careful and responsible approach towards the historical, moral and cultural principles and traditions of the nationalities and tribes.

We are confident that the free tribes and nationalities of Pashtuns who have the right to be proud of their prideful and heroic history, will support the National Fatherland Front and all nationalities and all tribes of our country including Poshtuns, Tajiks, Uzbeks, Hazaras, Turkmen, Baluch, Nooristani and others will take adequate and due part without any discrimination and privilege in this common patriotic task.

Thus broad and patriotic popular unity is considered as the pre-requisite for the consolidation and deepening of the national democratic revolution and for the victorious advancement of our society. But this unity will not be unconscious and spontaneous but will be based on and created as a result of cooperation for the popular government and all patriots of Afghanistan around the party.

We rely on the lessons of our history and on the great historical experiences of the struggles of the people of Afghanistan for freedom, independence, national sovereignty, territorial integrity and progress.

It can be said with complete confidence that one of the main political lessons of our history is that the patriots of Afghanistan have achieved victory arriving at their desired targets only when united, and with oneness and cooperation. The People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan as the most worthy heir of the best traditions of liberation and anti-imperialist struggles of the country's patriotic forces, posing and tackling the question of the unity of the national and democratic forces reflects the aspirations of the great masses of the people.

These struggles have deep historical roots especially in the times when our people had been confronted with and repulsed the aggressions of British colonialism.

This victory over the British colonialists not only had its origin in the heroism of our fathers and ancestors but their common and decisive resistance against the aggressors based on loyalty to the beloved homeland and their cooperation and understanding for the common cause also played an important role.

At that time the desire of the best sons of Afghanistan for the unity and national and patriotic integrity and oneness for the independence and better and brighter future was realised and was later consistently developed and consolidated.

This ideal and aspiration re-emerged and manifested forcefully and during the first and second constitutional movements, the movement for realisation of the progressive reforms of Amanullah Khan, and during the struggle against the reign of terror and suffocation of Nadirshah, and in the movement of the seventh national assembly and the movements in the years preceding the April Revolution.

The thought of unity and oneness was reflected and adequately developed in the programmes of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan.

It is obvious that the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan has not embodied these ideas in its programmes and documents only mechanically but has presented them for the first time clearly and frankly as a scientifically drawn practicable programme towards achieving not only the national freedom but also social freedom.

In the programme of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan adopted in the year 1344 (1965) it is mentioned that:

"The political base of Afghanistan's national democratic government will comprise the united national front, all the progressive, democratic and patriotic forces namely the workers, peasants and progressive intellectuals, crafts-

men, the petty-bourgeoisie, small and medium proprietors and national bourgeoisie, national capitalists who wage a national democratic struggle on the way to national independence, promotion of democracy in the social life and consummating the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal democratic movement.

Questions pertaining to the creation of the National Fatherland Front as the union of all patriots of Afghanistan for the social and national progress of the country have always been in the focus of attention of the party and extensive discussions have been held on them.

On acquiring the state power our party not only brought with it a scientifically reasoned and realistic idea and programme of the National Fatherland Front but also presented the concrete practical plan for its formation. On this basis, questions to the creation of the front were discussed and reflected in the guidelines of the revolutionary duties of the DRA government published on the 19th Saur 1359 (9 May 1978). Unfortunately during the reign of Amin, in this sphere too, grave mistakes were made.

Consequently the objective need for the unity of patriotic and national forces of Afghanistan, which existed also in the past, was not fulfilled in practice.

Conditions for creating and giving an organisational form to such a unity are being provided only today in the new evolutionary phase of April Revolution when all the attention of the party is diverted to rallying together its ranks to such unity. Thanks to the joint work and struggle this unity is being further consolidated every day.

The convocation of the founding congress of the front is a clear manifestation of this reality.

All of us rightly feel a sense of pride and honour that only our revolutionary popular government is capable of ensuring the real unity and sincere cooperation of the national and democratic classes, strata, groupings, tribes and all social, national, religious and patriotic forces.

Here we pose a question. What sort of specific and his-

We will never shun the explanation of the truth to those who due to the deception and tyranny and oppression of the agents of imperialism and reaction have been deviated from the right path. It is for this reason also that we propose a nationwide peace for ever fuller unity of all inhabitants of our ancient and sacred land and in order to secure normal, peaceful and tranquil conditions for a democratic dialogue between them.

Only in this way can we solve the problems of today and tomorrow in the interest of every individual and all people. All this means the solution and the accomplishment of the basic tasks of national and democratic revolution in practice on the basis of common action and activity of the national and patriotic forces.

At the same time the process of the accomplishment of these tasks will be accompanied by the extension and consolidation of unity of actions of these forces. These are linked with each other because the logic of the time, the logic of the evolution of the revolution and our general advancement towards a prosperous and blossoming Afghanistan, towards a glorious morrow dictates this.

Esteemed representatives, we fully realise the necessity in principle and the practical possibilities of the creation of national and patriotic unity and see it clearly. We are also fully aware of the difficulties existing on the way. I think the main task is the necessity of removing the historical division created by imperialism, internal and regional reaction among the national and social forces of our country. The accomplishment of this task is possible through ensuring real integrity of these forces on the basis of the principles of the April Revolution and in the interest of its growth and deepening.

To reach this goal we rely on a range of subjective and objective factors which help the solution of our historical task.

First, the social structure of the society is comparatively less affected by capitalist social relations. Utilising the possibilities emanating from this situation through the creation of the national and patriotic unity in the new phase of the national democratic revolution, we invite the

patriotic industrialists, traders, and the heads of the tribes, ulemas, mullahs, religious leaders and those who are interested and are ready to take part in this noble work to join in fulfilling the common task for the construction of blossoming and prosperous Afghanistan.

In reality also, one must say that even in the first phase of the April Revolution fatal blows were inflicted on the main exploiters, feudals, the exploiting class, landlords and the big usurers. Now we are successfully accomplishing the tasks of the complete elimination of the counter-revolutionary bands and the agents of the imperialism and the reaction of the region.

We will continue the development of the revolutionary land reform in the interests of the decisive majority of the people i.e., the toiling peasants. The complete elimination of the feudals, usurers and the remnants of the feudal relationships in our life is only a matter of time. Meanwhile it must be said that this time from the historical point of view will be short. But about the national capital it must be pointed out that in Afghanistan it has not reached that level of growth where monopoly capital and big compradors and parasitic families could come into being and where the big national capital could link itself with the international imperialist monopolies under conditions where these monopolies would dominate.

The national capital of Afghanistan, mainly comprises the small scale and medium scale industrialists and merchants whose interests lie in the progress of the country, removal of backwardness and the attainment of a reasonable level of economic, technical and cultural development.

All this does not mean that we do not make a proper and due assessment of the existence and the degree of the unity of the social contradictions existing in our society. Moreover, we never think that when a society marches forward, these contradictions disappear and smoothen automatically.

But, the structural characteristics of the present society in Afghanistan permits that during the stage of national

democratic transformations all the national patriotic forces should unite, because these transformations conform to the fundamental and long-range interests of these forces. Secondly, despite the fact that the enemies have always attempted to fan and encourage the loathsome trends of separation, disunity, non-cooperation and mistrust in the relations between the different strata of the people and the national and social groupings, tribes and nationalities in the country, the fact is that at times when the independence of the country was threatened by the enemy, the noble tradition for joint struggle of the patriots in Afghanistan for the sake of the prosperity of the homeland and its brilliant future has always been there and this prideful tradition has proved victorious more often.

This is the dictate of history that today this rich tradition absolutely triumphs during the new evolutionary phase of the April Revolution.

We should fully utilise and rely on this noble tradition and favourable factor for the creation and consolidation of the national patriotic alliance.

Thirdly, if in the past this process of national patriotic alliance of Afghanistan, often found its way forward despite the opposition in particular of the ruling circles and notwithstanding the resistance of these circles, today everything has decisively and irreversibly changed in favour of this process, because, now the policies of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and the revolutionary government of Afghanistan create all conditions necessary for the practical realisation of such an alliance, and its transformation into an active motive force for marching forward.

Allow me to dwell on this subject in greater detail.

The creative work of the party and the broad masses of the people during the seventeen months since the victory of new evolutionary phase of April Revolution has achieved unprecedented results in the main directions of national democratic transformation. This has made possible the normalisation and stabilisation of the general situation in the country and the adoption of the first tangible mea-

asures in the direction of the improvement of the conditions of the working class, consolidation and strengthening of the system of guaranteeing the provision of food-stuffs, fuel, and other primary essential commodities to the people.

The revolutionary government as an organ representing the interests of the working class, peasants, all the toilers and patriots of Afghanistan is working arduously and enthusiastically for the realisation of the vast programme of measures and actions in the socio-economic and cultural fields for achieving ever increasing material and spiritual progress of the country, and the improvement of the living conditions of every toiling family and all our noble people.

In this connection special importance is attached to the creation of an atmosphere of legality, respect for rights and freedoms of the citizens on the basis of the observation of the just laws of the state, and respect for the sacred religion of Islam as regards the guaranteeing of necessary conditions for the worshippers to perform their religious rites.

The fundamental principles of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and the laws and decrees issued by the revolutionary council on their basis have revived and guaranteed the rights, honour, and dignity of every son of our heroic people, and the gradual and constant democratisation of the various aspects of life of the state and the society envisages the ensurance of such democratisation in practice.

The result of our accomplishments will be the stabilisation of new relations, respect, confidence, cooperation and brotherhood among all national and patriotic forces of Afghanistan for the sake of their beloved country.

The patriots of Afghanistan believe in practice in the truthfulness and correctness of the policy of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and the revolutionary government and see this policy as a manifestation and expression of their aspirations and desires and as the only real prospect of constructing a society of all-round progressive and social justice in our ancient land.

It is clear that the efforts of the workers and the vast masses of the people should be organised and integrated in a common rank towards a single aim for the formation of a new and blossoming society in Afghanistan. This is the most important condition of acquiring it and this is one of the most important problems for the time being.

The patriots of Afghanistan clearly realise and understand their duties in the prevailing state of affairs. They are becoming united ever more closely around the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, this recognised vanguard of the working class and all the working people and the guiding force of the society and the state. They constantly raise their level of consciousness, organisation and discipline. In a short span of time congresses and conferences of trade unions, cooperatives, democratic organisation of Afghanistan's youth, democratic organisation of Afghanistan's women, unions of writers, journalists and artists were successfully convened. In the course of huge mass meetings the loyalty of the patriots of Afghanistan to the cause of social and national progress of Afghanistan and their full support to the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and their revolutionary government were manifested clearly and explicitly.

The jirgahs (assemblies) of the tribes of Afghanistan were convincing manifestations of the unity of national and patriotic forces. In these trustworthy jirgahs, the heads, leaders and individuals from tribes who have played a proudful and important role in the history of the country expressed in unambiguous terms and explicitly their full understanding of the policies of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and the revolutionary government, in the context of the efforts for the consolidation and expansion of the transformations aimed at ensuring all-round progress of the country. There is no doubt that the nationalities and tribes of Afghanistan will occupy a worthy and befitting place in the alliance of the national and patriotic forces.

The deeply national and democratic April Revolution is a powerful manifestation of the will of the toiling muslims of Afghanistan for the stabilisation of real special

justice, the religious scholars, mullahs and noble and patriotic spiritual leaders contribute befittingly to common task of constructing a new and blossoming Afghanistan and the unity of patriotic muslims who form the decisive majority of the people.

The fruitful, beneficial and constructive cooperation in the interest of the advancement of the country is successfully developing between the governmental organs and the patriotic national industrialists in the framework of economic consultative council under the council of ministers of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

Practically one can observe in the country the general activation of socio-political life on the basis of legality, trust and confident cooperation between the patriots and the religious, national and social forces.

It is these forces that constitute the decisive majority of the people of Afghanistan and have decisively positioned themselves in the path of future of social justice and all-round progress.

It is on this basis that before our eyes extensive unity of people, real unison and effective cooperation of these forces is coming into being. Thus the historical aspirations of the best sons of the people regarding the deep and sincere unity of all patriots of the country are transforming into reality.

The collective founder members of the National Fatherland Front of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan are as follows:

- People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan.
- Trade Unions of Afghanistan.
- Union of Cooperatives of Afghanistan.
- Democratic Organisation of Afghanistan's Youth.
- Democratic Organisation of Afghanistan's Women.
- Union of Journalists of Afghanistan.
- Union of Writers of Afghanistan.
- Union of Artists of Afghanistan.
- Organisation of Peace, Solidarity and Friendship of Afghanistan.

- Economic Consultative Council of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.
- Council of Scholars and Religious Leaders of Afghanistan.
- Jirgah of Tribal Representatives.

Let me express my heartfelt thanks on behalf of the high preparatory commission and on behalf of you esteemed delegates, to all the founding members of the National Fatherland Front and express my confidence that their noble initiative will be manifested worthily and develop properly in their direct activities within the framework of the congress.

Thus the task of the creation of the broad unity of the compatriots of Afghanistan in practice emanates from the whole complex of social, political and economic conditions.

The fact of the convocation of the founding congress of NFF in the new phase of the April National Democratic Revolution in itself brings out in relief the great and favourable possibilities and the prospects of achieving such unity.

Now we must begin to materialise these possibilities. We create the NFF on the basis of a clear realisation of its aims and tasks.

Esteemed Delegates,

Now we come to the latest problem, that is to say, wherein lies the political significance of the creation of the NFF.

If we sum up what we have said, the conclusion will be that the creation of the NFF is not a simple increase in the number of the socio-political organisations which have been formed already and are in action, even though the organisation will be the largest of them.

The importance of the formation of the National Fatherland Front as far as the principle is concerned is very great.

First of all it must be said that this event is a new and convincing evidence of the general normalisation of the situation in our country, the consolidation of our revolu-

tionary government, the confidence and the respect accorded to it by the vast masses and in fact all our free and industrious people.

Secondly, the formation of the front is the manifestation and powerful expression of the consolidating and developing unity of the national patriotic forces of Afghanistan on the basis of the principles of the April Revolution, the policy of the PDPA and the endeavours of the patriots and the fighters in the struggle for constructing a prosperous and blossoming Afghanistan.

Thirdly, the formation of the front means an important stride towards the integrity and fraternity of the broadest social and national forces of Afghanistan, on a democratic basis and on the foundations of respect and consolidation of the rights and social freedoms of men.

With this step and possibilities will increase for every compatriot of Afghanistan to participate adequately in the blossoming of the country and this participation will be broadened further in the framework of the vast popular and democratic organisation of the NFF.

Fourthly, the formation of the front shows clearly and explicitly that the glorious April Revolution is capable in this phase of solving big and complicated problems and of creating completely new forms of the unity of all national and compatriot forces.

Solving these problems we the patriots of Afghanistan will prepare ourselves for the accomplishment of the future tasks in connection with the achievement of our main goal i.e., the construction of a society of social justice, progress and prosperity in Afghanistan.

Esteemed Delegates,

With the creation of the National Fatherland Front we have taken an extraordinarily important step towards the national and social unity and integrity.

But this is one of the first steps and a great historical beginning in that direction. Of course the organisational formation and the practical construction of the front is very important. But ensuring its efficiency of action, that

is, the turning of the front into a constituent and necessary unit of the socio-political system of the country is also not less important.

The front should be turned into what it should be, i.e., in an effective alliance of the patriots of the homeland for the prosperity and the progress of the country. Thus, with the creation of the front and while defining its aims and functions and its organisational structure we must pay attention to it that the work of the front should have a real and proper content.

The front which is formed in accord with the demands of the life must be a legal and effective means of changing and transforming this life towards well-being and prosperity.

Long Live the Unity of the National and Patriotic Forces of Afghanistan!

*Long Live the National Fatherland Front!
Victory will be Ours!*

Message Of The Founding Congress Of The National Fatherland Front Of The Democratic Republic Of Afghanistan To The Peoples Of The Region

We the participants of the founding congress of the National Fatherland Front of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan on this magnificent day, addressing the friendly and the fraternal peoples of our region as also the people of the other countries of the Indian Ocean region and Asian continent bring to them the good news of the establishment of the National Fatherland Front in new Afghanistan, this historic event in the life of the country.

The creation of the National Fatherland Front is indicative of the reality that our people have reached the new high stage of their unity and cohesion for the all-sided progress, blossoming, and prosperity of our beloved country.

This event testifies to the fact that our National Democratic Revolution whose victory culminated in the formation of the real democratic government enjoys the support of the broad masses of the people and is the guarantor of their fundamental interests and aspirations.

This event is the proof of the fact that our beloved Afghanistan, ever more speedily and triumphantly will be evolving towards the building of a genuinely just, blossoming and happy society.

This event is indicative of the fact that most favourable conditions and possibilities have been created in Afghanistan for the sincere, all-sided and effective cooperation for all patriots of the country and for a democratic understanding amongst all Afghans in a peaceful situation in the country for their happy future.

This event is suggestive of the fact that every effort of

the enemies of new Afghanistan who wish to obstruct the progress of Afghanistan through the use of force and intrigues will meet with a decisive and ignominious defeat.

This event is the expression of the fact that our people will struggle ever more actively, and earnestly for a lasting peace in the region and the world over, for the consolidation of international peace and tranquillity and the creation of an international atmosphere conducive to the progress and creative activity to the benefit of all the people in the region and for all the people of the world at large.

It is only for this purpose that addressing the people of the region with whom our people have always had traditional ties, a common life, good neighbourly relations, co-operation and mutual respect we invite them to work for securing a durable peace and normalisation of the situation in the region as a whole. Addressing the noble people of Iran we once again declare our preparedness for direct talks without any preconditions over all or some of the issues which are facing us.

In our address to the noble people of Pakistan also, we once again declare our readiness for direct discussions without any preconditions attached to it over all or some of the issues which are facing us. We declare that the people of Afghanistan will never embark on the path of aggression, of disputes, of fratricide and hostility which leads to dangerous consequences and we expect that the friendly and brotherly people of Pakistan will not allow the foreign and alien forces who are the enemy of the sacred religion of Islam and the people of the two countries to impose their will and to turn them into an instrument for blind aggression and fratricidal war.

We declare our readiness for solving the political problems around Afghanistan in a peaceful manner, i.e., through negotiations.

We also confirm that the question of withdrawal of the limited military contingents of the Soviet Union from

Afghanistan should and could be resolved in the context of such a political solution.

No one should consider our readiness for bilateral discussions without any preconditions as a sign of weakness. On the contrary the creation of the National Fatherland Front in the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan in itself is a clear manifestation of the unity and confidence in our forces which is increasing day by day.

We hope that the demand for preparing for holding of such talks will help in the relaxation of tension and banning of the arms race in the region.

We address the noble people of India, confirming our loyalty to the lofty traditions, brotherhood, friendship and good neighbourliness which have deep historic and long standing roots and which in accordance with the will of the people of Afghanistan are strengthening, developing and consolidating in the new evolutionary phase of the glorious April revolution.

We address the noble people of Sri Lanka, Nepal, Bhutan, Bangladesh, and all people of the Asian continent and Indian Ocean region and express loyalty to the ideals of peace, progress and friendship between peoples and neighbours and readiness for cooperation with them and for joint struggle for the realisation of these lofty ideals.

Let the peace-loving deep water of the Indian Ocean serve the cause of peace and progress for all the peoples of this region.

Let the aggressive policy of the American imperialism and its allies face a shameful defeat.

**The Message Of The Founding Congress Of The National Fatherland
Front Of The Democratic Republic Of Afghanistan To All
Countrymen Inside The Country And Abroad**

*Illustrious Muslims of Afghanistan,
Dear Brothers and Sisters,
And All Genuine Patriots of Our Lovely Country,*

We, the participants of the founding congress of the National Fatherland Front of the DRA, declare to you that we have decided to create this organisation and thus to transform into reality the historical aspiration of our people for deep and genuine unity of all patriots for the all sided progress of the homeland.

Here in this congress, representing all the national and compatriot forces of the DRA and on their behalf we declare that holding the heroic past of our people in high esteem respecting the traditions and customs of our forefathers and inspired by the struggles and victories we forge ahead united in a single rank in order to make our country prosperous and blossoming.

The glorious April Revolution has opened the way for progress and ensuring of real social justice in the country. Successful achievement of the objectives of the revolution depends largely on the extent to which the masses of the people of Afghanistan are attracted widely in the active struggle for the realisation of its lofty objectives.

The social organisations which represent all the classes, strata and the main groups of the population of the country and all patriotic social, national and religious forces of Afghanistan have joined the National Fatherland Front according to the will and the interests of the people.

We invite all patriots, both the organisations and the

individuals who have not joined the NFF and are eligible for becoming individual members of the front to join the NFF.

The unity of all patriots of our country and all democratic forces helps in the solution of the problems, which are being tackled by our people in the national democratic phase of the revolution.

The creation of the National Fatherland Front is, above all, a new step forward in the evolution of the April Revolution, because it seeks to draw all those who are interested in the realisation of its popular aims to take part in it.

Dear Brothers and Sisters,

The people of Afghanistan have suffered for long at the hands of the invaders, imperialists and unconscionable rulers. These forces tried to disunite the people and thus pit the Afghans one against the other. But the people of Afghanistan constantly made efforts to resist them with their unity. At times when the people did it successfully the enemies had to face a disgrace.

Now the enemies of our beloved country are trying once again to impose on our people the will of imperialism and the reaction through the force of arms. They want that the future of our country be determined not by peaceful and democratic talks but through bloody and fratricidal war. They want to try once more to make the people of Afghanistan playthings in the hands of those who have no concern whatever for their destiny and who make personal gains for themselves out of the misery and agony of the people.

It is only the ringleaders of the counter-revolutionary forces who are continually quarrelling to obtain power and riches from the imperialists and external reaction and are endeavouring to fan, on the will of the imperialists and reaction, fratricide in the country. As willed by them everyday crimes are committed in the name of Islam but actually against Islam. Using all their might they try to be an obstacle to the peaceful life in the country because

peace is the way towards prosperity and the blossoming of the country while they can rob the people only in the conditions of darkness and popular ignorance.

As far as the imperialists are concerned, they arm the counter-revolutionaries and pay them because they do not want to see Afghanistan powerful, united and blossoming. We feel in ourselves tremendous strength to stand united in a single rank of the fighters for the prosperity of the people of Afghanistan and put an end to the conspiracies of imperialism and the reaction of the region.

The Afghans have gained victory over their enemies at times when there arose some mighty and capable force which uniting them could lead them and draw them towards their major goal. Now we do have such force. Today the power is in the hands of the party which has always fought for the unity of all national and democratic forces, which has consistently demonstrated through its past and historical records that it possesses the strength for uniting all the people of Afghanistan for the sake of the great ideal.

The guarantee of the victory lies in the fact that after all the progressive forces having rallied around the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, the reflector of the interests of the working people and the true defender of the democratic aspirations of our people, finally secured the possibilities of fulfilling the long outstanding aspirations of the people i.e., to serve their country.

We are uniting around the NFF in order to prevent the offensives of the colonialists and enemies of our people, to treat the wounds of our suffering country and to mobilise our force and capability, our material and spiritual resources for the progress of the beloved Afghanistan.

We have become united so that we could put an end to the conflicts between the different sections of our society and eliminate the discord, enmity and mistrust which has been fanned by the imperialists, Chinese hegemonists and the reaction of the region.

We became united to end all the misfortunes and terrors, to weed out the suspicion and animosity from the

atmosphere of friendship and fraternal cooperation. In such an atmosphere one can reach mutual understanding and find the real way for a friendly solution of the problems of the country.

We address those of you Afghans who have been deceived into being assigned to fight against your own people and revolution:

Be not the false and sold out chieftains who are trampling under foot the tenets of Islamic religion. Stop serving the interests of the outsiders. Come down from the mountains. Pick up the ploughs and spades whom your hands miss so much.

The land is waiting for you. Your families are waiting for you and Afghanistan awaits you. You are the sons of this country. Do not ruin it but build it.

We proclaim to those of you countrymen who, for this or that reason, are out of the borders of our country:

Return to your houses in order to bring nearer with your work and toil the prosperous future in one family of the people of Afghanistan.

Our Afghanistan is rich in its soil and water. In our mountains are hidden tremendous riches. Our people are toilers and hard-workers. We have everything needed for changing our country into a blossoming garden in which every Afghan should enjoy a prosperous and pleasant life.

The government is continuing the land reform determinedly and will make endeavours to ensure that everyone becomes a land owner. The government wants to complete the land reform and to secure lands to the landless peasants and those who have small holdings. The government wants the lands to be given to those who according to the tenets of holy Quran are its real owners and all the people of Afghanistan should work on this land for the sake of their families.

We invite all industrious Afghans all those who really hold dear our country, its mountains, its rivers, gardens and the plains:

Come so that we work together in one place to fulfil the long outstanding wish of our people and to put an end to poverty, disease, hunger and ignorance. To accomplish this task we have everything: The interest, the means, the government which reflects the wishes of the people and friends who have extended their hands to help us in the times of trial.

The only requisite for the fulfilment of these wishes is peace and tranquillity. Thus let everyone who creates obstructions in the life of Afghans and in their peace and tranquillity and yet hides himself behind deceitful and resonant words, be declared as the enemy of the Afghan people.

Brothers and Sisters,

Unite around the National Fatherland Front. Give a crushing rebuff to the enemies of your country in line with Afghan character. Let peace and tranquillity reign supreme in the atmosphere of our beloved country.

Constitution Of The National Fatherland Front Of The Democratic Republic of Afghanistan

INTRODUCTION

The National Fatherland Front is the basis of the power of the working people in the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. This front envisages the broad system of organisations and political and social personalities and is the manifestation of the unity of the peoples of all nationalities, tribes and the followers of various religions inhabiting in our single country, the beloved Afghanistan. The front based on the alliance of workers, and peasants, unites the democratic strata and classes of the people and all patriotic forces for forging unity and fraternal cooperation aimed at the progress, wellbeing and prosperity of our prideful homeland, Afghanistan.

The People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan is, according to the fundamental principles of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, the guiding force of National Fatherland Front and the whole society of Afghanistan.

The origin of the idea of the unity of national patriotic forces is dated back to the epoch of the heroic liberation struggles of our ancestors and forefathers against colonialism and imperialism for the cause of freedom and independence of Afghanistan. This notion manifested itself also during the periods of the first constitutional movement, the second constitutional movement (implementation of progressive reforms by king Amanullah) and the seventh national parliament movement. This idea was given a scientific and concrete shape in the principled first programme of the People's Democratic Party of Afghani-

stan approved in 1344 (1965). From that day till today this idea has remained as the guide for the later revolutionary movements and constituted one of the fundamental principles of the general and current policy of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan.

Thanks to the victory of April Revolution and especially the triumph of its new phase this historical idea acquired a new content and also real prospects of its realisation in practice opened up.

In the declarations, statements and the main documents of the new stage of revolution, among them the declaration of the sixth of jaddi 1358 (27 December 1979) the theses of the Central Committee of People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan on the occasion of the second anniversary of April revolution, the fundamental principles of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, in the documents of the plenums of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, social organisations and the conference of national and patriotic forces held on jaddi 6, 1359 (27 December 1980) the specific methods and principles of unity and alliance of democratic, national, patriotic and progressive forces of the country under the National Fatherland Front have been determined.

The objectives underlying the creation of the National Fatherland Front of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, are the realisation of the will and the ever present inclination of the patriots of Afghanistan for achieving a genuine unity and oneness, for safeguarding the freedom and national independence, ensuring real democracy and social progress of the country and durable peace in the region.

The National Fatherland Front is charged with the task of consolidating the unity of the people of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan in order to lead to National and Democratic Revolution to its final victory and also to assist in promoting the process and the development of the progressive and patriotic spirit of the citizens of the Democratic

Republic of Afghanistan and to drawing them widely in administering the affairs of the government and society.

In the framework of this front all the sons of the country including men and women, young and old, workers and peasants, craftsmen and intellectuals, scholars and spiritual leaders, national merchants, the owners of small-scale industries and all people of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan without discrimination and distinction will unite for common work and struggle for the cause of constructing a just, progressive, new and blossoming society of revolutionary, heroic, free and independent Afghanistan.

1. FUNDAMENTAL DIRECTIONS OF THE ACTIVITY OF THE NATIONAL FATHERLAND FRONT IN THE PRESENT PHASE

The basic task of the National Fatherland Front is that following the general policy line of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan vast masses of the people be attracted to participate actively and consciously in constructing democratic and progressive Afghanistan and in observing respect to the sacred religion of Islam, the specific historical, spiritual and national customs and traditions of all nationalities and tribes of the country and to propagate and explain on a broad scale the policy of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, the revolutionary council and the government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

The front is struggling for the realisation of the objectives of April Revolution and implementation of the tasks of its new phase. It must organise and unite the indomitable will and unity of action of all freedom-loving and valorous people of Afghanistan like fortress of steel and invincible force in order to inflict crushing and decisive blows against every kind of provocations, interventions and aggressions of the black forces of reaction and imperialism who with the force of arms and through lies and slander try to

create obstacles in the way of the growth and development of national and democratic revolution of Afghanistan, to reverse it and to jeopardise the independence, national sovereignty and territorial integrity of our country and the peace in the region.

The National Fatherland Front will be extending all-sided humane cooperation in implementing the progressive, socio-economic transformations which will be carried out step by step in the society by the revolutionary power for the consolidation of the national unity and raising of the material and cultural standards of living and wellbeing of the people.

Through the joint activity of all its members the National Fatherland Front will support and back the policy of the state based on the principle of social justice and equality of rights of all the people of the country and to this end render all-sided cooperation with all its means and possibilities in the following spheres:

- Security and tranquillity,
- National economy,
- Medical services and health protection,
- Education and training of the masses,
- Higher and vocational education,
- Science, technology and arts.

The National Fatherland Front is obliged to consolidate the country's defence ability, and increase the combat power and conscious and iron discipline of the liberating armed forces of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan which pay the role of a patriotic and confident defender of country's independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, and the gains of the national democratic revolution.

The National Fatherland Front decisively supports the foreign policy line of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and the government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan in the task of maintaining peace, peaceful coexistence, removal of international tensions and political solution of the complicated and unsolved problems between neighbouring countries and consolidation of

friendship and cooperation between them, and will work for the maintenance of this policy line.

The National Fatherland Front supports and backs the policy of friendship between our illustrious people and the struggling peoples of the world who are fighting for peace, progress and national and social freedom.

The National Fatherland Front considers it its patriotic duty to acquaint our people with the gains and the historical achievements of all countries friendly to Afghanistan and in the first place the historic, national friend of the toiling people of Afghanistan, our great neighbouring country, the Soviet Union and other socialist and progressive countries of the world and protect and expand the valuable treasures of friendship and cooperation between the peoples of Afghanistan and the Soviet Union accumulated in the span of many decades.

The National Fatherland Front will establish and develop close relations and cooperation with similar social and political organisations of other countries on reciprocal basis.

2. MEMBERSHIP TO THE NATIONAL FATHERLAND FRONT

Membership to the National Fatherland Front will be on voluntary basis and can be on collective or individual basis.

The collective founding members of the National Fatherland Front of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan are:

- The Peoples Democratic Party of Afghanistan.
- Trade Unions of Afghanistan.
- Union of Agricultural Cooperatives of the DRA.
- Democratic Organisation of Youth of Afghanistan.
- Democratic Organisation of Women of Afghanistan.
- Union of Poets and Writers of the DRA.
- Union of Journalists of the DRA.

- Union of Artists of the DRA.
- Peace, Solidarity and Friendship Organisation of Afghanistan.
- Economic Consultative Council of DRA.
- Council of Scholars and Clergies of Afghanistan.
- The High Jirgah of Tribal Representatives.

The National Fatherland Front will be open to other social organisations which follow the principles of the national democratic April Revolution, accept, support and abide by the norms (the constitution) and submit their voluntary applications for membership to the National Fatherland Front of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan in writing addressed to the National Committee. The acceptance of collective membership to the front will take place after the decision of the National Committee of the National Fatherland Front.

Every citizen of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan who supports the aims of the front and is ready for practical participation in its activities can be individual member of the National Fatherland Front. Individual volunteers also can be accepted as members of the front on the basis of registered oral or written personal application submitted to the local committee of the front in the related province where they reside.

The members of the National Fatherland Front have the right to participate in all the measures and steps taken by the front in order to assist in the implementation of the national and democratic April Revolution, to study and discuss the problems related to the activities of the front and its committees and to present proposals which can help for the improvement of its activities.

The material income of the National Fatherland Front will be maintained from the funds paid by the collective and individual members as well as the donations of the citizens of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and their different unions.

3. ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURE AND LEADING BODIES OF THE NATIONAL FATHERLAND FRONT

The organisational basis of the front is constituted of its provincial organisations.

The highest authority of the National Fatherland Front is the country-wide congress of the front which will be called at least once every five years. The date of the convocation of the congress will be fixed as decided by the front's National Committee.

The congress reviewing and evaluating the front's activity as a whole and the activity of its National Committee, defining the duties and general directions of the work of the front, will introduce necessary amendments and modifications in the constitution of the National Fatherland front and elect its leading organ namely the National Committee of the front which will guide the front's activity in the period between the two congresses.

The criteria and regulations concerning the representations and the method of the sending of representatives will be determined by the National Committee of the front.

The National Committee will elect from amongst its members the chairman and vice-chairmen and also the Executive Committee which will report its work to the National Committee. The president of the National Committee and its vice-presidents will be ex-officio members of the Executive Committee.

The provincial committees of the National Fatherland Front are formed by the Executive Committee. The Executive Committee also defines the authority of these committees and the directions of their activity.

The National Fatherland Front will have its own published organ. The National Committee of the National Fatherland Front and its provincial committees possess the authorities of legal personality.

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