

**Documents and Records  
of the National  
Conference  
of the People's  
Democratic Party  
of Afghanistan**

**Kabul  
March 14-15, 1982**



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of the PDPA**

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On March 14-15, 1982, the First National Conference of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan was held in Kabul. Elected to the conference were 841 delegates. The conference focussed its attention on the unity and cohesion of the PDPA, the enhancement of the Party's prestige among the broad masses and its leading role in society, the stepping up of the struggle against the forces of counter-revolution, and the constant care for the development of the country's economy.

Comrade Babrak Karmal, General Secretary of the PDPA Central Committee, and Comrade Noor Ahmad Noor, Secretary of the PDPA Central Committee, submitted reports on a Draft Programme of Action of the PDPA and on additions to the PDPA Rules. The delegates to the Conference adopted several resolutions and a Message to the People of Afghanistan.

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## Contents

Opening Speech by Comrade Babrak Karmal, General Secretary of the PDPA Central Committee	5
On the Draft Programme of Action of the PDPA and the Tasks in Consolidating the Party and Strengthening Its Links with the People. Report of General Secretary of the CC PDPA Comrade Babrak Karmal	7
On Amendments and Additions to the Rules of the PDPA. Report by Noor Ahmad Noor, Secretary of the CC PDPA	32
Report of the Credentials Commission	41
“On the Urgent Tasks of the Party”. Resolution of the National Conference of the PDPA	45
“On Amendments and Additions to the Rules of the PDPA.” Resolution of the National Conference of the PDPA	51
Resolution of the National Conference of the PDPA “On the Programme of Action of the PDPA”.	52
Rules of the People’s Democratic Party of Afghanistan	53
The Programme of Action of the People’s Democratic Party of Afghanistan	68
Message of the PDPA National Conference to the People of Afghanistan	94
Concluding Speech of Comrade Babrak Karmal on March 15, 1982	99



**OPENING SPEECH  
BY COMRADE BABRAK KARMAL,  
GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE PDPA  
CENTRAL COMMITTEE**

Comrade delegates,

The National Conference of the PDPA is starting its work. Historical circumstances have been such that only today, more than 17 years since the First Congress of our Party, has it been possible to convene this very representative all-Party forum. The very holding of a Party conference is of historic importance to the Party and the whole of our people. Its purpose is to make a profound analysis of the path the Party has traversed and to give an answer to vital questions on whose solution depend the present and future of our beloved fatherland. The decisions of the conference will determine the general line of the Party, the strategy and tactics of its struggle for the revolutionary renovation of Afghanistan.

Our conference is a glorious result of the heroic struggle that has been waged by the best sons and daughters of our noble, freedom-loving people for a happy future. Many of them gave their lives in the fight for the cause. Their memory lives and will live forever, embodied in the struggle and victories of our Party, in the building of a new, happy and prosperous Afghanistan! I propose that we honour the memory of the heroes who fell for the fatherland, the people and the revolution by rising and observing one minute's silence.

Comrades,

Today the pick of our Party, its best members elected by Party meetings and conferences, have assembled in this hall. They are indeed the most worthy members, boundlessly devoted to the cause of the Party, the revolution and the people. It is precisely thanks to their efforts, to the heroic, selfless work of tens of thousands of Party members relying on the support and assistance of all the patriots of the fatherland that our Party is honourably and confidently fulfilling its historic mission, is heading and directing the advance of our people along the path of national and social progress. The convening of this National Conference of the Party is a graphic and convincing testimony to the ideological, political and organizational progress our Party has made, to the further strengthening of the unity of its ranks and growing importance of the role it is playing in society and the state.

Permit me on behalf of the Politbureau of the PDPA Central Committee warmly and cordially to greet you, dear comrades, and to wish you fruitful and successful work.

Comrades,

During these past years we were not alone in our fight and in securing victories.

Our Party is an inalienable component of the process of the revolutionary renovation of society, a process which has acquired a world-wide scale. Our real friends, above all, our great ally, friend and brother, the Soviet Union, and other countries of the socialist community have invariably rendered and are continuing to render us noble internationalist aid. The care they have taken for our struggle and their moral and material support have helped and are helping us resist the combined efforts of our common enemies who have forced an undeclared war on Afghanistan, who have been trying to throw us back to the past and to deprive our people of a most essential, generally recognized human right, namely, the right to organize our life in keeping with our free choice.

Our conference has received numerous messages of greeting from fraternal revolutionary Parties, our true and faithful friends. Permit me to read out the message of greeting from the great Leninist Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

*(The text of the message from the CPSU Central Committee was read out).*

Greetings have been also received from the central committees of ruling Parties in countries of the socialist community, from Communist, workers' and revolutionary democratic Parties and movements, from Party conferences of our own Party, from the National Fatherland Front and the organizations affiliated to it. They inspire us to new deeds and achievements. Permit me on your behalf to thank all those who have sent us greetings and expressed their internationalist solidarity with our noble struggle and efforts. We shall spare neither efforts nor energy to live up in deed to the good wishes addressed to us.

Comrades,

Eight hundred and forty-one delegates have been elected to the National Conference of the PDPA. Eight hundred and thirty-six delegates are attending the conference, five delegates are absent for good reason. It is proposed that the conference begin its proceedings.

Will those who support this proposal please vote? Who is against? Any abstentions? The proposal is carried unanimously.

I hereby declare the National Conference of the PDPA open.

*(The Internationale is sung.)*

# ON THE DRAFT PROGRAMME OF ACTION OF THE PDPA AND THE TASKS IN CONSOLIDATING THE PARTY AND STRENGTHENING ITS LINKS WITH THE PEOPLE

Report of General Secretary of the PDPA Central Committee  
Comrade Babrak Karmal

Comrade delegates,

In the period which has elapsed since the First Congress of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan it has traversed a long and winding road, a glorious road with its ups and downs. The glorious April Revolution, led by the PDPA, set our beloved country, ancient Afghanistan, on the highway of national democratic growth.

After April 27 deep transformations took place in the country in a historically short period of time and they still continue. The social, political and economic domination of feudal lords and big usurers was brought to an end. Land and water reforms are being implemented in the interests of the main masses of the peasantry and nomads. The state sector in industry and transport is being consolidated and expanded. The Party and the government are working consistently and firmly to consolidate and enforce an atmosphere of legality and respect for the rights and freedoms of the citizens. All the conditions necessary for the free and unobstructed performance of the rites of the sacred religion of Islam by believers have been provided in practice.

The people have now become convinced that our policy is genuinely directed to the solution of economic, social and cultural problems in their interests. The result of the work accomplished in all spheres is gradual establishment of new relations of respect, trust, cooperation and fraternity between all the national and patriotic forces of Afghanistan in their noble joint activities for the good of our beloved homeland. Thus it has once again been affirmed that the policy of the PDPA is the sole correct policy expressing the fundamental interests, needs and aspirations of our people.

The revolutionary transition of Afghanistan from backwardness to all-round progress has kindled the fierce wrath and bitter opposition of the forces of imperialism and reaction. They have resorted to extensive interference in our internal affairs, unleashed a campaign of terror and violence, and are provoking a fratricidal war. They do not hesitate to resort to any means in order to reimpose the rule of the exploiters in Afghanistan and to deprive our people of their right to happiness and progress. It is because of these very crimes and interference by the enemies of the Afghan revolution that many social and economic transformations are taking place at a slower pace than had been planned and serious difficulties are arising in the work of industry, agriculture, power engineering and transport. It is

because of these crimes and interference that bloodshed is still continuing and people are suffering. Such a situation demands from the PDPA, as a revolutionary ruling Party, clarity of aims, resoluteness in action and a great deal of organizational work. For this reason we need a Programme of Action, which will lay the basis for ever closer cohesion of Party ranks and the mobilization of all our forces for fulfilment of the tasks of the national democratic revolution and the safeguarding of its gains.

A new programme document is also needed because the main strategic task of the First Programme of the PDPA, namely, the winning of political power, has been accomplished. New tasks now face the Party. So the main objective of the National Conference of our Party is to draft and formulate these tasks and determine the specific paths of the advance of our movement.

In the period between the Second Plenary Meeting of the PDPA Central Committee which adopted the present Rules of our Party, definite experience has been accumulated with regard to inner Party work and new forms and methods of work in the Party organizations have been evolved. The structure of Party organizations continues to be improved and provincial Party committees have been created and district committees—in the major cities. Changes have been effected in the functions and rights of Party committees, possessing different levels of authority. All this must be reflected in the main Party document, which regulates inner Party life, that is to say, in the Rules of the PDPA. So in our opinion it is beneficial to make certain changes and amendments in the existing Rules of our Party.

At the conference other documents of importance for the Party and the country will also be approved.

Comrades,

The preparations for the National Conference turned into a great political campaign which made the Party stronger and more closely knitted, expanded and consolidated its ties with the broad masses of the people, evoked renewed fervour and enthusiasm among members and candidate members of the Party and enriched the Party with new experience. Since the delegates have the draft Programme of Action, permit me to proceed to evaluate its main points and the main directions of the practical activities of the Party, ensuing from its substance.

## THE ESSENCE OF THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION IN AFGHANISTAN AND THE MAIN LINES OF ITS DEVELOPMENT

Comrades,

While formulating the Programme of Action of the Party and the practical policies ensuing from it we set ourselves a simple and clear aim: to make our people happy and our homeland prosperous. Herein lies the essence of the April Revolution and all the activities of the PDPA. But the attainment of this lofty goal is not possible all at once and in one go. The transition from extreme backwardness to all-round progress requires time and the conscious and planned efforts of all the people under the leadership of their political vanguard, namely, the ruling revolutionary Party, that is to say, our Party, the PDPA. The national democratic revolution is a

historically necessary and inevitable phase of this process. Our revolution was a response to the growing historical discontent and indignation felt by the broadest social forces of working people, the intelligentsia, progressive officers and soldiers, tribes, peoples and nationalities against the reactionary and selfish policies of anti-popular regimes. It is national democratic and of anti-imperialist nature.

Our revolution sets itself general democratic goals: the abolition of all feudal and pre-feudal remnants, the limitation of the land holdings of big landowners, the distribution of land to landless peasants, to peasant smallholders and agricultural workers, the raising of the level of the national economy, improvement of the living standards of the people, development of the cultures of the nationalities, ethnic groups and tribes of Afghanistan and the consistent and profound democratization of social and political life.

Our revolution has a national trait, because it reflects the national peculiarities of the peoples inhabiting our common country, revolutionary Afghanistan, their deep religious sentiment, historical and cultural traditions and spiritual values. We respect these traditions and values and with the utmost care preserve and perfect all that preceding generations have created and which is good and progressive.

I must once again point out that our revolution is the historical successor to the long preceding battles the patriots of Afghanistan fought for a better and happy future. These battles were stepped up, especially under the impact of the deep-rooted changes which took place throughout the world and in our region thanks to the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution about 65 years ago and to the subsequent changes in the balance of forces in the world arena in favour of the forces of peace and all-round progress. It was in those very times that new currents came to the fore in our dear Afghanistan and rapidly grew and the forces of progress and freedom gained in strength. Already at the beginning of our century outstanding Afghan democrats like Jalalabadi, Tarzi and others, being convinced supporters of our homeland's genuine progress, called on the people to forge national unity for a better and bright future. The Third Afghan-British War strengthened patriotic unity, brought about a powerful growth of the democratic movement and activated all the country's progressive forces.

The subsequent development of these currents was represented by the First Constitutional Movement, the progressive reforms of Amir Amanullah Khan, the Second Constitutional Movement, the Movement for the Seventh Convocation of the National Assembly and the movement of the Afghan public for democratic reforms and against the oppressive policies of reactionary regimes. All these were living testimony to the existence of the great historical need of our people for genuine and all-round progress. The creation of our Party and its consistent and heroic struggle which was supported by all the national and patriotic forces and later culminated in the victory of the glorious April Revolution were a response to its powerful growth in our society.

Comrades,

The April Revolution won and develops not spontaneously, but on the basis of the general laws of social revolution which our Party creatively applies to the specific economic, historical, national and cultural conditions of our dear Afghanistan which give the revolutionary process in our country its particular features. What are these features?

First of all, the national democratic revolution in Afghanistan occurred not

only in conditions of extreme backwardness but in a situation where a wider set of problems than in some other countries had to be solved, that is to say, national, religious and tribal problems in addition to general economic, social and cultural problems. All this calls for a balanced and flexible approach on the part of the Party and the revolutionary government to their solution.

The April Revolution began and continues to develop in both a peaceful and a non-peaceful form, that is to say, in the form of the armed struggle of the Party and the people against the aggression by imperialism, Peking hegemonism, and the forces of regional reaction and internal counter-revolution.

It must likewise be stressed that the development of the national democratic revolution after its victory has not been smooth and even. It not only faced deviations and mistakes which were committed in the beginning but also had to face large-scale interference organized from abroad. Consequently many of the planned tasks could not be fulfilled and the transformations that had been begun were not consummated. That is why at the present stage of our revolution it is necessary to implement a programme of measures to consolidate the gains of the revolution, to improve the material conditions of the working people, to continue the land and water reform, to improve supplies of primary goods to the people, and to develop commerce, culture and education.

The important point to recall is that the April Revolution is developing in a country where the majority of people are followers of the sacred religion of Islam. The forces of reaction in Afghanistan and beyond its borders have made and are making every effort to incite feelings of hatred towards the revolution and the PDPA amongst Muslim believers. Therefore the Party is making renewed efforts to ensure that its noble and lofty ideals and objectives are deeply and correctly understood by Muslim believers and, in the first place, by the working people.

Another noteworthy feature of our revolution is that it is developing in a country with a complex national and tribal composition. In the past reactionary oppressive regimes made use of this feature in order to set the tribes, nationalities and ethnic groups against one another, to weaken them all and so prolong their own shameful and oppressive rule. The Party and the revolutionary government pay most serious attention to a correct solution of this complex problem left over as a legacy of the past.

Comrades,

A correct understanding of the specific features of our revolution and their creative linking in the policy of the Party and government to the general laws of revolutionary transformations are of a great principled significance. The success of practical politics and the success of the whole undertaking depend on this.

On the basis of its analysis of our realities the Party draws the conclusion that the problems facing the country and the revolution cannot be solved immediately and at one go, but stage by stage. The development of the revolution must be a continued, consistent and planned process. Each phase of its development can begin only after fulfilment of the tasks of the preceding phase.

The Party, while not allowing the skipping of stages and departure from the realities, at the same time cannot tolerate any standstill in respect of the revolutionary transformations in Afghanistan. Stopping at some point and replacing revolutionary action with "revolutionary phrase-mongering" will not be permitted. The Party proceeds from its unshakable determination gradually to improve the

material conditions of the people, to eradicate illiteracy, to develop education, public health and culture and to secure stability, revolutionary legality and order in the country.

While ensuring a consistent transition from one phase of the national democratic revolution to another, the Party is opposed to any attempt to counterpose one phase to another. After the victory of the April Revolution the general direction of progress had been determined. In the present new phase of the revolution this progress was freed from subjectivism and accompanying deviations and received a new powerful impetus and it is firmly proceeding in the pre-determined direction.

The creation of the basis of a new political system, reflecting the democratic nature of the revolution, is one of the gains of the April Revolution. In addition to the bodies of state power, this system embraces the National Fatherland Front, as the basis of the rule of the working people in the DRA, together with all the mass public organizations, namely, the trade unions, the Democratic Youth Organization of Afghanistan (DYOA), the Women's Democratic Organization of Afghanistan (WDOA), cooperatives, unions of the creative intelligentsia, the Ulema Council, *Jirgahs*\*, and so on.

The new political system has been created and it is functioning. The Party will continue to care for its improvement, democratization and consolidation of its links with the people.

The Party has always believed and believes that the question of political power is the major and fundamental question of the revolution. The April Revolution brought into being state power of a new type, which signifies the rule of the working people and of all the country's patriots. The basis of this rule is the union of the main social forces of our society—workers and peasants—which expresses the vital interests and aspirations of the broad masses of our people. All the working people, all genuine patriots and all worthy sons of our country, members of the intelligentsia, soldiers of the revolutionary armed forces, artisans, businessmen and merchants, religious figures, tribes, ethnic groups and nationalities of Afghanistan support this alliance and participate in it.

We are continuing to build a new Afghanistan in the conditions of an undeclared war imposed by the forces of imperialism and reaction. For this reason, too, we attach primary importance to the task of ensuring and further strengthening our capacity to defend our homeland and our revolutionary gains, consolidating and protecting these gains and forestalling and decisively and successfully foiling the efforts of the imperialist and reactionary forces to reimpose the rule of exploiters. In this connection the Programme of Action contains a set of effective and well-conceived measures which envisage, above all, the further strengthening of the revolutionary people's army and the *Tsarandoi*\*\* , the raising of their combat and political preparedness and the strengthening and expanding of their ties with the people, as a vital factor for the revolution.

The revolutionary power of the people is the major gain of the successful April Revolution. At the same time this power is a major political means of further deepening and developing the revolution and expanding the social, economic and cultural transformations in the interests of the broad masses of the people, and it is a

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\* *Jirgah*—council of tribal leaders.—*Ed.*

\*\* *Tsarandoi*—people's militia.—*Ed.*

able shield for defending the gains of the revolution against the encroachments of forces of internal and external reaction  
Therefore the most important and pressing task of the Party and of the revolutionary power is to complete the crushing of armed counter revolution, to firmly and reliably consolidate revolutionary power in areas where the undeclared struggle against the reactionary forces is still continuing, and to ensure a durable civil peace in the country. The concept of a durable civil peace evolved by our Party means, above all, the ensuring of normal, peaceful and tranquil conditions for common discussion and the resolution of problems we face. It is this that will open the way to the full realization of the whole complex of social and economic transformations set out in the Programme of Action

Such is our attitude to the question of the essence and goals of the April Revolution. We must always keep in mind the fact that the aspirations of many generations of our people and their best sons and daughters who struggled bravely, gallantly and devotedly for the freedom and prosperity of our beloved country are being fulfilled in the course of our revolutionary transformations. It is worth for all Party members and patriots of our country to live, work and fight for this cause. These glorious and heroic years will take an outstanding place in the history of our country and the grateful succeeding generations will never forget all those who laid the foundation stone of the construction of a new life in our country

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Comrades,

Our Party took over political power on the basis of the will and in the interests of the people. This very fact defines the nature, directions and goals of the Party in the social, economic and political spheres. The implementation of this policy in practice will have a great impact in the context of the amelioration of the life of our people and of each Afghan family.

In drawing up this policy we based ourselves on the actual results obtained after the victory of the April Revolution and especially in its new phase. These results have been set out in detail in the Programme of Action. So I wish only to stress the following points, which specifically determine the principled approach of the Party and the revolutionary power to the problems of social and economic growth.

First of all it should be kept in mind that in our country diverse economic forms arose objectively and exist, such as the state sector in industry and agriculture, cooperatives in the villages and in the cities, a state private capital sector (mixed sector), private capital sector in industry, transport, agriculture and commerce, small scale production in town and country (peasants and artisans), a traditional peasant economy, both in natural and semi natural forms, and a tribal economy.

In the phase of the national democratic revolution this multiform economic system will be preserved. We do not intend unnecessarily and artificially to accelerate the process of the elimination of these forms, which have come into being historically. On the contrary, in our social and economic policy, we will patiently and persistently work towards fully utilizing the possibilities of all forms and systems for the growth of the productive forces of the country and for the good of the people. In this way an important social problem is also solved: we will strengthen and accelerate the coming closer together of the various social and national strata

and groups representing these forms and systems. Ultimately, the productive forces, the adoption of modern techniques and technology, the education and culture will permit us to remove this economic multiformity. The role in this process will be played by the state sector.

Owing to the preferential, planned and gradual growth of the importance of the state sector and of economic planning, all of the resources will be utilized more fully and effectively for the general cause of progress: raising the level of the material well-being of the working people and strengthening the country's defence potential. But the Party and the revolutionary government will adopt all the measures necessary to ensure that the restructuring of the multi-form economy does not take place to the detriment of the working man, but that it takes place on the basis of improving the conditions of his life and work and raising his material and cultural standards.

Comrades,

The social and economic programmes of our Party are realistic and inter-linked programmes which are based on the existing conditions and possibilities. It is due to this that our Party has always devoted attention to the economic problems of the country and is doing everything possible to consolidate the economy, increase industrial, agricultural and handicrafts production and improve trade. Naturally, it is not possible to carry out these important tasks in a short space of time. The present conditions of continuing undeclared war of the forces of imperialism and regional reaction against Afghanistan, make the execution of these tasks still more difficult. But the Party and the revolutionary government declare: "We do not intend and are not going to postpone indefinitely what can be accomplished today in the interests of the people."

The backwardness and impeded development of Afghanistan is of a temporary, transient nature. Afghanistan has rich natural resources and a sufficient amount of fertile land, of which presently less than one half is under cultivation, as well as a splendid, industrious and capable working people. The Party is convinced that in the near future our country will become an economically developed state, possessing advanced and diversified industries, a highly productive, well-run agriculture and happy, strong and healthy people who are materially satisfied, educated and politically mature.

Comrades,

The draft Programme of Action, with due regard for the specific features of the Afghan economy, focuses attention on the problems of the development of agriculture and the improvement of the conditions of the peasants.

In its land policy the PDPA proceeds from the conclusion that only through the elimination of the feudal system can wide prospects be opened up for agricultural production. The Party and the people's state will firmly and consistently pursue a policy of democratically solving the land problem with the direct participation of the peasants and their increasing role in this vital task.

What do we think should be the new land relations? It is obvious that these relations will entail a reasonable limitation of the maximum area of land an individual can hold so that the interests of others having a natural need for land are met — not infringed upon. One's landed property, whether inherited or received as a result of land reforms, will be guaranteed in each case to the extent stipulated by law. These new relations will have one aim, namely the creation of conditions in

agriculture which accord with social justice and the sacred principles of Islam and in which the working peasants will have enough land to provide a proper life for themselves and their families and to increase agricultural production needed by all. For this purpose assistance will be given to the peasants in respect of the granting of credits and the provision of technical, agronomical and veterinary help. Chemical fertilizer, seed for sowing, and agricultural implements will be placed at their disposal on easy terms. Extensive help will be given to the peasants to eradicate illiteracy, develop cultural services, and so on.

As we have repeatedly pointed out, our revolutionary government recognizes and respects the interests of the producers and gives them every kind of help to increase their output. Likewise we see it as our task to carry out large-scale land improvement work, to cultivate new large tracts of land, to make extensive use of modern techniques, to adopt advanced methods of management, cultivation and harvesting and to create state agricultural enterprises to function as centres for introducing these advanced methods. Only in this most reliable and effective way can we solve the problem of accelerating the pace of the development of agriculture and ensuring the supply of foodstuffs for the people and raw materials for industry.

The Party and revolutionary government will assist the growth of various kinds of cooperatives in the countryside, including production, supplies and marketing cooperatives.

While implementing this policy, the principle of voluntary membership of the cooperatives will be strictly adhered to and in no case will coercion be permitted. The life and experience of the peasants themselves will teach them that their interests are better and more fully met in cooperatives than by working alone. No one will shun the possibility of a better life, and this possibility is made available to the peasants in the cooperatives.

In drafting its land policy the Party keeps in view the customs and traditions of the people and the commandments of the sacred religion of Islam. By distributing to the needy, the poor and to large peasant families land and water, previously belonging to the exploiters and usurers and by rationally and in accordance with known principles limiting individual landholdings, the revolution is fulfilling the age-old dream of all peasants—their dream of justice and of receiving land and water. Thus for the first time in the history of our country the peasants are receiving the possibility of working freely for themselves and in the interests of a society in which they are treated as full and respected members.

Comrades,

The building of a new and prosperous Afghanistan is inseparably linked with the development of industry, transport and communications. Industry constitutes the material basis for the country's progress, the elimination of backwardness and the creation of an advanced and balanced economy. Without machines, mechanisms and electricity there can be no genuine progress and the needs of our people's families for a normal human life today will not be met. For this reason, the Party and the government regard as an inseparable and important part of the Programme of Action and the policy based on it the ensuring of a steady growth of industry, power supply, transport and communications, which are the foundation and main sphere of the country's economy.

We assess our circumstances and possibilities realistically. Therefore, the plans drawn up for economic growth are of a realistic and feasible nature. On their basis

we shall be able in the future to begin the realization of a more extensive economic programme to ensure the transformation of Afghanistan into a country with a modern, highly productive industry and agriculture

Comrades,

Here I must make it quite clear that the planned targets and prospects and our eagerness for their realization must not be an obstacle to our seeing the urgent day-to-day tasks and must not lead us to lose sight of what we must do today without delay. It is essential that all the factories, mills and mines function normally. It must not be allowed to happen that despite the availability of raw material and labour power, enterprises remain at a standstill or do not work at full capacity. The strength of the revolutionary rule lies in its ability speedily to solve the most burning and vital tasks.

The growth of the country's productive forces now being envisaged and effected by the Party and the revolutionary government will bring about positive changes in the structure of our society. The social policy of our Party reflects these changes and helps to ensure that the gains of the revolution belong to all working people and all patriotic forces, and assist their unity on the basis of general progress.

Thanks to the victory of the April Revolution and the social policy of our Party, the role and importance of the Afghan working class in the life of society is gradually but constantly growing. Our workers have now been transformed from a class exploited by the regimes of feudal lords and the bourgeoisie and by big capital into a class which is the collective owner of the means of production in the state sector. The Party and the revolutionary government will continue to strive to see that the workers engaged in the state sector constitute, in the conditions of the national democratic revolution, the fastest growing and the best-organized force. The economic policy of the Party and the state, directed at creating a firm, dynamically growing industrial base and strengthening and expanding the state sector, will promote this process. The ensuing quantitative and qualitative growth of the Afghan working class will have an increasing influence in all spheres of social life, constantly strengthening the leading role of the Party.

We are convinced that life demands common and joint efforts by all forces who cherish and value the interests of our beloved country. I ask this question: Who does not benefit from the progress of our country, which forces do not benefit from it? Do the national businessmen and traders not benefit from the real development and progress of our country? Do the different tribes and nationalities not gain from it? Of course, they all benefit. For development in conditions of civil peace enables all of us, all the noble people of Afghanistan, to lead a better life than we have today. But the Party and government know full well that a strong political, social and economic foundation is needed for national and patriotic unity to be really firm and unshakeable. Such a foundation is envisaged in the draft Programme of Action. In it all the classes, strata, groups, tribes and nationalities will find a fitting expression of their basic interests and the sure, specific ways of their fulfilment in a gradual, planned manner.

In this connection, parallel to the creation of big state enterprises, which constitute the industrial foundation of new Afghanistan, ever fuller use must be made of the possibilities of the mixed and private sectors, above all, for the expansion of the production of consumer goods.

The revolutionary government is creating the necessary economic and legal

foundations for a long term, effective and mutually beneficial cooperation of the private sector and national businessmen with the state both within the mixed sector and in the form of individual partnership. From the private sector the state not only expects strict and unconditional observance of the relevant laws, but also demands a responsible approach to the problems and needs of the state and society and participation in their solution through cooperation and the channelling of investments into particular projects on mutually advantageous terms. The effectiveness of such cooperation should in the last analysis be reflected in the joint construction and exploitation of industrial enterprises, roads, housing and transport, in creating new jobs and improving supply services for the people, stabilizing prices and in overall progress of the national economy.

In their social policy the Party and government pay great attention to the organization of effective long term cooperation with small traders and artisans and duly appreciate their vital and important role in meeting the people's need for food and consumer goods, and help them to perform this role.

The state will encourage various kinds of cooperation among artisans and small traders on a strictly voluntary basis for increasing their share in the production of essential commodities and for the growth of commerce in the interests of the masses of consumers and the artisans and small traders themselves. In order to develop the mixed sector, mutually beneficial forms of cooperation, such as mixed joint stock companies and systems of credits on easy terms will be encouraged. The dynamic growth of all sectors of the national economy, which complement each other, the development of all economic sectors, must help end the country's economic backwardness and create an effective and stable national economy.

I stress once again on behalf of our state we propose stable, long term, honest cooperation with the national businessmen, traders and artisans. From them in turn we expect cooperation reflected in corresponding participation and exertion of efforts for the good of the country and for the welfare of the people. In this way, and in this sense, they will become participants in the process of national democratic transformations in the country and will remain such throughout the process.

Comrades,

Our social and economic policy, which springs from the nature of the national democratic revolution, is directed at strengthening and consolidating the unity and cooperation of all the social classes, strata and groups in Afghanistan. This policy creates the necessary foundations for strengthening and increasing the efficacy of the cooperation of the revolutionary government with the intelligentsia, for expanding its participation in the development of the sciences, technology, literature and the arts and in ensuring the country's all round progress. We view with appreciation the fact that a considerable section of the intelligentsia has adopted the positions of advanced revolutionary theory. The Party and the revolutionary government will continue to make consistent and purposeful efforts to ensure that the importance and the numerical strength of the revolutionary intelligentsia increase as a result of the best representatives of the working people joining its ranks.

Comrades,

We now come to consider certain aspects and problems of national policy. This policy is not temporary or transitional, but follows from the nature of the April National Democratic Revolution.

In the long history of our country the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan is

the first state which has made its aim the genuine material and moral prosperity of all its citizens, the ensuring of full and real equality of rights and the provision of equal opportunities for the all-round development of all the nationalities, peoples and tribes. All of them are assured and guaranteed equal opportunities to participate in social and state affairs, to carry out revolutionary changes and to defend our beloved homeland. The common objective necessity of all the nationalities, peoples and tribes of Afghanistan to ensure the moral and material growth and development of all, creates and strengthens the process of their coming closer together, their cooperation, mutual understanding, friendship and brotherhood. The policy of the Party and the revolutionary government is directed towards attaining precisely this objective.

At the same time, the Party and the revolutionary government will continue their policy of recognizing and respecting the historical, religious and cultural traditions and customs of the nationalities, peoples and tribes of Afghanistan. The preservation and development of the admirable and valuable aspects of the cultural heritage and customs of all the nationalities, peoples and tribes is ensured and guaranteed.

Respecting and appreciating the role and importance of the Pashtun tribes in the history of our country and their defence of its borders and respecting their customs, traditions and lifestyles, the People's Democratic Party and the government of the DRA pursue in relation to these tribes a policy of trust, peace and cooperation which springs from the nature of the April Revolution and is in conformity with the principles and ideals of the sacred religion of Islam.

Such, comrades, is our principled approach to the fulfilment of the above-stated social and economic tasks at the present phase of the revolution. Their fulfilment will permit our society to advance to a higher stage of material and spiritual development. People will live better. They and their children will enjoy the boons of literacy and have far greater opportunities in the spheres of education, vocational training and health. The state and society will be able to devote more attention and care to the rising generation, to the youth, to women and the old folk. Mutual understanding and cooperation between various social and national forces, strata and groups will increase and their patriotic unity and cohesion around the PDPA will be consolidated. So we face the future with optimism, and call upon all patriots to spare no efforts for a bright future.

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Comrades,

For our Party the spiritual growth of our people and ensuring the progress of culture and the sciences in our country constitute one of the most important spheres.

The victory of the April Revolution has created the necessary conditions and prerequisites for making the riches and values of national and world culture, science and the arts accessible to the broad masses of the people. It is obvious that in order to carry out this task a long period of time and great and purposeful efforts by the Party and the public are needed. In our country there are particular difficulties and problems in the sphere of ideological work which are due to the multiform structure of our economy, the heterogeneity of our society, the complex national and tribal structure, the still strong vestiges and manifestations of various reactionary and

exploitative views and ideas, and the influence of nationalism and tribalism. The majority of our people are illiterate or semiliterate. All of these difficulties and problems become intense and more complex as a result of the ideological aggression conducted against Afghanistan by the forces of imperialism and regional reaction.

The work of all the means of exerting ideological influence upon the people should be stepped up and further activated to meet the demands of the present and subsequent phases of the revolution. Ideological, political, and educational work must be expanded in a planned and comprehensive manner and help stabilize and develop revolutionary views and ideas, and the norms and principles of progressive ethics, evolve a new attitude to work, increase the manifold large-scale initiatives of the working people and their active participation in the defence of the gains of the revolution.

The first successful steps in this direction have been taken. On the basis of the transformations that have been accomplished strong blows have been dealt to the positions and roots of feudal ideology, to the remnants of national disunity and to the ideological subversion by imperialism. The level of the awareness of the working people is rapidly rising and their patriotic unity is being consolidated. A national drive to eradicate illiteracy has been started on the Party's initiative and is gaining scope.

Comrades,

The gradual eradication of illiteracy is of exceptional importance for our state and its future. Public education must continue to be developed persistently. At the same time this work must not be limited to acquiring a certain amount of knowledge. The Party and the revolutionary government consider it their duty to equip the people with a correct grasp of the processes and events taking place in the world and our country and to ensure that they have a correct political orientation. Therefore general education of the people must be inseparably linked with learning the fundamentals of advanced revolutionary theory.

One of the most important tasks is to foster in the working people a spirit of love for their country, national and patriotic unity, loyalty to progressive social ideas and international solidarity, and a spirit of irreconcilability with the vestiges of feudalism and separatism, and bourgeois and nationalist ideology. We can succeed in this task only on the basis of the wide participation of working people in effecting and consolidating the national democratic transformations and in defending them.

Comrades,

In drafting the Programme of Action the Party's policy as regards the sacred religion of Islam has been formulated with full clarity.

All of us are aware that this problem receives special attention of the enemies of our country and of the revolution. They are making great efforts to misrepresent the nature of our policy in relation to Islam and devout Muslims. The spreading of lies and resorting to low perfidy are the weapons of our enemies. Does Islam reject progress? Does Islam negate social justice? Does Islam not denounce the shedding of Muslim blood?

We stress once again: The April Revolution, being a profoundly national and democratic revolution, reflects the powerful desire of the masses of the Muslims of Afghanistan for the establishment of genuine social justice and equality. Such a desire is of the highest value and is a very important tradition in the sacred religion of Islam.

The experience of such Islamic countries, as the Democratic People's Republic of Algeria, Syria, Libya, the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen and, finally, our own experience prove that revolutionary changes are not only compatible with the social essence of Islam and its call for justice, equality and the elimination of the exploitation of man by man in social life, but, conversely, offer a necessary basis for the practical realization of these tenets in accordance with the historical aspirations of the broad masses of Muslim people and with a correct appreciation and correct utilization of Islamic values.

The PDPA and the government, proceeding from the principles and goals of the April Revolution, solemnly reaffirm that in the DRA all the rights and liberties of Muslims and noble and patriotic ulemas are guaranteed. The support of the state for all religious leaders and establishments and for all believers in relation to their religious activities and their endeavours aimed at achieving social justice and equality for all Muslims in social, economic and cultural life, is guaranteed.

The Democratic Republic of Afghanistan takes constant care for the condition of mosques, religious establishments and all Muslim holy places, ensures freedom of work for the Muslim priests, encourages pilgrimage to Mecca by Muslims and respects religious traditions and holidays.

In our country, in keeping with the sacred principles of Islam, there is complete freedom for the followers of all other religions also to perform religious rites, provided that these do not come into conflict with humanitarian principles and do not jeopardize the safety of society.

But the PDPA and the revolutionary government will never reconcile themselves to the efforts of the enemies of our revolution and people to employ Islam in order to divert Afghanistan from its chosen path. We are proving in practice that social and national progress is not in conflict with Islam, but that it is the criminal activities of those who do not wish to or cannot grasp and apply Islam correctly which are contrary to Islam.

The Party will continue consistently and honestly to adhere to its policy of respect for the religious feelings of the Afghan Muslims and to implement the programme of transformations aimed at improving the conditions of life in order to create a just and flourishing society in our ancient land.

Comrades, in the sphere of ideology, public education, science and culture, as well as in other spheres, our Party's work is aimed at strengthening the Afghan national patriotic unity for our country's all-round progress, for the good of the people, for their happy future. The entire activity of the PDPA is devoted to this noble, lofty aim. It is the purpose of its existence and struggle.

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Comrades,

Our Party is the core of the new, revolutionary social and political system of Afghanistan and its leading and guiding force, because it is equipped with an advanced revolutionary theory, because it unites and represents the interests of the workers, peasants and all the working people of the country, and because it drafts and implements the strategy and tactics of the struggle for our country's prosperous future. The Party is the best-organized and the most ideologically steered vanguard of our society, having inseparable ties with the broadest masses of the people.

With the growth of the country's productive forces and the changes in social relations, the leading role of the Party and its influence on the broad masses will constantly grow. So the most important direction in the Party's political work is to ensure inseparable ties with the people, which are the source of the Party's strength and viability. The political work of the Party as a whole, of all its committees and primary organizations and of every full member or candidate member of the Party, must be focused on uniting and mobilizing the broad masses to consolidate and defend the gains of the revolution, to establish national peace and then complete the national democratic transformations in the interests of the country and the people.

The main task consists in expanding the mass base of the revolution and drawing all progressive forces, groups and organizations into active participation in carrying out the revolutionary transformations. Today the problem of allies presents itself more pressingly than ever before. In this context we should be able to compromise, but of course within sensible limits and on a principled basis. Despite certain differences of opinion we must find common points and draw those forces more actively into fulfilling the tasks facing the country and into the struggle to establish overall national peace.

It must be stressed that, since the Party has become a ruling party, the importance of ideological work has greatly increased for it. Above all, it is our Party which shoulders the main responsibility for drawing general theoretical conclusions about the present phase of the revolution and its prospects. Basing itself on advanced revolutionary theory and its own experience and a profound knowledge of life, the Party gives an insight into and forecasts the immediate and distant phases of the development of society and the state.

The most important direction of our ideological work consists in shaping the revolutionary awareness of the masses and strengthening their belief in the correctness of the views and policies of the Party. This work helps to turn the masses of the people into active fighters for the cause of the revolution. To quote great Lenin: "Our idea is that a state is strong when the people are politically conscious. It is strong when the people know everything, can form an opinion of everything and do everything consciously." At the same time we must further step up and sharpen the struggle against hostile ideology. We must always bear in mind that where words of truth do not sound, the voice of falsehood is likely to be heard.

Comrades,

The strength of a revolutionary Party lies in its organization, unity and cohesion. The history and political experience of the PDPA show that success and victory are attainable only through unity of action. Whenever unity was disrupted, the Party suffered a weakening and defeat, and its very existence was threatened. In the prevailing circumstances our Party is more than ever in need of close, organic unity.

Only when this condition is observed can the Party play its leading role in deepening and defending the revolution.

Only when this condition is observed can the Party successfully and victoriously lead our noble and freedom loving people towards a happy future.

The Party believes that all attempts to disrupt the unity and cohesion of its ranks and all manifestations of factionalism and factionalism contradict its lofty role of the political vanguard and leading force of society. The fundamental interests of the Party and its historical responsibility to the people declare all manifestations of

fractionism and factionalism to be at variance with the proud name of Party member and incompatible with membership of the Party.

Comrade delegates,

Our Party is the political vanguard of the working class and all the working people of Afghanistan. We must always take care that its ranks are supplemented by the best, most active and most politically conscious representatives of the working people. This constitutes the main source of the Party's existence, its vitality, strength and capability. Particular attention should be given to ensuring the purity of its ranks. Reliable barriers should be erected to guard against its penetration by unreliable people with anarchist tendencies, who resist discipline and are contaminated with alien views.

Another key problem in Party activities is work among cadres. The major task of Party committees in this regard consists in scouting for, training and raising good organizers and cadres deeply loyal to the revolution. The tendencies and harmful vestiges of fractionalism, sectarian distrust of new Party members, and nepotism in selecting and assigning cadres must be combatted more resolutely. Political and working qualities are the main criteria for selecting and assigning cadres. Adherence to this principle determines the strength of the Party and its authority among the people. All these and certain other aspects are reflected in the Programme of Action. Some of them—those which regulate the inner Party life—should be incorporated, I think, in our Party Rules.

Being a social phenomenon the Party is like a living organism—always in a state of development, without periods of idleness or inactivity. The Party by any means must not content itself with what it has already achieved. A critical analysis of its achievements, a critical approach to its own activities, is a sign of earnestness of the Party and of every Party member, a sign of their ability to act as the political vanguard of the people. Therefore Party committees and primary Party organizations must make every endeavour to improve the forms and methods of their activities, constantly to raise the efficiency and general level of their work and struggle.

The adoption of the Programme of Action will undoubtedly raise Party work to a new, higher stage. We must bring all our actions into conformity with the Programme, we must plan and accomplish specific work in relation to it.

## THE PROGRAMME OF ACTION OF THE PDPA AND THE URGENT TASKS OF THE PARTY AND REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT

Comrades,

The consideration and adoption of the draft of the Programme of Action is of principal significance for the Party, the state and society. The draft reflects the theoretical and practical approach of the Party to the present stage of the national democratic revolution in Afghanistan and the prospects for its immediate future.

This guiding and summing up document corresponds to the new conditions and

changed situation in the Party, the country and the region, because our Party, the revolutionary government and broad social circles of our country have traversed a long path and acquired new political, social, ideological and economic experience, especially during the period that has passed since the victory of the April Revolution. The draft of the Programme of Action fully reflects the specific features of the present stage, namely, the stage of carrying out initial national democratic transformations and of the struggle for their defence. We have not yet been able to carry out the whole set of national democratic transformations. But we have consistently and firmly carried out and are continuing to carry out transformations which constitute the only correct and essential basis for accomplishing the whole set of national democratic tasks in the future. We will assuredly accomplish them because we have made a good and confident beginning. And this is what we mean when we speak of the stage to which the draft of the Programme of Action of the PDPA is devoted. Accordingly, in drafting the Programme of Action the main attention has been given to the question of how and in what way the substance of the policy of the Party will find reflection in specific measures for its implementation, because as a ruling Party we bear full responsibility to history and to the people for the fulfilment of the tasks set out in our document. It should never be forgotten that history and the people will judge us not only by our aims and principles, no matter how lofty and noble they may be, but also by our ability to translate them into life and put them into practice for the good of all.

The Programme of Action of the PDPA clearly and fully reflects the fundamental interests of the main motive forces of the revolution, namely, the working class, peasantry, the revolutionary intelligentsia and the broad masses of the working people. At the same time, it envisages real and correct ways and means of increasing their role in the Party, the state and society.

Our country is an object of unprovoked aggression from outside, which is causing disorder and bloodshed. The people of our country wish to see national peace and the normalization of the situation and they long for favourable conditions for peaceful and constructive labour. We must work, work hard, not let tiredness and fear overcome us, and never leave till tomorrow work which must and can be done today. We must work and win. This is what we need the Programme of Action for.

Our aims and objectives are clear and explicit. We want what the overwhelming majority of our proud people want: prosperity, freedom and independence of our fatherland. We respect the religious feelings of our compatriots and will do everything in our power to create conditions in which every honest person may lead a free and happy life, may work and enjoy peace, bread and happiness of his family.

But a handful of contemptuous enemies, worthless lackeys of feudal lords, *Sardars*\*, usurers and overthrown reactionaries and the forces of international imperialism prevent us from realizing what the people want and need. They burn down mosques, schools and hospitals, rob people, disrupt the work of enterprises and transport, hamper crop cultivation and harvesting and terrorize the civilian population.

All these crimes are committed in the name of the defence of the faith and freedom of the fatherland. Shame on those scoundrels and liars! Let us ask—who is trampling underfoot the sacred religious feelings of our devout Muslims, and how?

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\* *Sardar*—member of the royal family.—Ed.

Who is preventing them from performing religious rites? Who is not allowing our people to live in happiness and peace? The answer is clear: those who are continuing the undeclared war against Afghanistan.

Unfortunately part of our citizens—because of coercion or deception and some because of a lack of understanding of the aims and goals of the Party and the revolutionary government—are still with the counter-revolutionary bands, engaged in a war of fratricide and therefore committing a great sin against Islam and the country. All this creates tension in the military and political situation in the country and causes serious problems in the work of industry, agriculture, transport and commerce.

The Programme of Action and the situation in the country make it essential to concentrate the attention of the whole Party, the state organs and of all the public organizations participating in the National Fatherland Front on solving the urgent problems.

Above all, all the Party committees and organs of state power, both in the capital and in localities are in duty bound to direct their efforts to the fight against the forces of armed counter-revolution, and to the establishment and firm consolidation of people's power in all localities throughout the country. This is the most important task of the whole Party and all the people.

It is therefore necessary that a single unified system for the defence of the revolution and the people be created, comprising along with the armed forces and the militia, also detachments of defenders of the country and the revolution, voluntary tribal detachments, local resistance groups and regional self-defence detachments. It is necessary to create and consolidate with greater resoluteness, persistence and boldness new groups of patriots so that they are active in every province and every district. The effective and reliable activity of self-defence groups must be ensured in every enterprise, village and in all residential areas. Our people have fine traditions of defending their dignity and honour. Let the earth burn under the feet of the bandits, lackeys and collaborators of the forces of international reaction and of all those who disrupt labour, peace and tranquillity in our country! The Party committees in the provinces, cities and districts must get the masses of the people more consistently and resolutely to take into their own hands the cause of defending the revolution and carry it to final victory. Effective Party control must be established over this system as a whole so that its effective functioning and the coordination, cooperation and mutual help between its various components are ensured.

The armed forces, the militia and the KhAD\* constitute the main and decisive link for securing final victory over the forces of counter-revolution. The Central Committee of the Party, the Revolutionary Council and the Council of Ministers of the DRA are paying constant attention to its consolidation. The level of technical equipment and the combat readiness of the sections and units of the armed forces and the militia have improved considerably and the majority of soldiers, non-commissioned officers and officers are honestly performing their duties towards the country and the revolution. Yet unresolved problems still exist as regards the bringing up to strength and proper training of sections and units of the armed forces, the militia and organs of the State Information Services. The building and

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\*KhAD—State Information Services.—*Ed.*

consolidation of the armed forces, the security organs and the public order maintenance organs is a task which concerns the whole Party and all public organizations. The armed forces must continue to be strengthened and constantly supplemented with new cadres and the level of their political preparedness and military training must be raised. Constant care and concern should be displayed in relation to them and their ties with the broad masses of the people should be consolidated.

We have all learned a great deal during the period following the victory of the April Revolution and especially during its new stage. Now we must boldly and resolutely transfer the centre of gravity of our struggle and everyday constructive work to the localities—the provinces, districts and villages. It is this work that the central organs of the PDPA, the revolutionary power, the ministries and departments and the National Fatherland Front must regard as their prime concern.

Comrades,

The efforts exerted by the Party and the people to defend the revolution and win complete victory over its enemies must be inseparably linked with the improvement of all our work in the economic sphere. We must realize that success in the development of the economy, in land and water reforms and in solving burning social problems is the key to gaining the trust of the masses and to drawing them towards the Party and the revolutionary cause.

We must not temporize until the forces of counter-revolution are routed completely and peace is established in the country. Already today the people must feel the concern of the Party and the revolutionary government and enjoy the boons of the new social system. So far we have only been able to raise the salaries of workers and civilian employees and the meal allowances of state workers. The annual state outlays for these purposes total 1,500 million afghanis. But in order to take further steps to solve social problems the efficiency of production in all the economic sectors must be increased.

In what direction should the efforts of the Party and the revolutionary government be concentrated? Our most immediate task is to ensure steady production in industry and agriculture by removing all existing difficulties. The Party must consider this to be its major task because the solution of burning social and economic problems constitutes the main front of struggle for a new and flourishing Afghanistan.

At the present time the Party committees in the provinces and districts and the organs of state power in the localities must concentrate their attention on the spring sowing. Measures must be planned and carried out for ensuring their security and safety and for granting assistance to the peasants and cooperatives in the form of seed, fertilizer, farm implements and machinery.

Simultaneously, wherever possible, the implementation of land and water reforms should be continued in accordance with the decisions of the PDPA Central Committee Politbureau, the Revolutionary Council and the Council of Ministers of the DRA. We must be consistent and resolute in fulfilling this task, a very important one for the working peasants.

Now I'd like to dwell on problems relating to power supply and the work of industry, transport and communications.

The Party committees in the provinces, cities and districts, organs of state power and, above all, ministries and departments must concentrate all their efforts

on restoring all enterprises and economic projects destroyed or damaged by our enemies. The cement factory in Herat, textile mills in Herat and Kandahar, the Baghlan sugar mills and some irrigation facilities, that is to say, enterprises which are in a state of higher preparedness, must be activated as soon as possible. These enterprises must function and turn out goods that the people need. The Central Committee of the Party and the Council of Ministers must step up their control and seriously call to account the heads of the ministries and organs of state power in the localities. We say frankly that some Party comrades do not look deep enough into the work of industrial enterprises, the power supply system, and transport and communications, and devote little attention to the solution of economic problems in the provinces, cities and districts. Party committees rarely discuss economic problems and wrongly believe such consideration to be the business only of government bodies. Economy is also a sphere of politics, a sphere that requires constant and tireless organizational work on the part of the whole Party.

In this connection I think that one of the regular plenary meetings of the Central Committee of the Party should be devoted to consideration of economic problems. This meeting will have to work out not only specific measures for developing and strengthening the economy, but also to outline methods and forms of guidance of economic activity by the Party. Evidently, it will also have to consider improvement of economic planning, because this is a very important condition for the growth of the national economy as a whole.

Comrades,

The work of preparing for the National Party Conference was a serious test of our achievements in all spheres of public life and, obviously, in the sphere of Party building too. It showed that the Party really constitutes the nucleus of the new social and political system. The Party has grown numerically, it has consolidated itself organizationally and is rightfully playing the role of the leading force in our society.

In the army candidate members of worker and peasant origin make up more than 60 per cent. These results are not bad. Serious attention must continue to be paid to the quantitative growth of the Party. But improvement of the qualitative composition of the Party is no less important. Who should be admitted to the Party in the first place? The answer is clear and simple. Those who wholeheartedly defend the revolution, those who work and shed their blood for victory. More workers, peasants, artisans, soldiers and non-commissioned officers of the armed forces and militia should be admitted to the Party. But for this we will probably have to work out definite admittance rules.

I wish to speak of another important problem which has acquired special significance at this stage of Party building. Today the provincial, city, regional and district committees of the Party must organize the work of admitting new members and distributing the Party's forces in such a way that there is a Party organization at every enterprise, in every collective, every sub-district, every village and every residential area in the cities. It is these organizations that are the basis of the Party, and Party committees must devote constant and increasing attention to them. Only in this way can the Party have a permanent and all-round influence on the masses.

The National Party Conference was preceded by meetings and conferences in primary Party organizations, in districts, regions, cities and provinces. Similar meetings and conferences were held in sections and units of the armed forces, the militia and the State Information Services. In the course of this campaign the Party

gained considerable experience in organizational and political work because it was the first time such meetings and conferences had been held in our Party. In an absolute majority of Party organizations, the meetings and conferences were held with a high degree of discipline and order and a very high level of attendance and activity by full and candidate members of the Party. This consolidated and enriched the Party.

This work was not, of course, accomplished without difficulties and shortcomings. In some organizations during discussion of the first item on the agenda, namely, the results of the Seventh Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee and the tasks of Party organizations in this regard, the reports and speeches made were at variance with existing realities and with what Party organizations and committees should do in the specific local conditions. This situation often arose because of the lack of experience of the Party activists. But we must also take note of the fact that many Party committees are not yet tackling the tasks facing them in a sufficiently concrete and realistic manner. So we must all draw very serious conclusions and work ever more consistently to improve the style and methods of activity of Party committees.

The work of preparation for the National Party Conference also showed that there were serious shortcomings with regard to questions of organizational consolidation of the Party and of fostering and instilling of ideological convictions and Party discipline in full and candidate members of the Party. In the course of the discussion of candidates for nomination as delegates to higher Party conferences, above all, in the armed forces, the militia and some of the ministries, a resurgence of the malaise of the past, namely, fractionalism was witnessed. Some Party members, forgetting Party discipline, tried to create a tense situation at the meetings and to direct them to incorrect actions and to ignoring the directives of the Party Central Committee in respect of electing delegates. Some frankly went to the extent of preaching for the introduction of norms of moribund bourgeois democracy in the life of our revolutionary Party. It was clear that those people were echoing others, that they were serving our enemies who are anxious to split our Party and sow uncertainty, suspiciousness and enmity among its ranks.

As you know, their plans were foiled. The Central Committee of the PDPA and all true Party members will always work to consolidate Party unity and promote its discipline and organization. We are satisfied to note that the incorrect actions of certain persons were rejected by the absolute majority of Party organizations. With regard to these comrades I think that forbearance and care should be displayed. We should talk to them and explain the principles of revolutionary Parties to them and the importance of discipline and organization. If even this does not help then measures prescribed by Party Rules will have to be taken. The great Lenin emphasized that people who do not obey Party discipline nor abide by Party decisions cannot belong to the Party. He taught that the Party is powerful as a result of the discipline and organization of its members.

I wish to point out once again that for the sake of consolidating the unity of the Party we must be above petty squabbles, have pride and be confident of our strength. But forbearance with regard to recurrences of fractionalism, from wherever they may emerge, and forbearance with regard to indiscipline and lack of organization cannot be unlimited. When this is damaging to the Party and its high authority, we must expel from it the persons responsible, those who are indifferent

to the Party's destiny and who hold their own ambitions dearer and higher than the prestige of the Party. The Party will only be strengthened after it frees itself from adventuristic and irresponsible elements.

In the Party now the work of preparing and issuing Party cards is continuing. This is an important event in the life of the Party. The Party committees must make full use of this campaign to consolidate the Party and establish exemplary order in Party affairs.

In its activities the Politbureau, the Secretariat and the departments of the Party Central Committee devote great attention to the selection, appointment and education of cadres, because Party members who assume the posts subject to approval by Party committees should be political organizers of the masses and leaders of the most important sectors of work. The importance of work with the cadres and the need to improve their preparedness has often been mentioned at Central Committee plenary meetings and in the decisions of the Politbureau and the Secretariat. I wish once again to stress that Party committees are in duty bound resolutely to fight against any distortions of Party policy as regards cadres, because the substance of all our work, its effectiveness and the authority of the Party depend on it. The main criterion in evaluating the cadres should be their political and business qualities. We must also be able to make a better assessment of the multinational composition of our country and must do our best to have only the worthiest representatives of the various nationalities, national minorities and tribes be promoted to responsible posts in Party and state organs, both in the centre and in the localities.

Comrade delegates,

The success of our cause, the further development of the revolution and the defence of its gains, depend in great measure on the participation of the broad masses of the people, their activity and their support and awareness. This is why the Party and the revolutionary government regard mass political work in the ideological sphere as their prime concern, a major direction in their activities and a means of winning the support of the working people, the popular masses, above all, the workers and peasants, and of drawing them into active participation in carrying out, consolidating and defending the revolutionary transformations. The draft of the Programme of Action pays due attention to this question. The decisions of the Central Committee plenary meetings, the Politbureau and the Secretariat outline the main principles and methods of mass political, propaganda and agitation work.

I shall now speak just on some of the most important tasks in this sphere which are connected primarily with the adoption of the Programme of Action and other documents of the conference.

First of all, the whole system of Party education must be raised to a higher level. Every Party member must profoundly study the theoretical foundations of Party policy, have a clear idea of how to put this policy into practice and how to explain it to others in an intelligible way. Special attention must be paid to Party education and the ideological tempering of young full and candidate members of the Party. Because of the specific circumstances of the creation and growth of our Party, young people and new members constitute more than half of its numerical strength.

For the Party today there is no task more important than carrying the revolutionary message to the hearing of every compatriot and involving all sections of the people and every Muslim in responsible and active life and work. To do this, there should be an individual approach in ideological work, so that the truth about

the April Revolution and Party policy should be carried to all strata and sections of the people, with account being taken of their specific conditions, customs, views and opinions and of their educational and cultural level. This truth must be comprehensible to all. The speedy defeat of the forces of counter revolution, as well as success in building a new Afghanistan, depend on gaining the trust of the people. Therefore all the forces of the Party, all leaders of Party and public organizations and of state organs must be drawn into political work.

Today a new stage in this work is beginning. All attention should be focussed on a purposeful and extensive propaganda of the decisions and material of the National Conference of the Party. The substance of the Programme of Action and its major theses on the ways of development of our society and the policy of the Party and government must be carried to the hearing of all our countrymen. A propagandist's live and moving speech is our main weapon. Party committees must mobilize all Party activists to do this work so that the people should have a clear understanding of Party documents and that the Programme of Action of the PDPA should find expression in vigorous activities of the broad masses of the population. In this work resolute and extensive use must be made of those forms of active propaganda that have proved their worth in practice. Special attention must be devoted to such propaganda among the people that have been or are under the yoke of the forces of counter revolution.

The mass media have a great role to play in fulfilling this task. Lately much has been done to strengthen the press, radio and television and to intensify Party guidance of their work. Now the time has come resolutely to step up their activities. It is their job, in a simple and legible form, to bring home to all sections of society the ideas of the Party and the substance of its programme documents. They must in the full sense of the word become collective propagandists and organizers.

Simultaneously with this the present situation and circumstances call for stepping up the battle against ideological subversion by our enemies and the prompt and skilful exposure of their vicious slander against and distortions of the policy of our Party and government.

The time in which we live demands that ideological work should serve the fulfilment of the main task, that of rousing the masses to struggle against the forces of counter revolution, increasing their unity around the Party and strengthening their resolve to carry out revolutionary transformations to the end.

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Comrades,

The PDPA believes that the successful onward development of revolutionary transformations in our country is linked not only with the domestic but also with the foreign situation. That is why the Party and the revolutionary government are endeavouring to secure the most favourable foreign political conditions for carrying out these transformations and for the life of the people. And this requires peace. Unshakeable resolve and consistent action to defend and consolidate peace in the region and throughout the world is, therefore, the main aspect of the Party's and the revolutionary government's approach to international affairs. This is what determines the substance of our foreign policy.

In their foreign policy activities the PDPA and the government of the DRA believe that the sovereignty and freedom of Afghanistan and the happiness and prosperity of the Afghan people can be ensured only in conditions of the further consolidation and development of fraternal friendship and fruitful cooperation with the great Soviet Union. This friendship and cooperation constitute the foundation stone of the foreign policy of the new Afghanistan and are an important vital factor in the defence of our beloved country and the current transformations of the April Revolution.

The PDPA and the government of the DRA attach extreme importance to deepening and expanding brotherly relations with the ruling Parties, governments and peoples of socialist countries and highly esteem the achievements of these countries in building a new society. We are determined to continue to develop and deepen relations of brotherly friendship and traditional cooperation with the Soviet Union and countries of the socialist community in the economic, commercial, cultural, scientific and technical spheres as a necessary condition for our country's progress.

Our country will always respect and firmly abide by the principles and Charter of the United Nations Organization and is determined on this basis to build its relations with all countries, regardless of their political and social system, on the basis of the principles of respect for sovereignty and national independence, equality, territorial integrity, non aggression and non intervention in each other's internal affairs.

At the same time we shall not let anyone intervene in the internal affairs of our free and sovereign country. In this connection I wish to speak about one of the latest steps taken by Mr. Reagan which constitutes open interference in the internal affairs of our country.

The people of Afghanistan vehemently and with deep anger condemn the Reagan Administration for its provocative proclamation of so-called Afghanistan Day on March 21. We are well aware that such "Days" were held for other countries as well, those that are pursuing a path of development independent of the US and a path of basic transformations, like the "Day of Poland", the "Day of Czechoslovakia", and so on. But no one remembers them now. It will be the same in respect of "Afghanistan Day", too.

The people of Afghanistan are taking firm and confident strides every day to defend their revolutionary gains, to raise their standard of living, to end illiteracy, poverty and backwardness and build a just and prosperous life, and they are achieving ever greater successes. Every day we are winning new positions in our glorious battle. And every day the enemies of Afghanistan are suffering ignominious defeats. Our people are proudly holding the banner of revolutionary struggle ever higher. These are the real, glorious days of the peoples of Afghanistan and we do not need any other days imposed by the Reagans.

The government of the DRA reaffirms its dedication and loyalty to the principles of the non aligned movement in which our country, as one of its founders, has participated from the very beginning.

Our country and our people consistently support the development and consolidation of mutually beneficial relations, friendship and cooperation with brotherly Muslim countries and peoples in the common fight for world peace, disarmament, human rights and human progress.

The Party, government and people of Afghanistan will consistently and firmly strengthen their unity and solidarity with all the peoples of the world in the common struggle for peace, international detente, disarmament, the prohibition and elimination of nuclear weapons, for friendship between peoples, freedom, democracy, human rights and social progress and against the forces of imperialism, aggression and reaction. We will give every support to the noble struggle of all oppressed peoples for freedom, independence and all-round national and social progress.

Comrades,

Such is our approach to international problems, set out in the Programme of Action. As you see, it is based on the principles to which our Party has already previously declared its loyalty and allegiance. These are the tried and tested principles of internationalist solidarity, peaceful coexistence and non-alignment. It is from the same position that we approach the solution of the international problems directly concerning our country today. We are continuing our efforts to find peaceful solutions to these problems and to hold talks between Afghanistan and her neighbours, Pakistan and Iran. This conforms to the vital long-term interests of the peoples of our countries and of the whole region.

The government and the people of the DRA are expressing traditional feelings of respect and friendship for the peoples of India. The DRA will continue to make consistent efforts to strengthen and develop good-neighbourly relations with India.

The government and the people of the DRA are paying great attention to relations with brotherly Islamic countries and peoples and are striving to improve these relations further in the interests of our people and of all the Muslim peoples of Asia, of world peace and the progress of mankind.

The DRA rejects the policy of isolated and separate deals in the Middle East and fully supports the struggle of the peoples of the Arab countries to eliminate the consequences of imperialist and Zionist aggression.

The PDPA and the government of Afghanistan will continue to make use of every possibility in foreign policy in the region and in the international arena to promote international detente and an atmosphere of cooperation and trust in the world.

Comrades,

The adoption of the Programme of Action is a historic event in the life of our Party and country. It sums up the results of the path traversed by the Party, it contains a profound theoretical analysis of the present stage of the national democratic revolution and illuminates the prospects of its growth and expansion. Basing itself on the standpoint of advanced revolutionary theory, the Programme of Action points out the directions of practical work and lays a scientific basis for creatively understanding the existing realities of our society and for seeking new and more effective forms, methods and ways of fulfilling the planned tasks.

The adoption and the consistent and complete realization of the Programme of Action will also be of great international significance. The normalization of the situation in our country, the strengthening of the revolutionary system on the basis of accomplishing the national democratic transformation and the routing of the forces of armed counter-revolution will mean making a considerable contribution to stabilizing the situation in the region, on the Asian continent and in the world as a

whole. This will help to create conditions for strengthening peaceful coexistence and mutually beneficial cooperation, which benefits all the peoples of the world.

Long live the PDPA, the political vanguard of our people, the organizing and leading force of the new social order in our country!

Forward to new victories under the glorious banner of the April Revolution!

Forward to invincible and monolithic unity!

We shall win!

## ON AMENDMENTS AND ADDITIONS TO THE RULES OF THE PDPA

Report by Noor Ahmad Noor,  
Secretary of the PDPA Central Committee,  
March 15, 1982

Comrade delegates,

The National Conference which has examined and adopted the Programme of Action will play a special role in the revolutionary activities of the PDPA and will go down in history as an outstanding event in the development of our Party, society and state.

The report of Comrade Babrak Karmal to the conference and the Programme of Action have given good and comprehensive reasons and indicated clear and noble paths for the further development of the revolutionary process and the planned social and economic changes, and for the strengthening of the political structure of society and the PDPA itself, as its acknowledged vanguard.

The laws and standards which govern the life of the Party, the organizational forms which determine its actions invariably stem from specific historical conditions, from the essence of the revolutionary struggle and from the Party's constructive efforts. The advanced revolutionary party teaches us (and this is borne out by the practical experience of ruling revolutionary Parties) that, whenever a Party faces new and important tasks, it must develop organizational forms, rules and standards of internal life which will ensure the fulfilment of these tasks.

Today the Party faces tasks of tremendous political significance in carrying out its Programme of Action. To fulfil them the leading and guiding role of the Party in the life of society and the state must be further enhanced. In this connection the importance of the Party Rules—the fundamental law by which it lives—is growing. In full and fitting form they must reflect all that the Party has achieved in organizational development, the tasks which lie set before the Party, the practical side of our work and the tasks formulated in the PDPA Programme of Action.

Nearly two years have passed since the Second Plenary Meeting of the PDPA Central Committee adopted the Rules which are now in force.

During this brief period these Rules guided inner-Party life and all the work of the Party. This enabled the PDPA to make certain progress in strengthening itself organizationally, in further advancing inner-Party democracy and extending the Party's ties with the masses of the working people.

During these years thousands of new members and candidate members have joined the Party ranks, increasing total membership by nearly 50 per cent to reach 63,000.

Today the Party is a well-organized detachment with a streamlined structure both in the centre and in the localities. We have created Party organizations in the

provinces, regions, cities, towns, districts and sub-districts and set up political departments and political divisions in units of the armed forces—in the army, militia and KhAD. The network of primary Party organizations in industrial enterprises, offices and organizations is rapidly expanding. In this period the total number of primary Party organizations has exceeded 1,600.

A major achievement of this period is that, for the first time in the history of the Party, we have managed to build up a Party apparatus and train a great number of full-time Party workers.

Working through its organizations and their committees the Party conducts its policy in the localities, cements its ties with the masses, conducts political education among the masses and organizes them, mobilizes the population for the fight against the forces of counter-revolution, and effects guidance of all the revolutionary social and economic changes in the country.

From this we can conclude that life has proved the basic principles of the Rules to be sound.

At the same time guidance of the revolutionary process has considerably enriched the Party's practical experience and has brought forth new requirements not covered by the Rules. To some extent this interferes with the solution of a whole range of urgent problems bearing on Party development.

With the adoption of the Programme of Action the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan has entered a new phase of development. Therefore, the forms and methods of Party work, its entire inner life must be brought into conformity with these new tasks and mounting responsibility of the PDPA. The Rules must reflect the experience the Party has acquired in organizational and political work and the right forms and methods the Party organizations and committees should adhere to in their activities.

During this period we have achieved and learnt a great deal but life itself and the situation in the country demand more of us. Indeed, having taken power into its hands, the PDPA has assumed tremendous historical and political responsibilities. The whole of the Party and each individual Party member must live up to their lofty mission and responsibilities. This means that we need firmer unity in everything: in views and opinions, words and deeds, in inner-Party relations and in our approach to all the problems of practical work.

Further, we must strengthen discipline and enhance the level of organization. The Party sets an example of conscientious discipline and organization and is a model in this respect. It instils discipline and organization in state bodies and mass public organizations. There can be no serious ruling Party without effective discipline. But far from all of us have come to realize this and are guided by this.

Strengthening Party unity, strengthening the Party's ties with the masses and on this basis promoting and advancing the revolution should be the law for every Party member. There should be no passive Party members, Party members who are not working at all, or are doing little work or doing it badly. That is why the Rules must reflect the higher demands made upon Party members with respect to work and the fulfilment of their duty to the Party. The Rules must enhance the role and responsibilities of members and candidate members of the Party.

These considerations prompted the Seventh Plenary Meeting of the PDPA Central Committee to take a decision on including the item "On Amendments and Additions to the Rules of the PDPA" in the agenda of the National Conference.

Some of the proposals on this question were voiced at Party meetings and conferences held before the National Conference of the PDPA. The Central Committee also received many proposals on the introduction of partial changes and additions to the Rules from members of the PDPA Central Committee, from secretaries and other workers of Party committees, Party activists, political organs of the army, militia and KhAD, and from leaders of public organizations.

These proposals mainly aim at enhancing the role and responsibilities of a Party member, improving the social composition of the Party, cementing the unity of Party ranks and Party discipline, and promoting the activity and initiative of Party organizations.

The PDPA Central Committee regards this as a clear manifestation of the serious attention PDPA members and candidate members pay to enhancing the role of the Party in society and to strengthening its ties with the masses.

All the proposals that have been received have been carefully studied and general conclusions drawn from them by the Organizational Department of the Central Committee, and they have been discussed at meetings of the Secretariat and the Politbureau. The amendments and additions to the Rules, which have been submitted to the present conference, were also discussed and approved by the Eighth Plenary Meeting of the PDPA Central Committee. In view of the fact that every delegate has before him a copy of the text of the Rules with the proposed changes and additions I shall describe and give the reasons for only the main ones.

First, the definition of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan.

It is now necessary to replace the brief definition of the Party with a detailed description of the PDPA and its aims and tasks at the current stage. In this connection it will be expedient to replace the first clause with a preamble to the Rules. It is proposed that the preamble should more broadly define the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan as a Party of a new type, as the highest form of political organization, the leading and guiding force of our society which unites in its ranks advanced, the most highly class-conscious workers, peasants, servicemen, members of the intelligentsia, nomads, artisans and other patriots of our beloved fatherland.

It should be pointed out that the aim of the PDPA is to build in our country a society free from the exploitation of man by man, a society that will secure a steady improvement in the living and cultural standards of the people on the basis of a rapid development of the country's productive forces. The PDPA has spared and will spare no pains to achieve this noble goal.

It is also proposed that the Rules should reflect as an historic achievement of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan the April National Democratic Revolution which was carried out under Party guidance in pursuit of the will of the people and which overthrew the anti-popular regime and established the power of the working people in our country.

The preamble should emphasize that the Party's ideological and organizational unity, militant spirit and staunchness of its ranks, conscientiousness and discipline are an inviolable law of its life and that any breach of this law, any manifestation of factionalism and nepotism is incompatible with membership of the PDPA.

Finally, this part of the Rules should also contain a point to the effect that the PDPA does not act in isolation but that it acts together with the international

working-class and progressive movements, that our Party is a component part of these movements.

Thus the preamble to the Rules gives a detailed description of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and sets out its tasks and aims and guidelines for its efforts at the current stage of the revolution.

A large group of proposals deals with a problem of fundamental importance in Party development—the improvement of the class composition of the Party and the extension of the social base for its growth. The experience of the international revolutionary movement has shown that the soundness of Party policy and its success, the Party's ideological and organizational unity, its firm ties with the masses and fighting capacity largely depend on its composition, on the class consciousness and the level of organization of its membership. As for the PDPA, which is the vanguard of the working class and all other working people, improvement of the Party's social composition has always been and still is a vital problem in its development and further consolidation.

In recent years the Party has done much to increase its ranks through the influx of the best representatives of the people, above all, workers and peasants. Of the candidate members admitted to the Party this year they constitute 38 per cent—a great increase compared with previous years. The proportion of workers and peasants in the Party is still, however, insufficient.

It is therefore quite logical that many comrades have proposed altering the conditions for admission, as members and candidate members, of workers and peasants, as well as army men, members of the militia and KhAD, who were workers and peasants before service in the armed forces. The essence of the proposals is to shorten the probationary period as candidate members for these categories, to reduce the number of recommendations they need and the membership period of those who give recommendations to applicants in these categories, as compared with applicants from all other social groups.

The Central Committee has carefully examined these proposals, has analyzed the state of affairs and dynamics of change in the qualitative composition of the Party over the last few years and has expressed the opinion that the question of improving the social composition of the Party has been raised at the right time and absolutely correctly. Proceeding from this the Central Committee of the PDPA has proposed to establish the following conditions for admission to the PDPA as members and candidate members for workers, peasants and soldiers who were workers and peasants before call-up:

the number of Party members giving recommendations to applicants shall be reduced to two;

Party members with a membership period of two (instead of three) years shall have the right to give recommendations to workers, peasants and soldiers, who were formerly workers or peasants, applying for membership;

the probationary period as candidate members for these categories shall be six months.

The practical implementation of these proposals will create more favourable conditions for the speedier influx of workers and peasants into the Party. This will undoubtedly have a favourable effect on the social composition of the Party, will promote its influence among the people and strengthen the Party's ties with the masses.

There is another proposal, namely, to admit young men and women aged under 20 to the Party through the Democratic Youth Organization of Afghanistan.

The PDPA has always regarded and continues to regard the Democratic Youth Organization of Afghanistan as a militant reserve and reliable assistant of the Party. In the branches of the Democratic Youth Organization of Afghanistan youths and girls become politically steeled, acquire the experience of organizational and social work and develop a strong sense of responsibility and discipline. This organization is a school which is educating and training political fighters for the cause of the revolution. They take an active part in all the revolutionary changes, they fight in the forefront against the forces of counter-revolution to strengthen the people's rule, participate in the development of the productive forces and in the drive to abolish illiteracy, and they develop their political awareness in the spirit of scientific revolutionary theory, patriotism and internationalism.

The proposed procedure for the admission of young men and women to the Party will considerably enhance the prestige of the Democratic Youth Organization of Afghanistan among them, heighten its sense of responsibility for educating its members and preparing them for admission to the Party. It should be pointed out that this measure is not intended to limit the admission of the youth to the Party. The point is that the youngest people who can, in accordance with the Rules, be admitted to the Party should have received due training and steeling within the ranks of the youth organization.

It follows that the new procedure for admission of young people under 20 to the PDPA through the Democratic Youth Organization of Afghanistan is intended to improve the qualitative composition of the Party.

The next group of changes and additions refers to problems bearing on the improvement of inner-Party life and the Party's organizational structure, enhancement of the role played by PDPA members and the cementing of Party discipline. First and foremost, it is intended to extend the definition of the principle of democratic centralism by adding a clause that the decisions of higher Party bodies are absolutely binding on lower Party bodies. The practical experience of the PDPA has unquestionably confirmed the need for realizing the principle of democratic centralism which is a component of scientific revolutionary theory. Only strict observance of this principle, of every separate element of this principle and all the elements taken together, will ensure the real ideological and organizational unity of the Party.

Practice has shown that some Party members have an incorrect understanding of the essence of democratic centralism. They do things that are at variance with the norms of Party life. In particular, at some of the Party meetings held in preparation for the National Conference certain members sought to oppose their personal views to the views of the collective, to question the lawfulness of decisions passed by higher Party bodies and even to ignore these decisions. This was not, of course, merely a matter of misunderstanding. It was a case of certain comrades believing that they were not bound to accept Party discipline, maintaining that only their own opinions mattered. In actual fact, they attempted to utilize inner-Party democracy in order to impose their own ideas and views on others. They actually became enemies of the Party. The fact that such actions took place shows that these people have no firm ideological beliefs, and this inevitably leads to factionalism and cliquishness.

Our Party ensures complete freedom of opinion. But it is a law of Party life

that freedom of discussion, the free exchange of views are combined with iron discipline and united action in carrying out the decisions adopted. And no one has a right to violate this law. It is impossible to implement the principle of democratic centralism without lower Party organizations being subordinated to higher Party bodies. Unless this principle is observed, the work of Party organizations will be deprived of central guidance, of a single common aim. That is precisely why the Central Committee considers it necessary to include in the Rules a clause on the decisions of higher Party bodies being unconditionally binding on lower Party bodies.

Inseparably linked with the principle of democratic centralism on which the organizational structure of the Party is based are proposals on including an additional list of structural subdivisions of the Party in the Rules. These are *loy woluswali* and *alaqudari* Party bodies and organizations, as well as political departments of the Ministry for Interior Affairs and the State Information Services. The Party's concern to improve its organizational structure, to make this structure match the requirements of life has vividly manifested itself in the creation of these Party organizations and Party bodies.

In the opinion of the PDPA Central Committee the proposals to extend the duties of Party members form an important addition to the Rules. Now that our Party has become a ruling Party its attention is concentrated on constructive efforts, including building an economic basis for the new society, developing the country's productive forces and creating a material basis for the steady improvement of the Afghan people's living standards. Party members and candidate members must actively contribute to accomplishing these tasks. Therefore, it is proposed to lay down that it is the duty of a Party member to display a conscientious attitude towards his work, to raise labour productivity and contribute to the expansion of social production. It is desirable to set out the duties of Party members in a more logical sequence.

Comrades,

One of the central tasks in the organizational work of the Party, its local bodies and primary organizations is the selection and appointment of cadres, the education of cadres in a spirit of devotion to the ideas of the April Revolution, patriotism and a high sense of responsibility to the Party and people for the task assigned them.

In difficult conditions, when the Party is compelled to fight the forces of counter-revolution and at the same time to engage in peaceful construction, our Party cadres are subjected to a rigorous test with regard to their political beliefs and loyalty to the cause of the revolution. In a situation like this the potentialities of Party workers, their political and personal qualities and their ability as organizers clearly reveal themselves. New capable workers become known. The reserve from which the Party can draw its leading personnel is expanding.

To put it in a nutshell, it has become practicable and necessary to involve in Party work on a broader scale not only members who have been in the Party for many years, but also people who have proved to be active Party fighters capable of heading particular sectors of work. In this connection it seems expedient to reduce the obligatory period of Party membership for leading Party workers. It is intended to reduce it from five to four years for secretaries and deputy secretaries of provincial committees, from three to two years for city, district, subdistrict and rural district committees and from two years to one for primary Party organizations.

It should be mentioned that some comrades proposed, on the contrary, increasing the minimum period of membership for these categories of leading Party workers. We cannot agree to this, however. The Party's strength grows if its leading cadres are constantly reinforced with young people who have been duly steeled and who have proved their worth. This is particularly important for our Party, whose influence must embrace all spheres of the life of society and the state and their activities at a time of tense struggle, when there is a shortage of qualified personnel.

As to the period of Party membership for members and alternate members of the PDPA Central Committee, it is proposed to impose no limitations on it. It is obvious that only the most worthy people, people who enjoy authority in the Party can be members or alternate members of the PDPA Central Committee.

Let me mention another change. The practical experience of Party control commissions has shown that the period for filing an appeal, as provided by the Rules now in force, is inadequate. It is, therefore, proposed to increase it to two months. This change also reflects the desire of the PDPA Central Committee to extend the democratic principles of inner-Party life.

Comrades, these are the main, the most substantial additions and changes which the Central Committee of the Party has considered it necessary to submit to the present conference for examination. In addition, amendments relating to the wording and improved formulations have been introduced into the texts of 24 clauses of the Party Rules.

The Central Committee has also examined a great number of other additions and changes that have been submitted. It has, however, been considered inadvisable to include them in the Rules. Some comrades have proposed making stricter conditions for admission to the PDPA and introducing additional requirements for applicants into the Rules. In our opinion all the necessary conditions for membership of the Party are adequately stated in the present Rules. These conditions are: to be a member of the Party one has to reach a certain age, must take an active part in the work of a Party organization, must carry out the decisions and resolutions of the Party, pay Party membership dues, accept the Programme and Rules of the Party and, what is particularly important, actively contribute to their practical implementation. This means that a person applying for PDPA membership must fight for the interests and freedom of the people, selflessly defend our beloved fatherland and be irreconcilable to the enemies of the revolution, the Party and the working people. The sum total of all the provisions of the Party Rules shows that the PDPA opens its ranks only to the most worthy, class-conscious and honest people who are devoted to the ideals of the April Revolution. This is the fundamental requirement. It would be a serious mistake to introduce additional conditions into the Rules that would narrow the social base for the growth of the Party.

Several proposals deal with extending and specifying a Party member's duties. But the Rules should not be turned into a code of regulations regimenting all aspects of life, a person's every deed and act of behaviour. The clauses dealing with participation in production set out the duties of a party member quite adequately. The Rules lay down general fundamental requirements which, if duly observed, will enable a member or candidate member to contribute actively to accomplishing tasks set by the PDPA, honorably to bear the name of Party member, to cement the unity of Party ranks, strengthen Party discipline and extend and advance the Party's

ties with the people. So far as the personal behaviour of a Party member is concerned, the Rules point out that he must set an example of modesty and irreproachable conduct in personal and social life.

There have been proposals to increase the term for convening congresses to four or even five years. The Central Committee considers that for the time being there is no need for this. It would be expedient to examine this question at the next Party congress. The congress will then decide what the period between congresses should be. The term for convening regular PDPA congresses, envisaged in the present Rules of the PDPA, does not need to be changed.

Some comrades have proposed deleting Clause 31 from the Rules. It deals with the extension of the rights and responsibilities of Party organs, if need be. It also lays down that the personnel of these organs, namely, provincial, regional, city, district, sub-district and rural district committees, or individual members thereof, are not elected but appointed by authorized higher Party organs. The Central Committee has carefully examined this proposal and, having weighed all the circumstances, has reached the conclusion that the time is not yet ripe for the deletion of this clause. Furthermore, the Central Committee believes that any change in the existing procedure for the formation of Party organs would do irreparable damage to the interests of the Party.

It is clear to everybody, of course, that the introduction of elections would extend Party democracy and enrich inner-Party life. Unfortunately, the conditions for this are not yet ripe and there are weighty objective reasons for this. At the present time the Party and the state are concentrating their efforts on the accomplishment of two cardinal tasks: the fight against the internal and external forces of counter-revolution and their defeat, and the development of the economy. To carry out these tasks successfully the Party must swiftly appoint personnel in keeping with current needs and requirements. If need be, it must be in a position to replace and transfer leading Party workers. This would be impossible without strict centralization, without the temporary and enforced limitation of democratic methods of Party work. I would like to repeat once more that in the present situation, when the Party is forced simultaneously to wage an armed struggle against the enemies of the April Revolution and to build a new life, it would be political shortsightedness to abandon centralism. We must think in realistic terms, we must thoroughly weigh and appraise all the possible consequences of the decisions being adopted.

The Party is doing and will continue to do its utmost to extend and strengthen the democratic principles of Party life and activity. Take, for instance, the preparations for the present National Conference. Every one of you delegates was not appointed, but elected. A short while ago the Politbureau of the PDPA Central Committee adopted an important decision on the expansion of provincial and other Party committees. This has been done to enhance the leading role of Party organizations, to increase the number of Party activists taking part in social work, to enlarge the competence of Party committees, to promote the principle of collectivism and democracy in their work. All this irrefutably shows that the Central Committee is pursuing a firm line further to advance and develop inner-Party democracy, insofar as the present situation and conditions of our work, as well as the level of the ideological steeling and organization of Party ranks make it possible.

Some of the proposals are more in the nature of instructions than rules and shall be taken note of in the Party's practical work. Some of the other proposals

have been rejected, because they fail to take account of the conditions in which the Party is working.

Comrades,

The new Draft Rules which we are to approve today will do much to strengthen our young Party and develop it further. It will help us enormously to enhance the leading and guiding role of the PDPA in society, to cement the unity of Party ranks and thus enable the Party to lead the courageous and noble people of our beloved Afghanistan towards the splendid goals set out in the Programme of Action.

This obliges Party organizations, committees and political organs to conduct political and organizational work on a broad scale, to explain and implement the requirements and provisions of the Rules. The purpose is to ensure that each individual Party member, all Party organizations shall strictly and meticulously observe the standards of Party life and the principles of Party leadership.

In accordance with the Party Rules Party committees and Party organizations should ensure that all PDPA members and candidate members carry out their duties, increase their political and labour activities, foster strict Party discipline and a lofty sense of responsibility for the cause of the Party. Every organization should pay special attention to the punctilious and strict observance of the principle of democratic centralism as the cardinal condition for ensuring the strength and unity of Party ranks.

Party organs must promptly and strictly react to any deviations from the norms of Party life, to any breach of Party discipline. The Rules make wide provisions for this. In pursuit of these requirements the role played by Party control commissions under Party committees must be increased.

We must clearly realize that, unless every PDPA member and candidate member thoroughly studies the Rules, no primary Party organization will be able to ensure the fulfilment of their requirements and provisions.

It is therefore a task of paramount importance for all Party organs and Party organizations to ensure thorough study of the Rules. To this end they should enlist the best, most competent Party members. Studying the Party Rules should become an organic component of the political education system.

A thorough knowledge of the Rules, a grasp of the meaning of the provisions contained in them, meticulous fulfilment of the requirements of the Rules constitute the main task of every Party member and candidate member, of the whole Party in the struggle for the unity and cohesion of its ranks, for a higher level of organization and discipline, for closer ties between the Party and the masses, in the effort to implement the Programme of Action in the name of independence, progress and flourishing of our beloved fatherland—Afghanistan.

## REPORT OF THE CREDENTIALS COMMISSION

Comrade delegates,

The PDPA National Conference is a great historic event in the life of the Party and our beloved homeland, revolutionary Afghanistan. This is the first time since the glorious April Revolution that the best members of the Party have assembled at such a high and representative forum in order to chart and specify the Party's general policy line and work out forms and methods of Party leadership concerning all the aspects of life in our society.

The Draft Programme of Action of the PDPA submitted for discussion, which is a result of the creative application of the revolutionary theory to Afghanistan's specific conditions, and Comrade Babrak Karmal's report unfold before us a great panorama of the hard struggle waged by the Party and the people for their bright future which ensures the material and moral independence of the working man. A profound analysis of the realities and ways of our development, made on the basis of progressive revolutionary theory and practice of the construction of a new society in the Soviet Union and the socialist community countries, inspires us to new achievements in the name of progress and prosperity of Afghanistan.

Comrades,

The National Party Conference is taking place in circumstances when the Party is quantitatively more developed and organizationally stronger and is capable of carrying out its leading role as the political vanguard of the working class and all the working people. At the present time the PDPA has 62,820 full and candidate members in its ranks. This is 21,700 more than the number of full and candidate members during the membership count of August 1980.

Before the convening of our National Conference Party meetings and conferences took place in Party primary organizations, sub-district, district, city and provincial Party organizations as well as in the Party organizations of the armed forces of the DRA, the militia and the KhAD, at which the results of the Seventh Plenary Meeting of the PDPA Central Committee were discussed and debated and delegates were elected to the present conference.

A total of 209 Party conferences of *woluswali*, *great woluswali*, districts, cities and provinces as well as conferences of the political organs of the armed forces were held: 58,000 members and candidate members participated in the meetings and 16,000 delegates took part in the work of conferences. In the discussions at the meetings and conferences 10,200 comrades spoke.

In their speeches the participants in the meetings and delegates to the conferences unanimously supported the line of the PDPA Central Committee aimed at the consolidation of the Party and the strengthening of its relationship with the broad masses of the people. They put forward many constructive and valuable proposals for improving organizational and political work of our Party.

The election of the delegates was especially noteworthy. Although it was the first time that such a political campaign and on such a scale was conducted in the Party, the election on the whole took place in an organized manner, with full freedom of expression of opinion with regard to each candidate, in most cases in a businesslike and principled atmosphere, according to the organizational and political recommendations worked out by the Organizational Department of the PDPA Central Committee. This has strengthened the Party and enriched its experience.

In the meantime it is worth noting that in some of the organizations some Party members showed political immaturity, lack of discipline and organization and at meetings tried hard to create an atmosphere of tension, to sow distrust in the Party, doubt and discord. They met with a rebuff from the majority of Party organizations and Party members. Due to their personal, group inclinations, they forgot that the power of the Party lies in its militant unity and organization. Only in such circumstances can the Party fulfil its historical mission, namely, as the political leader of the people and the vanguard in the struggle for realizing the ideals of the April Revolution. The Credentials Commission fully supports the Programme of Action and the Report of the General Secretary of the PDPA Central Committee delivered at the conference on this issue.

The issue of Party cards to members and candidate members of the PDPA was a great event in the life of our Party which coincided with the preparations for the National Conference and had a considerable political impact on the country. Party card No. 1 was issued to General Secretary of the PDPA Central Committee Comrade Babrak Karmal. Along with Party and state leaders Party cards were issued to many front-rank workers, peasants, soldiers, sergeants and officers of the armed forces, and members of the intelligentsia. The Party card is a symbol of involvement in the great deeds of our glorious People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and the heroic deeds of the April Revolution, and those who hold it must do everything to protect the unity and purity of the Party ranks and the great ideals of our revolution.

Comrade delegates,

In accordance with the representation norms approved at the Seventh Plenary Meeting of the PDPA Central Committee, 841 delegates have been elected to the National Conference.

Upon verification the Credentials Commission has accepted the credentials of all the delegates.

The largest number of delegates to the conference, 178 of them, come from the Kabul city Party organization. National Conference fully corresponds to the provision of the Rules that the PDPA is "the vanguard of the working class and the working people of our beloved homeland—Afghanistan".

The PDPA has come to its National Conference with the clear-cut organizational structure. At the present time 30 provincial Party organizations, including the Kabul city Party organization, two regional, eleven city Party organizations, 44 district Party organizations (in cities) and 1,656 primary Party organizations which

include 28 *alaqudari* (Tehsil) Party organizations, are functioning within the Party. The PDPA Central Committee has done a great deal of work in the field of training Party cadres which are widely represented at the Party conference. The conference delegates comprise 169 Party functionaries, including 80 secretaries and deputy secretaries of the Party provincial, regional, city, district and sub-district committees, as well as three secretaries of primary Party organizations. All of them worthily represent the young officials of our Party who are gaining power and experience and are successfully directing all the organizational and political work both in the central and local organizations.

The Party mainly implements its leading role in the state administration and public organizations through full and candidate members who are working in them. The PDPA Central Committee pays tremendous attention to this significant problem. The presence of 78 delegates in the National Conference representing the state power and 64 delegates, members of the Revolutionary Council of the DRA, further testifies to the above-mentioned fact. There are 12 persons from the trade unions, 17 from the Democratic Youth Organization of Afghanistan and 11 from the Women's Democratic Organization of Afghanistan attending the conference.

Though our dear country, Afghanistan, is basically an agrarian country, yet in the last few years industrial branches have been developing and the working class—a leading social group of society—is rapidly growing and strengthening.

Today out of all the delegates to the PDPA National Conference, 106 are from the working class and peasantry or 12.6 per cent of the total number of delegates. There are present in this hall persons who work in coalmining, the oil and natural gas extraction fields and produce electric energy, fertilizer, cloth and building materials or build housing and transport facilities. Similarly there are also persons engaged in the growing of grain, fruit and vegetables and cotton, who provide citizens with foodstuffs. Among them are also many who have successfully combined struggle against the enemies of the revolution with their labour in production units, construction, fields and farms.

The delegates include soldiers, low-ranking and high-ranking officers and generals of the glorious armed forces of the DRA. The Party is constantly strengthening the armed forces, the militia and KhAD with its best full and candidate members. The majority of personnel of all arms and services have displayed great courage and heroism defending the gains of our glorious revolution.

Twenty-seven students and forty teachers, scholars, doctors and members of the creative intelligentsia are taking part in the work of this conference.

Comrades,

Fifty-six women delegates have been elected to the conference. This attests to their increasing social and political activities in the life of the country.

The PDPA continuously pursues a policy of brotherly friendship among all the nationalities, tribes and national groups dwelling in our country and is struggling for their national patriotic unity to the benefit of the future of revolutionary Afghanistan, of its development and prosperity.

Represented in the conference are all the main nationalities and tribes.

The age of the delegates shows that people of all age groups are taking an active part in the revolutionary struggle and Party work.

The delegates in the age group:	up to 20 years	2 per cent
	from 21 to 30	36.2 per cent
	from 31 to 40	48.5 per cent
	from 41 to 60	13.2 per cent

The oldest delegate among us is Comrade Khalqi, who is over a hundred.

The distribution of delegates according to how long they have been Party members testifies that delegates have been elected from various generations. They include comrades who founded the Party, those who planned and carried out the glorious April Revolution and also those comrades who received membership of the Party after the April Revolution.

Sixty of them have been veteran Party members—before 1966, including comrade Babrak Karmal, General Secretary of the PDPA Central Committee, who has been a Party member since 1962.

Altogether 667 delegates were enrolled in the Party before 1978 and 114 delegates joined the Party between 1978 and 1981.

The delegates to the conference have a relatively high level of education. Among them 431 have higher, 274 secondary, 109 incomplete secondary, primary or private education, while 27 are without education.

Comrades,

In describing the composition of the National Conference and accepting the credentials of the delegates, the Credentials Commission wishes all the delegates successful work and asks that the delegates approve the present report and officially accept the delegates' credentials.

## RESOLUTION OF THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE PDPA “ON THE URGENT TASKS OF THE PARTY”

After hearing and discussing the report of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, presented by Comrade Babrak Karmal, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, "On the Draft Programme of Action of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and the Tasks in Consolidating the Party and Strengthening Its Links with the People", the National Conference of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan draws the conclusion that the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, the Party as a whole and the DRA government are persistently and purposefully pursuing a policy directed towards solving the basic problems of the April Revolution. A deep and all-round analysis of the present stage of the national democratic revolution in Afghanistan has been made in the report and other materials and documents of the conference, and the ways to achieve stabilization of the military and political situation in the DRA, the total defeat of the forces of counter-revolution and the establishment of peace in the country have been indicated. In these documents the short-term prospects of the revolution, the major tasks of the country's economic and social development, of raising the level of the people's material and cultural life, of further consolidating the unity of the Party and enhancing its leading role in society and the state have been determined.

Having in view the provisions of the Programme of Action of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, the report delivered by Comrade Babrak Karmal, and the present situation in the country, the National Conference of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan believes that the efforts of all Party members and all patriots should be mobilized towards achieving decisive victories in all fields of our activities for the progress of our beloved fatherland and the total defeat of the forces of counter-revolution.

Therefore the National Conference of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan *resolves*:

1. Totally and completely to approve the policy line and practical activities of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan.

2. Strictly to implement the Programme of Action of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and the decisions and tasks outlined in the report by Comrade Babrak Karmal, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan. Precise and consistent fulfilment of the provisions

of the Party Programme and Rules and practical and active participation in the revolutionary transformations in the country should be considered the basic criteria for evaluating the efficiency of the work of Party and state organs and public organizations and the daily activities and conduct of each member and candidate member of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan.

3. The Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, the Party committees in the provinces, cities, districts and sub-districts, the Head Political Department of the DRA armed forces, the political departments of the militia and KhAD, primary Party organizations, the Council of Ministers of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, the ministries and related departments, the Central Council of the Trade Union Organization of Afghanistan, the Central Committee of the Democratic Youth Organization of Afghanistan, the Central Committee of the Women's Democratic Organization of Afghanistan, the unions of creative intelligentsia and other public organizations of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan should be set the task of working out practical and specific measures for implementing the Programme of Action of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and the resolutions of the National Conference of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and of organizing strict control over their implementation.

The National Conference of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan considers it necessary to concentrate the efforts of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, the whole Party, the National Fatherland Front and all its member organizations on the solution of urgent problems.

*In the military and political field:*

4. The intensification of struggle with the forces of armed counter-revolution, the establishment and consolidation of people's rule in districts and sub-districts and the stabilization of the situation and establishment of lasting peace throughout the country should be the major direction in the activities of Party committees, state organs and public organizations in the capital and provinces, as well as in the activities of the armed forces, the militia and KhAD. In view of this a single comprehensive system of defence of the revolution which besides army and militia units also includes detachments for the defence of the revolution, tribal volunteer groups and territorial self-defence units should be created and a firm basis be ensured for their activities in all villages and towns and at all enterprises.

Effective Party control should be established over the efficient functioning of the system of defence of the revolution and, finally, it should be ensured that the masses of the people, together with the armed forces, the militia and security organs, should resolutely undertake the task of defence of the revolution until complete victory over the forces of counter-revolution has been won. Every patriot and every true Muslim should actively contribute to the victory of our just cause.

5. The Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, the Revolutionary Council and the Council of Ministers, the respective ministries and related departments, their political bodies and public organizations of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan should focus more attention on problems relating to consolidating the armed forces, the security organs and militia, raising the level of the political and combat readiness of military cadres and the military and patriotic training of working people and the youth, and should pay special attention

to the training and upbringing of army officers and their recruitment from the ranks of toiling masses loyal to the cause of the revolution. For this reason the role of Party organizations, workers in the political field, military, militia and KhAD units should be increased. Close links between the armed forces and productive collectives and public organizations should be established.

6. Party committees and local organs of state power, in defeating the forces of counter-revolution, should, in the interests of the population, add to their activities a series of necessary measures aimed at definite consolidation of people's rule. These should include broad explanatory work, cooperation in the solution of urgent economic problems, the opening of polyclinics and schools, the repairing of roads and bridges, the holding of jirgahs (meetings), the appointment of leaders from among the local citizens and the creation of groups for the defence of the revolution.

*In the social and economic field:*

7. The Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, the Council of Ministers, the ministries and departments of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, Party and public organizations, local government and economic bodies should take measures consistently and in accordance with the plan directed towards the all-round development of the economy and the solution of urgent social problems.

Above all, it is necessary to ensure the continued operation of industrial and power producing enterprises, transport services, communications system and industrial and agricultural growth. Efforts should be focused on restoring all the economic enterprises that have been destroyed. More attention should be paid in work collectives to increasing the labour and social activities of the working people, the growth of labour productivity and economic use of manpower and material resources.

On the basis of the law and the decisions of the Politbureau of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, the Revolutionary Council and the Council of Ministers of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, the land and water reform should be more consistently and persistently carried out. All possible support and assistance should be given to peasants to ensure the growth of agricultural production. The creation of agricultural cooperatives and a system of agricultural and technical aid for peasants and cooperatives should be furthered.

The provincial, district and sub-district Party committees and local organs of state power should focus attention on the task of promoting regular agricultural activities and ensuring their security.

The policy directed towards meeting the people's needs in the sphere of housing, cultural and educational facilities and the eradication of illiteracy among the population should be implemented on a planned basis. A ramified system of curative and preventive medical institutions, anti-epidemic centres and state pharmacies, above all in the villages, should be created.

At one of the subsequent plenary meetings of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan economic problems should be discussed and specific measures taken with regard to consolidating and improving the country's national economy, and the methods and forms of Party guidance of economic activities should be determined.

*In the field of development and consolidation of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan:*

8. The National Conference of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan points out that successful implementation of the Programme of Action of the People's Democratic Republic of Afghanistan is one of the urgent tasks of the April Revolution and depends, above all, on increasing the leading role of the Party, the militancy and activity of Party committees, primary Party organizations, of all full and candidate members of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan in organizing the defence of the revolution, the political education of the masses and economic and cultural construction.

This task requires the ideological and organizational cohesion of the Party, the development on this basis of inner Party democracy, discipline, organization and improvement of the style and methods of the work of Party committees. The role and importance of primary Party organizations in the solution of all Party problems should be resolutely increased and they should in every way be consolidated as the vital pillar of the Party ensuring its direct links with the broad masses of the people.

The work in the field of improving the qualitative composition of Party ranks should receive the special attention of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and its departments, of Party committees and organizations. This implies, above all, drawing into the Party greater numbers of workers, peasants, craftsmen, soldiers and non-commissioned officers of the army and the militia. To this end Party committees should make wide use of the present campaign of handing out Party cards, the organizational and political experience gained in the course of preparing and holding the National Conference of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, as well as the campaign for the study of Party Rules and programme documents.

The results of the National Conference of the Party should be evaluated at meetings of Party activists and committees and at meetings of primary Party organizations and the resolutions of the conference should be deeply studied and discussed and measures should be worked out for their implementation.

9. The Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, its sections and Party organizations should do consistent and purposeful work to improve the selection, deployment and training of cadres, especially leading cadres. A decisive struggle should be waged against all kinds of deviations from Party policy with regard to cadres. The main criterion for assessing cadres should be their political characteristics and practical efficiency, their active participation in revolutionary transformations in the country and loyalty to the Party leadership. Representatives of the working people, national minorities, youth and women who have shown their commitment should be unhesitatingly appointed to responsible posts.

The Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan should work out a system of Party, political and specialized education and the training of cadres on the staff of the Institute of Social Sciences of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and other educational institutes and courses which are permanently functioning in the capital and the provinces.

10. The Party's role in guiding the organs of state power and public organizations in the country should be enhanced. Work in the field of improving legislation and its implementation, raising the efficiency of the activities of the state apparatus and consolidating its links with the masses in the interests of the people and the revolution should be expanded.

*In the field of ideological work of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan:*

11. The Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, its sections and Party committees should step up their work to win the masses over to the side of the revolution, to the active defence of its gains and to building a new and prosperous Afghanistan.

To this end a series of measures should be taken for ending political and general illiteracy among citizens and for combatting the influence of bourgeois and feudal ideology. All these activities should be closely linked with propagating advanced revolutionary theory.

The conference draws the attention of Party organizations to the need for a specific approach to political work among the masses, especially among the peasants, and for concentrating all the forces of the Party to this end.

The Central Committee and all the Party organizations should use all forms of political education permanently to raise the level of ideological and theoretical knowledge of full and candidate members of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, and should pay special attention to improve still further the training of propagandist cadres of the Party.

12. At the present stage deep and all-round study of the Programme of Action, of the decisions and documents of the National Conference of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan should provide the basis for mass political and ideological education.

The major task is to convey the ideas and decisions of the conference to all Party members, to all the citizens of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. To this end methods of mass propaganda work that have proved effective should be used widely, such as forming propaganda groups, organizing meetings and rallies of peasants, talks and speeches by political speakers and propagandists of Party committees, organizing *ashar*\* in work collectives and in the citizens' residential areas, holding traditional popular celebrations and so on.

The activities of the mass media should be seriously improved to meet the vital needs. To improve coordination of all ideological activities and increase their effectiveness the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and Party committees should convene meetings of ideological activists and seminars on the urgent problems of the present stage of the revolution.

In accordance with the provisions of the Programme of Action and the Fundamental Principles of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan the National Conference confirms the correctness of Party's consistent and principled policy with regard to the holy religion of Islam. At the same time Party committees and organs of state power should step up the work in the field of exposing antipopular activities of the enemies of the revolution who conceal their criminal actions under the slogans of Islam.

14. The National Conference of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, aware of the great importance of national and tribal relations in the country, entrusts the Central Committee, the Revolutionary Council, the Council of Ministers of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, local Party and state organs and the National Fatherland Front with the task of working out and persistently

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\**Ashar*—traditional free voluntary assistance of neighbours in the construction of a house, in clearing the plot of land, etc.—*Ed.*

implementing a series of measures aimed at consistently carrying out the Party policy based on equal development of all nationalities and tribes and on ensuring their cooperation for the happiness and prosperity of our common country.

Efforts should be stepped up to propagate the policy of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan in this field. These efforts should be based on the provisions of the Programme of Action, the Fundamental Principles of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and Party and government declarations on relations with nationalities and tribes of Afghanistan.

15. The National Conference of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan fully and wholly approves the foreign policy of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, the aim of which is to achieve lasting peace in the world, stabilization of the political situation in the region, and implementation of the principles of international solidarity, peaceful coexistence and non-alignment. It recommends the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and the Party and state organs consistently and purposefully to propagate, both inside and outside the country, the policy of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan in the sphere of international relations and consistently and in every way to develop internationalist and fraternal relations of friendship with the great Leninist Communist Party of the Soviet Union and traditional cooperation with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and fraternal socialist countries, and extensively to acquaint the masses of the people with their achievements in building a new life. Relations should be expanded with all countries and international organizations on the basis of the generally accepted principles of equality and mutual benefit.

The National Conference of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan calls on all Party organizations, all full and candidate Party members and all patriots still further to close their ranks and not to spare their efforts to implement the lofty and noble goals of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, which express the vital interests of our people.

**We shall win!**

## RESOLUTION OF THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE PDPA “ON AMENDMENTS AND ADDITIONS TO THE RULES OF THE PDPA”

Having heard and discussed the report by Comrade Noor Ahmad Noor, Secretary of the PDPA Central Committee, “On Amendments and Additions to the Rules of the PDPA” and comments on the paramount importance of strengthening the Party ideologically, politically and organizationally on the basis of its Rules, the National Conference of the PDPA hereby resolves:

1. With due account of the additions and amendments to approve the text of the Rules of the People’s Democratic Party of Afghanistan submitted by the PDPA Central Committee.

2. To instruct the PDPA Central Committee, provincial, regional, city, town, district and sub-district Party committees, the Head Political Department of the armed forces of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, the political departments of the militia and KhAD, and primary Party organizations:

to organize thorough study of the PDPA Rules by members and candidate members of the Party, paying special attention to assimilating the essence of the provisions of the Rules and to the need for strictly implementing them in all spheres of Party life;

constantly and steadfastly to strengthen Party ranks ideologically, politically and organizationally, to secure in practice unity of the Party in pursuit of its general line directed towards the well-being and happiness of our people. Resolutely to check all manifestations of factionalism, cliquishness or parochialism and violations of discipline;

persistently to increase the activity of Party members, heighten their sense of responsibility for the state of affairs in organizations and collectives, for the extension and strengthening of the Party’s ties with the people;

to see that every Party member and candidate member meticulously observe the requirements of the PDPA Rules, be in deed a model of staunchness and courage in the fight against the forces of counter-revolution, and set an example to all others of proper behaviour in social and domestic life.

3. That in their practical work in the sphere of Party and state development, especially in building up Party ranks and in pursuit of the Party’s cadres policy, the Central Committee, all Party organizations and committees be guided by the provisions of the Programme of Action and the requirements of the PDPA Rules.

**RESOLUTION  
OF THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE  
OF THE PDPA  
“ON THE PROGRAMME OF ACTION OF THE PDPA”**

The National Conference of the PDPA comprehensively considered the problems of the present stage of the April National Democratic Revolution which determines the destiny of the Party, our homeland and the people. The conference unanimously and wholeheartedly approves the substantial and thoughtful report of the Central Committee of the Party presented by Comrade Babrak Karmal, General Secretary of the PDPA Central Committee, “On the Draft Programme of Action of the PDPA and the Tasks in Consolidating the Party and Strengthening Its Links with the People”. The Programme of Action, which has been drafted on the basis of the general views of the Party, lays the foundation for further cohesion of the Party’s ranks around the PDPA Central Committee and for strengthening its ideological, political and organizational unity. This programme defines the objectives and directions of the activities of the Party for a long period of time. This conference expresses its firm belief that the Programme of Action should unite all the national patriotic forces for the purpose of carrying out the tasks of the April Revolution continuously and gradually.

The conference stresses with full satisfaction that the Programme of Action of the PDPA, which is being considered, is a manifestation of the historic aspirations and wishes of the noble and freedom-loving people of Afghanistan; it indicates real and specific methods and ways for building a new, just and flourishing society in our country; it clearly formulates the tasks of Party, state and public organizations included in the National Fatherland Front. Based on the provisions of the progressive revolutionary theory the Programme fully reflects the experience of the Party and the people’s struggle, takes into account the specific conditions of our society, the traditions and moral values of the ethnic groups, nationalities and tribes living in our ancient and holy land.

The National Conference of the People’s Democratic Party of Afghanistan formally approves this Programme of Action unanimously and with complete understanding and instructs the Party, all its organizations and committees, and all full and candidate members of the Party to be guided by it in all aspects of their activities consistently and steadily and to devote their efforts to achieving its lofty and noble aims.

We shall win!

## RULES OF THE PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AFGHANISTAN

The People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan is a party of a new type, it is the tried and tested, militant vanguard of the working class and all other working people of our beloved homeland—Afghanistan, and is the highest form of political organization. In its work the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan proceeds from the principles of scientific revolutionary theory. On a voluntary basis it unites in its ranks the advanced, politically conscious representatives of the workers, peasants, servicemen, intelligentsia, artisans, nomads and other working people in town and country. The People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan expresses and defends the interests of all the working people of the country.

In the course of its history the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan has had its ups and downs, it has passed through various stages of development, it has a hard and glorious record of struggle in many spheres—social, political, organizational and ideological. It was under the guidance of the PDPA that the April National Democratic Revolution was carried out.

The People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan is the leading and guiding force of our society, the consistent and unswerving defender of the real interests of the working class and all the other working people of our country. On the basis of creatively applying a scientific world outlook and the Programme, scientifically grounded on this theory and also taking account of the experience it has accumulated, the PDPA exercises guidance of the purposeful efforts of the broad masses of the people in building a society free from exploitation and from class antagonisms, a society which will ensure rising living and cultural standards.

An immutable law by which the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan lives and functions is the ideological and organizational unity and militant cohesion of its ranks, and also observance of conscientious discipline. Manifestations of factionalism, cliquishness and nepotism are incompatible with the Party spirit and with membership of the Party.

In conformity with its class essence, patriotic character and world outlook our Party is an organization of devoted patriots, a defender of the country's territorial integrity, national sovereignty and real national interests, a faithful member of the international working class movement and of progressive mankind. It educates its members in the spirit of patriotism and internationalism which, in the opinion of our Party, are inseparably linked.

## *Section I*

### MEMBERSHIP

*Paragraph 1.* Any citizen of Afghanistan who is 18 years of age, who accepts the Programme and the Rules of the Party, and who works for their practical implementation, takes an active part in the work of a Party organization, carries out the decisions and resolutions of the Party and pays membership dues, can be a member of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan.

*Paragraph 2.* Applicants are admitted to Party membership in accordance with the following procedure:

1) Applicants are admitted as candidate members and candidates as full members by primary Party organizations only individually. A decision on the admission of an applicant as a candidate member and a candidate as a full member is taken by a meeting of the Party organization and is considered to be carried if after discussion more than half the Party members present at the meeting have voted for the applicant.

2) The decision of the primary Party organization on admission to membership is subject to approval by the rural district, sub-district, district, city, and regional committee and takes effect after approval by the provincial committee or another Party organ authorized by the Central Committee.

3) The person applying for membership of the Party files a written application to the primary organization concerned and submits recommendations from three Party members with a membership period of not less than three years.

Workers, peasants and soldiers who before service in the army were workers or peasants submit recommendations from two Party members with a membership period of not less than two years.

Party members can recommend an applicant only if they have known him for at least one year and on the basis of his devotion to the cause of the revolution, his contacts, earlier political, ideological and public activities, and also his moral qualities; they must guarantee to the Party that his personal qualities, conscientious attitude to work, worthiness and devotion to the cause of the revolution shall make him a worthy member.

Party members recommending an applicant are responsible to the Party for the impartiality of their recommendations.

*Note a)* Young people under 20 years of age shall be admitted to the Party only through the Democratic Youth Organization of Afghanistan.

Members of the Democratic Youth Organization of Afghanistan applying for membership of the Party submit a recommendation from a provincial committee of the DYOA or another authorized organ of the DYOA, which is equivalent to a recommendation from one Party member.

*Note b)* Members and alternate members of the PDPA Central Committee shall refrain from giving recommendations.

4) Applicants for membership of the Party pass through a probationary period as candidate members for a period of one year for deeper Party studies, raising their political and ideological level, more thorough familiarization with the Party Programme and Rules, proving their personal qualities and preparing for admission

to full membership of the Party. Upon expiration of this period they may be admitted to full membership of the Party

The probationary period as candidate members for workers, peasants and soldiers who before service in the army were workers or peasants is six months.

The Party organization must get to know the candidate member's personal and working qualities and render him constant assistance in preparation for admission to full membership of the Party.

The procedure for admission of candidate members is identical with the procedure for admission to full Party membership. The probationary period as candidate member is not included in the period of Party membership.

5) Candidate members carry out the same duties as full members and enjoy equal rights with the latter, except for the right to elect and be elected to leading Party organs or as delegates to Party conferences and congresses. At Party meetings candidate members have the right of consultative vote.

6) Full Party and candidate membership dates from the day the meeting passes the decision on admission of an applicant as full member or candidate member of the Party.

7) If during his probationary period a candidate member should fail to prove that he is worthy of admission to full membership, his request for admission to the Party shall be declined by the organization or organ concerned. In this case his probationary period as candidate member may be extended for one more term, but only once.

*Paragraph 3.* To rally round the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan non Party people who share the Party's ideas and support it with their practical deeds, but who are not yet prepared to join the Party ranks, groups of PDPA sympathizers may be created under primary Party organizations.

Applicants are admitted to groups of sympathizers by a decision of primary Party organizations on the recommendation of two Party members. Several groups of sympathizers, each not exceeding 15 members, may be formed under the same primary Party organization. The Party organization appoints a Party member as the leader of each group of sympathizers

The sympathizers are required to uphold the policy of the Party and regularly to advance their ideological and political knowledge. The Party organization may give particular assignments to sympathizers.

Sympathizers shall be invited to meetings of the primary Party organization, when the latter deems this expedient.

*Paragraph 4.* Official registration and issue of Party and candidate membership cards are performed by the PDPA Central Committee, provincial committees or other Party organs duly authorized by the PDPA Central Committee.

*Paragraph 5.* It is the duty of a Party member:

1) to strive for the interests and freedom of the people, to work for building a new society free from exploitation. Actively to participate in the social and political life of the country, in the carrying out of revolutionary social and economic changes

Staunchly and selflessly to defend our beloved homeland, Afghanistan, and the gains of the April Revolution against the intrigues of reaction and imperialism

2) to adhere to the Rules, observe Party and state discipline, abide by Party instructions, promote the Programme, strategic and tactical line, general and current policy of the Party and work for their realization,

3) to ensure the political, ideological and organizational unity of the Party, resolutely to combat all trends inside and outside the Party which are detrimental to Party unity and interests;

4) within the Party to combat all manifestations of factionalism, splitting tendencies, parochialism, chauvinism, local and big power nationalism, leftism, adventurism, revisionism, dogmatism, all forms of right and left opportunism, liberalism and subjectivism;

5) regularly to contribute to the work of the appropriate Party organization; sincerely, resolutely, firmly and unswervingly to carry out the decisions, directives and instructions of the Party, regularly to pay membership dues; to promote comradely Party relations between Party members, to maintain within the Party a spirit of sincerity and comradely fraternal cooperation;

6) painstakingly to safeguard Party and state secrets, in all circumstances to display firmness and vigilance with respect to subversive elements, to safeguard the Party against the penetration into it of undesirable elements and against the spread of divisive ideas;

7) to place the interests of the Party and people above his personal interests, to be sincere with the Party and never to lie to the Party. Objectively to appraise his own work and the work of other comrades, production activities and the fulfilment of state plans.

In the election of leading Party organs to proceed from the personal qualities of nominees, such as their worthiness, sincerity, competence, level of knowledge and class essence, and not from considerations of family or personal relations, ties of blood or tribal ties;

8) to develop criticism and self-criticism, through principled criticism to reveal mistakes and shortcomings and resolutely to remove them, resolutely to combat all manifestations of indifference, inertness and careerism;

9) constantly to improve his political, ideological, cultural and professional level and to master scientific revolutionary theory;

10) to promote ideas of scientific revolutionary theory, patriotism and international solidarity among the masses;

11) in relations with the people to set an example of sincerity, modesty, diligence and irreproachable behaviour in personal and public life, to know the needs of the people, promptly to inform the Party organizations of these needs, to promote the influence and prestige of the Party among the masses, constantly to strengthen the Party's ties with the masses, to draw the best representatives of the people into revolutionary activity and to rally the masses round the Party;

12) to cement the unity of the fraternal peoples dwelling in our common homeland—Afghanistan, to work for the full equality of all peoples and tribes living in Afghanistan, both large and small, for fraternal mutual assistance between them, for their drawing closer together in working people's organizations, such as the National Fatherland Front, trade unions, peasant cooperatives, the Democratic Youth Organization of Afghanistan, the Women's Democratic Organization of Afghanistan, unions of the creative intelligentsia and other public organizations;

13) to be irreconcilable towards enemies of the working people, the homeland and the Party, to fight for the interests of the working people against exploitation and against all forms of social and national oppression;

14) to live up to his patriotic and internationalist duty in extending and

strengthening friendly Afghan-Soviet relations, relations between the people of Afghanistan and countries of the socialist community, relations with the international working class and progressive movements, and with the national-liberation struggle of peoples;

15) to respect the religious beliefs of the people, to preserve their positive traditions and customs;

16) to display a conscientious attitude towards his work, his official duties, to raise labour productivity, actively to contribute to the expansion of social production. To respect and safeguard public property, to prevent it from being squandered or misused;

17) to work selflessly and with a sense of unbounded responsibility for the achievement of the revolutionary ideals of the working people, and to be ready at all times, if need be, to sacrifice his life for this sacred cause.

*Paragraph 6.* A Party member has the right:

1) to elect or be elected to leading Party organs;

2) to take an active part in discussing and deciding questions of Party policy and practical work, freely to voice his opinion at Party meetings, in the Party and state press, until a Party organization or organ has taken a corresponding decision on them;

3) to address proposals, critical remarks and questions to any Party organ, including the PDPA Central Committee. At Party meetings to come out with principled criticism of the style of work of Party organs and the activities of Party workers regardless of the positions they hold;

4) personally to attend all Party meetings and Party committee meetings which discuss his activities or behaviour. In the event of disagreement with the decision of the Party organization or Party organ on his personal case with regard to its principledness or fairness he may file an appeal to higher Party organs, including the PDPA congress.

## *Section II*

### **ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE PARTY**

*Paragraph 7.* The organizational structure of the Party is based on the principle of democratic centralism which implies:

1) the electiveness of all leading Party organs from top to bottom;

2) the accountability of Party organs to their Party organizations and higher organs;

3) the subordination of the minority to the majority, the fulfilment of instructions and decisions of the Party, and strict observance of Party discipline by all Party members regardless of the positions they hold;

4) the decisions of higher Party organs are unconditionally binding on lower organs.

*Paragraph 8.* Organizationally the Party is composed of provincial, regional, city, district, sub-district, rural district and local (primary) Party organizations. Provincial organizations of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan are established by the decision of the PDPA Central Committee. Proposals for the setting up of regional, city, district, sub-district, rural district and, when necessary, of other Party organizations are submitted by provincial Party committees and approved by the PDPA Central Committee.

The Party is built on the territorial-and-production principle. This means that primary Party organizations are established at the places of employment of Party members and are united territorially into rural district, sub-district, district, city, regional and provincial organizations. An organization embracing a particular territory is superior to all Party organizations embracing parts of this territory.

Each of these organizations can pass decisions on its work, provided they do not contradict the general and current policy of the Party and the decisions of higher organs.

*Paragraph 9.* The supreme principle of Party leadership is collective leadership, as the main condition for the activity of Party organizations, the proper education of cadres, the growth and improvement of initiative by Party members. This principle must be observed by all Party organs and organizations.

Collective leadership does not reduce the personal responsibility of Party members for the task assigned to them.

Party organizations and committees are obliged constantly to enhance the sense of personal responsibility of Party members and candidate members for observance of the requirements of the Rules and fulfilment of their duties.

### *Section III*

## HIGHER PARTY ORGANS

### The Congress

*Paragraph 10.* The highest organ of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan is the congress whose delegates are elected by provincial conferences. In normal conditions congresses are convened once every two or three years. If necessary, a congress may be convened at shorter or longer intervals by decision of the Central Committee. Extraordinary congresses are convened by the Central Committee either on its own initiative or on the request of two-thirds of the membership. A congress is considered duly constituted if it is attended by a majority of the delegates elected to it, representing more than half the Party membership.

The number of delegates to a congress and also the norms of representation from provincial Party organizations are determined by the Central Committee of the PDPA.

*Paragraph 11.* The duties and rights of the congress are:

1) to hear the reports of the Central Committee and the Central Auditing Commission, to appraise their work and take appropriate decisions on them;

- 2) to review, amend and approve the Party Programme and Rules;
- 3) to lay down the general line of the Party in the sphere of home and foreign policy;
- 4) to determine the number of members of the Central Committee and the Central Auditing Commission;
- 5) by a majority vote to elect by secret ballot the members and alternate members of the Central Committee and members of the Central Auditing Commission.

*Paragraph 12.* In the periods between congresses the Central Committee of the PDPA is the highest organ of the Party.

It directs all the political and organizational work of the Party, its organs and organizations in the localities, selects and appoints leading Party cadres and other personnel, effects guidance of the work of central state bodies and working people's public organizations, sets up various Party organs and offices and directs their work, appoints the editors of central Party newspapers and journals, distributes Party funds and checks expenditure.

The Central Committee represents the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan in its relations with other parties and political organizations.

*Paragraph 13.* The Central Committee of the PDPA keeps the Party organizations regularly informed of its work.

*Paragraph 14.* If necessary, the Central Committee can by a two-thirds majority vote co-opt new members from among alternate members of the Central Committee and one or more members or alternate members from among the worthiest Party members.

*Paragraph 15.* By a majority vote by a show of hands the Central Committee elects from among its members a General Secretary who is at the same time a Politbureau member, the members of the Central Committee Politbureau and the members of the Secretariat.

*Paragraph 16.* In periods between meetings of the Central Committee, the Politbureau directs all the work of the Party and is responsible to the Central Committee.

*Paragraph 17.* The Secretariat of the Central Committee directs current work, selects leading Party cadres and other personnel, determines the forms and methods for the carrying out of decisions taken by higher Party organs and checks their fulfilment. The Secretariat is responsible to the Politbureau.

*Paragraph 18.* In normal conditions a plenary meeting of the Central Committee shall be convened at least three times a year. Alternate members of the Central Committee take part in the work of a plenary meeting with the right of consultative vote.

*Paragraph 19.* The Central Committee of the PDPA establishes departments and commissions of the Central Committee for the practical work of implementing Party decisions and checking their fulfilment. Heads of Central Committee departments are appointed by the Politbureau from among the members and alternate members of the Central Committee.

The Central Committee departments and commissions function under the direction of the Central Committee Secretariat.

*Paragraph 20.* The Central Committee of the PDPA establishes a Party Control Commission whose chairman is appointed by a decision of the Politbureau from

among the members or alternate members of the Central Committee. The duties of the Party Control Commission are:

1) to see to it that Party members and candidate members observe the requirements of Party unity and discipline; to call to account those who fail to adhere to the Programme and Rules of the PDPA and violate Party and state discipline, as well as Party moral principles;

2) to examine appeals against the decisions of provincial, and regional Party committees on expulsion from the Party or the imposition of Party penalties.

*Paragraph 21.* The Central Committee may submit particular questions to the whole Party for discussion.

*Paragraph 22.* In periods between congresses the Central Committee of the PDPA may convene all-Party conferences for the discussion of urgent questions of Party policy. The procedure for holding such conferences shall be determined by the Central Committee of the PDPA.

*Paragraph 23.* The question of removing a member or alternate member from the Central Committee is decided by a plenary meeting of the PDPA Central Committee. A decision on such a question is considered adopted if two-thirds of the Central Committee members have voted for it.

### The Central Auditing Commission

*Paragraph 24.* The Central Auditing Commission performs the following functions:

1) checks on the swift and correct handling of correspondence, applications and appeals to the departments and commissions of the Central Committee;

2) checks on the financial activities of the Central Committee.

*Paragraph 25.* The question of removing a member from the Central Auditing Commission of the PDPA is decided at a session of the Central Auditing Commission. A decision is considered adopted if at least two-thirds of the members of the Central Auditing Commission have voted for it.

### Section IV

## PROVINCIAL, REGIONAL, CITY, DISTRICT, SUB-DISTRICT AND RURAL DISTRICT ORGANIZATIONS

*Paragraph 26.* In their work the provincial, regional, city, district, sub-district and rural district organizations are guided by the Party Programme and Rules; they conduct and promote the policy of the Party and organize the implementation of all decisions and directives of the Central Committee and leading organs of the Party in the province, region, city, district, sub-district, and rural district.

The main duties of provincial, regional, city, district, sub-district and rural district organizations and their leading organs are:

1) conduct of political and organizational work among the population, mobilization of the working people for the realization of revolutionary social and

economic transformations, all-round development of industry and agriculture, and raising of the living and cultural standards of the people;

2) selection and appointment of cadres, educating them in a spirit of great conscientiousness, loyalty to revolutionary ideas, responsibility, honesty and truthfulness, in the spirit of devotion to the fatherland, the Party and the people;

3) defence of revolutionary gains, organization of relentless struggle against actions by counter-revolutionaries and reactionaries;

4) organization of ideological work, promotion of the Party Programme and scientific revolutionary theory, circulation of Party publications, including publications in the languages of peoples inhabiting their particular part of the country.

### *Section V*

## HIGHER ORGANS OF PROVINCIAL, REGIONAL, CITY, DISTRICT, SUB-DISTRICT AND RURAL DISTRICT ORGANIZATIONS

*Paragraph 27.* The highest organ of the provincial, regional, city, district, sub-district and rural district Party organization is the conference convened by the corresponding Party committee. In normal conditions provincial conferences are convened once every two years; regional, city, district, sub-district and also, with the permission of the Central Committee, rural district conferences are convened once a year.

A special conference of a Party organization may be convened by decision of a higher Party committee or at the request of the majority of its members.

*Paragraph 28.* Delegates to provincial, regional, city, district, sub-district and rural district conferences are elected from each of the respective lower Party organizations. The norm of representation is determined by the Party committee convening the conference and is approved by the higher Party organ.

*Paragraph 29.* Provincial, regional, city, district, sub-district and rural district conferences:

1) hear, discuss and approve the reports of the corresponding Party committees and auditing commissions and assess their work;

2) take decisions on immediate and long-term questions relating to the work of their organization;

3) elect the members of the committee and auditing commission, and also delegates to the conference of the higher Party organization.

*Paragraph 30.* In the periods between conferences the highest organs of provincial, regional, city, district, sub-district and rural district organizations are the Party committees.

*Paragraph 31.* When the need arises, the rights and responsibilities of Party organs may be broadened, and the whole organs or particular members of them, regardless of the positions they hold, may be appointed, although in principle these are elective organs.

*Paragraph 32.* Provincial, regional, city, district, sub-district and rural district committees elect from among their members a secretary of the committee and deputy secretaries.

Secretaries and deputy secretaries of provincial committees must have a period of Party membership of at least four years, of regional, city, district, sub-district and rural district committees—at least two years.

*Paragraph 33.* With the permission of the Central Committee of the PDPA provincial, regional, city, district, sub-district and rural district committees set up committee departments.

Heads of committee departments and chairmen of Party control commissions under provincial Party committees are appointed from among the committee members.

The department works under the guidance of the secretary and deputy secretary of the committee.

*Paragraph 34.* Provincial, regional, city, district, sub-district and rural district committees direct the work of lower Party organizations, create new Party organizations, check their work, organize the carrying out of decisions adopted by the corresponding conferences, as well as of the decisions and directives of higher Party organs.

Provincial, regional, city, district, sub-district and rural district committees regularly (at least once a month) inform the higher Party organs on the progress of their work, and also report to them at fixed intervals.

Provincial, regional, city, district, sub-district and rural district committees hold meetings at least once a month.

*Paragraph 35.* The secretary and deputy secretary supervise the daily work of the committee, the carrying out of the decisions adopted by their committee and higher Party organs, and control the proper fulfilment of them. They are accountable to the committee and are responsible for its work.

*Paragraph 36.* In their work all Party organs from top to bottom must not permit bureaucratic methods or arbitrary practices, they must ensure a proper balance between Party centralism and democracy, rid themselves of unsound methods of work through criticism and self-criticism, foster in Party members a creative attitude towards the fulfilment of their duties, initiative and discipline, and actively strive to secure the unity of the Party.

They must not permit manifestations of liberal and anarchic sentiments, a personality cult, divisive activities, cliquishness or other trends destructive of Party unity, no matter under what guise they penetrate into the Party.

*Paragraph 37.* In the selection and appointment of leading Party cadres and other personnel the committees must:

- 1) proceed from their political, working and moral qualities, take into account their previous experience of work, their organizational abilities and their ability to organize concerted work;

- 2) in promoting cadres take into account the opinions and proposals of members and candidate members of the Party;

- 3) check the work of cadres, give them the aid they need, promptly point to their mistakes and shortcomings. If shortcomings are not removed, they must take the necessary steps, even to the extent of relieving of their posts Party workers who fail to cope with their duties and to correct their mistakes.

*Paragraph 38.* The question of removing a member from a provincial, regional, city, district, sub-district or rural district committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan is decided by a meeting of the committee concerned. The

decision is considered adopted if at least two-thirds of the members of the particular committee have voted for it.

*Paragraph 39.* Within the framework of their organizations and committees the auditing commissions carry out the same functions as the Central Auditing Commission.

*Paragraph 40.* The question of removing a member from an auditing commission of a provincial, regional, city, district, sub-district or rural district organization of the PDPA is decided by a meeting of the commission concerned. The decision is considered adopted if at least two-thirds of the members of the commission have voted for it.

## *Section VI*

### PRIMARY PARTY ORGANIZATIONS

*Paragraph 41.* Primary Party organizations form the basis of the Party. They are formed at the places of employment and residence of Party members, provided there are at least three Party members. All members and candidate members of the Party employed at a factory, plant, construction site, ministry, office, research or educational establishment, or a state farm, serving in a military unit and so on shall unite to form a single primary Party organization.

Primary Party organizations formed at places of residence unite all the Party members living in the particular inhabited locality, street or neighbourhood, who do not belong to primary Party organizations of enterprises, offices, educational establishments, and so on.

Primary Party organizations are formed by decision of a city, district, sub-district or rural district or, when necessary, by decision of a provincial or regional committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan.

*Note:* Primary Party organizations in the Armed Forces, and Tsarandoi and KhAD detachments are established with the permission respectively of the Chief Political Directorate of the Armed Forces and political departments of Tsarandoi and KhAD.

*Paragraph 42.* Primary Party organizations with fewer than 50 Party members and candidate members can decide to establish within its framework several Party groups at shops, divisions, departments, study groups, and so on. A Party group must comprise no less than three Party members.

*Paragraph 43.* In accordance with a proposal from a primary Party organization with more than 50 Party members and candidate members a city, district, sub-district or rural district Party committee may decide to establish shop, divisional, departmental, study group Party organizations, and so on.

Party groups may be established within the framework of shop or departmental Party organizations.

*Paragraph 44.* Within the framework of primary Party organizations with more than 100 members and candidate members shop or departmental Party organizations may be accorded the rights of primary Party organizations. A proposal to this effect is submitted by the committee of the primary Party organization concerned and approved by the rural district, sub-district, district, city, or regional Party

committee and finally approved by the provincial committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan.

*Paragraph 45.* The highest organ of a primary Party organization is the general Party meeting.

General meetings of primary, shop and departmental Party organizations and Party groups are held at least once a month.

Primary Party organizations which structurally embrace shop or departmental organizations convene general meetings at least once every two months.

In the case of primary Party organizations with more than 100 members and candidate members general Party meetings are called by the Party committee of the given organization as the need arises, but not less than once every three months.

*Paragraph 46.* To direct current work a Party group elects a Party group organiser, a shop and departmental or primary Party organization with up to 15 Party members elects a secretary and deputy secretary, and a Party organization with more than 15 Party members and candidate members—a Party committee.

Secretaries and deputy secretaries of Party organizations must have a membership period of not less than one year.

*Paragraph 47.* In its work a primary Party organization is guided by the Programme and Rules of the PDPA; it carries out the decisions and the instructions of higher Party organs. It acts as a link between leading Party organs and members of the Party, between the Party and the people.

The primary Party organization performs the following functions:

- 1) admits new members and candidate members to the PDPA;
- 2) strengthens Party discipline, sees to it that all the members of the primary Party organization observe the PDPA Rules, collects Party dues and other funds from Party members and candidate members;
- 3) organizes political classes for Party members, candidate members and sympathizers, circulates Party press publications, conducts mass propaganda work among the working people and explains the Programme and policy of the Party to them;
- 4) mobilizes the working people for the accomplishment of the social and economic tasks of the April Revolution, for the defence of its achievements against the encroachments of the enemies of the revolution;
- 5) renders all-round assistance to the rural district, sub-district, district or city Party committees, regularly keeps them informed of its work and renders accounts of its work to them.

## *Section VII*

### **PARTY PENALTIES**

*Paragraph 48.* If a Party member or candidate member fails to carry out his duties as required by the Rules, decisions of the Party organizations and Party organs, if he violates discipline or fails to fulfil Party assignments, a meeting of the primary Party organization and Party committee may decide to impose on him the following penalties:

- reproof;
- reprimand;
- reprimand with entry in his registration card;
- reducing him from the status of Party member to that of candidate member;
- expulsion from the Party.

*Paragraph 49.* If a Party member or candidate member fails to pay membership dues for three consecutive months without good reason, or if he fails to attend Party meetings three times in succession without good reason, the primary Party organization must discuss his conduct and take a corresponding decision up to and including expulsion from the Party.

*Paragraph 50.* Decisions on imposing a reprimand with entry in the registration card are subject to approval by the corresponding rural district, sub-district, district, city and regional committee of the PDPA.

Decisions on reducing a Party member to candidate membership and on expulsion from the Party are subject to approval by the rural district, sub-district, district, city and regional Party committee, and to final approval by the provincial committee or the Party organ duly authorized by the PDPA Central Committee.

Other penalties are not subject to approval by higher Party committees.

*Paragraph 51.* When a Party organization discusses the imposing of a penalty on a Party member or candidate member, it must present specific charges.

If a Party member considers that the decision taken with regard to him is unfair, he has the right within a period of two months to appeal against it to a higher Party organ.

*Paragraph 52.* The question of expulsion from the Party is discussed at a general meeting of the primary Party organization. The decision of the primary Party organization is considered adopted if at least two-thirds of the Party members attending the meeting (which must be more than half the total membership of the particular organization) have voted for it.

The decision of the primary Party organization on expulsion from the Party takes effect after it has been approved by the rural district, sub-district, district, city, regional and finally by the provincial PDPA committee or another Party organ duly authorized by the PDPA Central Committee.

Until the decision on expulsion from the Party has been finally approved by the provincial committee the member or candidate member retains his membership or candidate membership card and has the right to attend Party meetings.

*Paragraph 53.* Expulsion from the Party is the extreme and most serious Party penalty. When the question of expelling a member from the Party is brought before a Party organization or organ, it must display maximum care and Party comradeship, thoroughly examine the circumstances of the case and the relevant papers, it must not permit bias, prejudice and other improper actions.

An expelled Party member has the right within a period of two months to appeal to the Party Control Commission under the PDPA Central Committee.

*Paragraph 54.* The question of imposing a Party penalty on a member of a rural district, sub-district, district, city, regional or provincial committee, as well as on a member of the auditing commissions of these Party organizations shall be decided by majority vote at a meeting of the Party committee concerned; a decision on reducing him to candidate membership or on expelling him from the Party is

considered adopted if at least two-thirds of the members of the Party committee concerned have voted for it.

*Paragraph 55.* If for some reason a Party member or candidate member intends to leave the Party, he must submit a written application to this effect to the primary Party organization and hand back his Party membership or candidate membership card to the secretary of the Party organization.

If it is found that the Party member or candidate member is guilty of a clear violation of the Rules, of Party discipline or of committing offences punishable under Party procedure the Party organization or Party organ has the right to take a decision on his expulsion from the Party.

The decision of a general meeting of the primary Party organization confirming the leaving of the Party by a Party member or candidate member is subject to approval by the rural district, sub-district, district, city and regional committee and to final approval by the provincial committee or another Party organ duly authorized by the PDPA Central Committee.

### *Section VIII*

## THE PARTY AND THE DEMOCRATIC YOUTH ORGANIZATION OF AFGHANISTAN

*Paragraph 56.* The People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan directs the work of the Democratic Youth Organization of Afghanistan which functions in close cooperation with Party organs and organizations as an independent and active assistant and reserve.

Working under the guidance of the Party the DYOA educates the youth in the spirit of scientific revolutionary theory, patriotism, and international working people's solidarity. It mobilizes the youth for active participation in the economic and social life of Afghanistan, in developing education, raising the cultural level of the people, and defending revolutionary transformations from the intrigues of the forces of reaction.

The provincial, regional, city, district, sub-district, and rural district committees of the PDPA, and primary Party organizations at all times render all-round aid to the corresponding organizations of the DYOA.

### *Section IX*

## PARTY ORGANIZATIONS IN THE ARMED FORCES OF AFGHANISTAN

*Paragraph 57.* In their work Party organizations in the Armed Forces of Afghanistan are guided by the PDPA Programme and Rules and function on the basis of instructions approved by the Central Committee.

The Party organizations in the Armed Forces secure the carrying out of PDPA policy in the army, educate the privates, sergeants and officers in the spirit of lofty moral principles and boundless devotion to the fatherland, the Party and the people of our country without impairment to the lofty ideals of the April Revolution, in the spirit of solidarity with the working people of the whole world; they cement the unity of the army and the people, strengthen military discipline and mobilize servicemen for raising the level of combat training and political education, for mastering weapons and other combat equipment.

Guidance of Party work in the Armed Forces, Tsarandoi and KhAD is effected by the Central Committee of the PDPA through the Chief Political Directorate of the Armed Forces which functions as a department of the Central Committee, and also through the political departments of Tsarandoi and KhAD.

### *Section X*

## **PARTY GROUPS AT CONFERENCES AND CONGRESSES OF NON-PARTY ORGANIZATIONS**

*Paragraph 58.* Party groups are formed at congresses, conferences and meetings conducted by the National Fatherland Front, trade unions, peasant cooperatives, the Democratic Youth Organization of Afghanistan, the Women's Democratic Organization of Afghanistan and other public organizations where there are at least three members of the PDPA. Their purpose is in every possible way to build up the influence of the Party and to conduct its policy among non-party people.

Such Party groups come under the corresponding Party organs: PDPA Central Committee, provincial, regional, city, district, sub-district and rural district committees of the PDPA.

In all matters Party groups in non-Party organizations must be unswervingly guided by the decisions of Party organs.

### *Section XI*

## **PARTY FUNDS**

*Paragraph 59.* The funds of the Party are formed of membership dues, admission fees, revenues from Party institutions and publications, the voluntary donations of Party members and other citizens to PDPA funds.

The size of membership dues and admission fees is determined by Instructions issued by the PDPA Central Committee.

Party committees spend the funds allocated to them by the PDPA Central Committee in accordance with their budget.

## THE PROGRAMME OF ACTION OF THE PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AFGHANISTAN

The People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) approved its first programme in 1966. In the period since then, a great historical event, namely, the victorious April Revolution, has triumphed and is successfully developing by the people's will and under the leadership of our Party. From an opposition organization, relatively small in number, subjected to repression by reactionary regimes and resorting to semi-legal, parliamentary and non-parliamentary, peaceful and armed forms of struggle, the PDPA has become a ruling Party, a recognized political vanguard of the working class and all the working people and a leading force in society and the state of Afghanistan. Afghanistan has embarked upon a course of national democratic transformations which constitutes a path of transition from backwardness to all-round development. The process of revolutionary changes in our country is irreversible and is advancing step by step. The path chosen by our country is in the fundamental interests of our people and reflects these interests.

The basic strategic task of the Party's first programme, namely, taking political power and initiating national democratic transformations, has been accomplished.

In accordance with the Guidelines for the Accomplishment of Revolutionary Tasks of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan published in May 1978 progressive social and economic reforms were proclaimed and began to be implemented and the national independence of our country was ensured.

The new important programme document, Theses of the PDPA Central Committee for the Second Anniversary of the April Revolution, passed in 1980, played a great positive role in the further development of the theoretical foundations and practical activities of the Party. Its substance is still valid today. In the period that has elapsed since the Theses were adopted our Party has gained new and valuable experience in directing social, economic and state affairs. This provides for a fuller and more concrete realization of ways to accomplish the most important tasks of today and tomorrow and to enhance the effectiveness of Party activities.

Our Party now needs a new programme document which should reflect the political experience of PDPA and the experience of present-day world development.

Our Party believes that in the present circumstances its main task and the task of the revolutionary government is, along with the defence of our dear fatherland, to carry on creative activities to improve the people's well-being and achieve all-round economic, social, and cultural progress in Afghanistan. This is why at its National

Conference held in Kabul on March 14, 1982, the PDPA has drafted and adopted this Programme of Action for the consistent and planned fulfilment of the overall tasks of the national democratic revolution in the DRA.

In its Programme of Action and all its activities the PDPA proceeds from the goals and sacred principles of peace, national independence, freedom and justice, equality and brotherhood, and all-round social progress, to which our people and their political vanguard, the PDPA, have always been and shall be loyal.

### *Chapter 1*

## THE NATURE OF THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION IN AFGHANISTAN

The PDPA is convinced that the eradication of backwardness and development towards all-round progress is possible only through revolutionary changes. Revolutionary theory teaches and international revolutionary experience testifies that an immediate transition from backwardness straight away to all-round progress is impossible. The eradication of backwardness requires a specific period of time and conscious efforts on the part of the people under the leadership of a revolutionary ruling party. An inevitable and imperative historical stage in this process is a national democratic revolution ensuring national progress through broad democratic changes.

Being a logical result of the lengthy struggle of the working people of Afghanistan for genuine emancipation from the age-old oppression by exploiters and the yoke of despotism and backwardness, the April Revolution was a national democratic revolution of an anti-feudal and anti-imperialist nature. It was a response to the mounting historical discontent of broad social forces, namely, the working class, peasants, intellectuals, the progressive sections of the armed forces and the Muslim clergy, of tribes and national minorities, to the selfish and reactionary policies of anti-popular regimes.

The victory of the revolution has put the following general democratic goals on the agenda: elimination of all the remnants of feudal and pre-feudal survivals, implementation of a democratic land reform through limiting big feudal estates and the allotment of land to landless peasants, peasant small-holders and farm labourers, raising the level of the national economy, raising the living standards of the people, the growth of the national cultures of the peoples of Afghanistan and democratization of political and social life. Anti-imperialist in nature, our revolution is at the same time national in character. For it reflects the national distinctions of the peoples, tribes and national minorities living in Afghanistan, their deep religious feelings and the differences in their traditions. The objective of our revolution, Party and state consists in solving pressing problems of national development in practice to the benefit of the masses of the people; eliminating actual national inequality inherited from the past; creating conditions for the gradual and further drawing closer together of nationalities, tribes and ethnic minorities on the basis of their

equality, economic and cultural development and common participation in the building of a new and blossoming Afghanistan.

The April National Democratic Revolution emancipated Afghanistan from the oppressive domination of feudal lords, compradores, corrupt high-ranking bureaucrats, sardars (chieftains) and usurers. Our country became a democratic country, whose destiny and path of development are determined by the people. This invaluable gain of the revolution must be defended with all our strength and resources. The land and water, which constitute the basic source of the life of the people, have been turned over to them. The former ruling circles that promised to distribute land and water to the peasants invariably cheated working Muslims and ignored their vital interests. The April Revolution put an end to such deception and set our working people on a radiant path of social development. It brought in its wake a real material and cultural regeneration of our dear fatherland.

The torrent of our revolution overthrew and rid the country of feudal lords, compradores, usurers, sardars and bureaucrats who had subjected the people of Afghanistan to oppression and lived at the expense of the people's sweat and blood. The revolutionary government proclaimed the equality of all the nationalities, tribes and minorities of Afghanistan and ensured equal rights for all the citizens of our country irrespective of their social, national, sex and religious status. For the first time in the history of our country women were really granted equal rights with men. The free observance of religious rites for Muslim believers was ensured and the state took responsibility for the welfare of the clergy and religious ulemas. The state began to show real concern for mosques and holy shrines. An extensive programme of new measures for improving the working and living conditions of the toiling classes was initiated. A nation-wide campaign for the elimination of illiteracy was started and the state sector of the economy began to gain strength. Representatives of broad democratic and patriotic circles for the first time had the real possibility of participating through their public and state organizations in the building of a new and prosperous Afghanistan. The name of Afghanistan rang proudly in the international arena. Its role within the non-aligned movement grew and its ties with progressive states were strengthened.

But our people are faced with tremendous difficulties on this new path in their life. The April National Democratic Revolution triumphed in the conditions of our backward country. At the present time it is developing in circumstances that demand the solution of a wider range of problems, as compared with some other countries. Apart from the common economic, social and cultural problems, religious, tribal and national questions must be solved.

From the very first days our revolution was confronted with the severe and increasing resistance of international imperialism and its allies who started extensive, coordinated armed interference in the affairs of our sacred country. To achieve their dirty ends they resorted to the help of stooges and mercenaries, including representatives of the ruling exploiting circles overthrown by our revolution, and likewise of some of our countrymen who were deceived by enemy propaganda.

The development of the April Revolution has never been without hindrance. The process of democratization of social life, the tackling of the heavy load of problems inherited from the past and of important social and economic transformations have been accompanied by serious blunders and miscalculations by the Party and state leadership. The major responsibility for them rests with Hafizullah Amin,

this traitor to the cause of the Party and the people, on whom our Party and people pronounced their judgement and whom they severely punished on December 27, 1979.

As a result of the above-mentioned factors many of the tasks set by the PDPA remained unfulfilled and the process of completing the changes which had been started for the benefit of the people was slowed down and delayed. With a firm hand, the Party barred the road to subjectivism and lawbreaking and categorically rejected attempts to by-pass the necessary stages of our national democratic revolution. At the same time it enriched its former thinking with regard to the unity of all the democratic and patriotic forces under the banner of the revolution with specific political substance and came forward as an organizer and founder of the National Fatherland Front. Parallel to this the Party was compelled to adapt all its activities to the changed conditions of the development of the revolution from a peaceful state to a war footing and to pay special attention to the defence of the revolutionary gains of the people from outside encroachments.

Not permitting any hastiness or closing of our eyes to reality, our Party at the same time does not intend to tolerate any slackening in the revolutionary transformations of Afghanistan. It will not allow any halts in the revolutionary process or replacement of revolutionary action by revolutionary phrase-mongering. The Party is firmly determined to improve the material conditions of the people gradually, to eradicate illiteracy, to develop education, public health and culture and to ensure stability and revolutionary law and order.

At the beginning, when the revolution had just been victorious, the main direction of our advance was determined. At the present time, with the rectification of subjectivist mistakes and the achievement of the necessary political maturity, this movement has gained a new and powerful impetus and is firmly advancing along the road the people have chosen.

Our Party analyzes the complex and manifold problems facing our fatherland from the standpoint of political realism. But not all the problems can be solved in the process of the national democratic revolution. The solution of many of them, such as the all-round growth of productive forces and the scientific and technical revolution, is possible at later and higher stages of social progress.

## *Chapter 2*

### THE POLITICAL GOALS AND TASKS OF THE PDPA

#### 1

The PDPA proclaims the following to be its main political goals and tasks:  
Further all-round consolidation and development of the gains of the revolution of April 27 and the revolutionary power of the working class and all the working people;

Defence of the state sovereignty, territorial integrity and national independence of our country, the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan;

Routing of the forces of counter-revolution which with the extensive assistance and support of international imperialism, hegemonism and regional reaction are attempting to dismember our country, to deprive our people of freedom and to restore the power of oppressors and exploiters overthrown and rejected by the Afghan people;

Ensuring of conditions of lasting and inviolable peace throughout the territory of Afghanistan in which all citizens of our country will be able to work and live in an atmosphere of tranquillity for the benefit of their country and their own good, and solve controversial problems and conflicts jointly without resorting to the use of force and arms, in an atmosphere of trust, cooperation and brotherhood.

## 2

The basis of working people's political power in Afghanistan is the alliance of workers and peasants with the support and participation of all the working people and all the true patriots, soldiers and officers of the revolutionary armed forces, craftsmen, businessmen and merchants, religious figures and esteemed personalities of all the nationalities, tribes and minorities of the country.

The PDPA regards as one of its priority tasks ensuring wide and active participation of the working people and all the democratic, progressive and patriotic forces of Afghan society in the national democratic and anti-feudal changes being carried out by the DRA Revolutionary Council and in the defence of the country and the April Revolution.

In the sphere of leading the state the Party will consistently pursue the following goals:

The uninterrupted and effective functioning of state organs in the capital and the provinces for fulfilling the specific tasks of the April Revolution;

The expansion and deepening of the principle of democratic centralism in the activities of state organs by way of correct combination of centralized leadership with the constructive activities of local organs, mass organizations and all working people;

The democratization of state power and its organs, the expansion and consolidation of their ties with the people and their functioning in conformity with the demands and requirements of compatriots;

The appointment to the posts in the state apparatus of patriotic and competent officials faithful to the revolution;

The complete eradication of the relics of former systems, such as bribery, the embezzlement of public funds, bureaucracy, nepotism and high-handedness in all the institutions of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan;

Enhancement of the role and responsibility of party organs in the fulfilment of the tasks involved in the consolidation of people's government in the provinces and in the solution of urgent problems important to the people.

The People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan considers it to be its sacred duty and obligation to defend like the apple of its eye the security of our beloved Afghanistan and to protect the gains of the revolution, the life and peaceful labour of our compatriots. With this aim in view and in order to put a firm stop to the attempts of the imperialist forces and their allies to rob our people of the freedom which they won at such great cost, the PDPA will concentrate its constant attention on questions of the overall strengthening of the armed forces of the republic and of raising their combat capability and combat readiness. The PDPA and the revolutionary government will resolutely pursue a policy towards making the armed forces a reliable shield for the defence of the revolution and its gains and a true faithful servant of our proud and industrious people, a policy of rallying the armed forces around the PDPA and the government of the DRA, of educating them in the spirit of bravery, courage, heroism and unbounded loyalty to the ideals of the revolution.

The modern armed forces of Afghanistan are an army of a new type. It defends the revolution and the people's power born of it. The nature of the army springs from the social nature of our revolutionary state which determines its aims and thus makes it a powerful defender of the interests of the people of Afghanistan. In the new armed forces of Afghanistan soldiers are treated as compatriots with equal rights, respected members of society and dedicated defenders of their country.

In the course of the successful revolution service in units of the armed forces and all-round cooperation with them is the honourable and noble obligation of each patriotic member of society. Furthermore, the armed forces are not only a school of military training, but also a school of general, political and internationalist education and a school of national economic cadres.

The Party and the revolutionary people's power will continue to work constantly to consolidate the armed forces serving the people, the frontier forces, the militia and security forces, to train for them reliable cadres loyal to the cause of the people and the revolution and to supply them with modern equipment and materiel. They will work to raise the level of their military and political training and to improve their material conditions. The PDPA will pay special attention to picking and training commanding personnel from among workers and peasants, from among the best sons of the people.

The organization and further strengthening of the armed forces of the DRA proceed under the leadership of the PDPA. Primary Party organizations are performing an active and leading role in all sections of the armed forces. The PDPA will enhance in every way the authority of commanders and work for close cooperation between commanding and political cadres in the armed forces in order to enable them to fulfil their task of ensuring complete security of the fatherland. It will also work to consolidate the ties between the armed forces and the people. Its aim is to make the cause of defence of the revolution and the security of the country and the people the cause of the whole Party and the whole people.

Taking note of this, the Party considers it essential:

To establish a single integrated system of defence of the revolution and the people, composed of the army, the frontier forces, the militia and the security organs, detachments of defenders of the revolution and volunteer tribal groups;

To ensure effective Party leadership and control of the work of this system as a whole;

To achieve coordination and cooperation between the components of this system.

At a time when the enemies of the revolution are endeavouring to push our country back into its past and halt the development of Afghanistan toward progress and prosperity, the Party urges all patriots to unite more than ever before and to stand up for the defence of the gains of the revolution.

Our people must realize that if their living conditions are not improving as fast as they would like the main reason for it are the actions of bandits and counter-revolutionaries supported from abroad by the bitterest enemies of our country, the imperialists.

#### 4

As a Party of a new type and the vanguard of the working class and all working people of Afghanistan, the PDPA regards as its prime obligation constantly to develop, expand and consolidate its ties with the toiling masses and all the democratic, patriotic and national forces of our society.

The new political system in the country, which is an expression of the democratic nature of the revolution and the new social and state structure, is a gain of the April Revolution. In addition to state organs, this system also includes the National Fatherland Front, the basis of working people's power in the DRA, which is working and fighting under the leadership of the PDPA.

The National Fatherland Front unites all political, religious, public, professional, cultural and economic organizations which express both the common and specific vital interests of vast masses of the people of our country, including workers, peasants, nomads, armymen, ulemas, intellectuals, artisans, traders, national businessmen, youth and women, and all the nationalities and tribes of Afghanistan.

The Party considers it its task, along with further consolidating state power, to improve the functioning of the new social and political system as a whole. It will devote special attention to strengthening cooperation between the state apparatus, the National Fatherland Front and all mass public organizations.

The Party will continue to improve the forms and methods of work of trade unions, cooperatives, youth and women's democratic organizations, unions of creative workers and other working people's organizations. It will give full assistance to consolidating them organizationally, improving their work and developing their initiative. Each member of the PDPA working in public organizations should spare no effort to contribute to their growth and consolidation. His duty is to work to heighten the revolutionary zeal and creative initiative of the masses, to help in the political education of the members of these organizations and to draw them into active struggle to carry out the tasks of the April Revolution. In the final analysis this work will help to extend the social basis of the revolution and to consolidate the revolutionary democratic system in the country and to increase the influence and authority of the PDPA.

## *Chapter 3*

### SOCIAL POLICY OF THE PDPA

#### 1

#### On the Social Structure of Our Society

Following the success of the April Revolution and as a result of the effort by the PDPA and people's government to implement national democratic transformations, profound changes have taken place and are now continuing in the social sphere. An end has been put to the political, social and economic domination of big landowners, compradors, high-ranking corrupt officials, merchants and userers. Land and water reforms are being carried out which will considerably improve the life of landless peasants and peasant small holders, nomads, herdsman and farm labourers, within a comparatively short historical period of time. The state sector in industry and transport is expanding and gaining strength.

In the course of these transformations not only the material and cultural living conditions of people of different classes, social strata and groups, nationalities and tribes are changing but also the relations between them. This is the basis on which the unity of all the national, patriotic forces of Afghanistan will grow richer and stronger, a fact to which a number of objective and subjective factors will also contribute.

The social and economic structure of our society has not been strongly affected by capitalist relationships.

While creating national patriotic unity at the stage of the national democratic revolution, the Party makes use of the resulting opportunity to draw into the common cause of building a happy and prosperous Afghanistan all businessmen of patriotic leanings, traders, artisans, tribal chieftains, ulemas and mullahs—all who are prepared to make their contribution to this noble cause.

In implementing its social policy our Party bases itself on a concrete, scientific and objective analysis of the structure of modern Afghan society and its main component forces.

#### The Working Class

Though it is comparatively small, Afghanistan's working class has traditions of professional organization and class struggle. Since in our country big industry was mostly confined to the state sector from the very beginning, the level of concentration of Afghan industrial workers is rather high.

As a result of the April Revolution the working class was freed from the exploitation of bourgeois-landowner regimes and transformed into a class which is the collective owner of the means of production in the state sector. In unity with the peasants it now constitutes the main social force of the new state.

Our Party and revolutionary government will continue to strive so that the workers in the state sector in the conditions of the national democratic revolution should be the best organized and the fastest growing force. This will be promoted by the economic policy of the Party and the state directed to creating a strong and

dynamically developing industrial base and to consolidating and expanding the state sector. The quantitative and qualitative development of Afghanistan's working class brought about by this policy will increasingly influence all spheres of social life and consistently strengthen the leading role of the Party.

Our Party attaches special importance to the development of the working class movement under the leadership of the Central Council of Trade Unions of Afghanistan which is to exert a beneficial influence on the living conditions of workers in the state, mixed and private sectors and to increase the contribution of the working class to the building of a new society in the DRA. The Party will take all the appropriate measures to consolidate trade unions organizationally, expand the vocational training system and improve the working and living conditions of the workers.

The Party will continue to make constant efforts to raise the ideological, political, professional, general educational and cultural level of the Afghan working class and to enhance its role in society, in the struggle to develop production and also in the exercise of real political power. The PDPA will always pursue a policy of admitting to its ranks the best representatives of the working class. It will consolidate the unity of the working class, the peasants and all working people and considers this to be an essential condition for building a new society in Afghanistan.

### The Peasants

Peasants constitute the overwhelming majority of the population of Afghanistan. They are the largest force participating in the revolutionary restructuring of our society.

The revolution is abolishing the feudal system and remnants of feudalism, delivering the peasants from age-old heavy exploitation and arbitrary rule by the state and the landowners, and from the oppression of usury. The policy of the Party and the revolutionary government is to give the peasants land and water, provide them with credits and implements, increase the supply of manufactured goods to them and facilitate the marketing of their own produce, as well as steadily to improve their living standards and raise their cultural and general educational level. Measures are also envisaged to increase agricultural production thereby ensuring the growth of the peasants' real incomes.

In drafting its agrarian policy the Party takes account of popular traditions and the sacred principles of Islam. Through the distribution of land and water, formerly owned by exploiters and usurers, to the needy and the poor and to peasants with large families in a rational way, by fixing a land tenure maximum and in conformity with the holy principles of Islam, the revolution is realizing the century-old dream of all peasants about social justice and about land and water for all. It helps to draw peasants into organization of cooperatives on a voluntary basis. In this way, for the first time in the history of our country the peasants are provided with the opportunity to work as free people, for themselves and for the good of society of which they are honoured and respected members.

The terrorist bands of mercenaries supported by imperialists and the remains of the exploiter classes, are striving to hinder the transformations, above all, the land and water reforms, that are being carried out by the Party and the revolutionary government in the interests of the mass of all the peasants.

Relying on the peasants themselves and with their full support the Party and the revolutionary government will take the necessary measures to rout the forces of the armed intervention.

### The Intelligentsia

The intelligentsia plays a significant and responsible role in the life of Afghan society and the development of the revolutionary movement. The intelligentsia, including the military intelligentsia, has always been and is in the forefront of our country's revolutionary renovation. Today a considerable, the best part of our country's intelligentsia has adopted the progressive, revolutionary ideology of our time. This section of the intelligentsia is striving to serve the interests and the will of the working people and to help raise their political, general educational and cultural level. The other section of the intelligentsia, those who did not and could not sever their ties with the exploiting classes, have taken the path of struggle against the revolution and the people and of collusion with the forces of imperialism and reaction, thus cutting the ground from under their own feet and condemning themselves to political and moral defeat.

In the future, owing to the purposeful efforts of the Party and people's government, the role and importance of the intelligentsia will increase, it will be joined by the best representatives of the working people and, above all, the workers, peasants and soldiers, and will grow into a much more influential social force. The objective need to accomplish the cultural revolution in our country and to prepare to achieve all-round technical, scientific and cultural progress requires further enhancement of the role of the intelligentsia, its rallying around the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and the revolutionary government and its greater contribution to the economic, cultural and spiritual development of the country.

The Party is confident that the Afghan intelligentsia will always be loyal to its revolutionary and patriotic traditions, will faithfully serve the lofty goals of the April Revolution and will make a worthy contribution to accomplishing its tasks.

### Traders and Artisans

The People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan is pursuing a principled policy to achieve a stable, lasting and honest cooperation with traders and artisans in the interests of the popular masses and in their own interests, provided that they respect and strictly observe the Fundamental Principles of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and the laws based on them. All small producers, artisans and traders may rest assured that the Party and the revolutionary government are vitally interested in the development of their productive and commercial activities. The Party and government believe that all the resources of small producers, traders and owners of means of transport can and must serve to improve the supply of essential goods to the population and should be extensively used alongside government measures taken for the same purpose. In this sense they will really become active participants in the April National Democratic Revolution and will remain such throughout its duration.

Being aware of the role of artisans in the consumer goods production and of traders in the exchange of goods and commodities, the Party will assist them in

promoting their economic activities and will encourage different forms of cooperation among them.

### National Businessmen

In its development the Afghan national capital has not reached the stage when monopolies and parasitic comprador families come into being and when big national capital merges with international imperialist monopolies. National capital in Afghanistan basically consists of owners of small and medium-sized businesses, who are also interested in ending our country's backwardness and ensuring its progress. As for representatives of big capital in Afghanistan, connected with feudal and landowner circles, they have shared the fate of these exploiters, left the country and joined the counter-revolutionary and anti-Afghan forces abroad.

The revolutionary government provides the necessary economic and legal foundations for the long-term, effective and mutually beneficial cooperation between the private sector and the national businessmen on the one hand and the state on the other, both in the framework of the mixed sector and in the form of individual partnership. The revolutionary state renders the national businessmen of the private sector assistance and protection in the face of competition from imperialist monopolies and foreign capital, and it intends to continue doing so in the future. National businessmen have been provided with the opportunity to express their particular interests in the National Fatherland Front through the Economic Consultative Council.

From the private sector the state expects not only complete and unconditional observance of the laws regulating its activities, but also a conscientious approach to the problems and needs of the state and society and its participation in solving these problems by investing in particular projects and by assisting in their realization on a mutually beneficial basis. The effectiveness of such cooperation should, in the final analysis, find expression in the joint building and joint exploitation of industrial projects, roads, housing and transport, in creating new jobs, improving the supply of essential goods to the population, stabilizing the prices and achieving a general national economic advance.

## 2

### The Youth

The Party believes that the main direction in its work among the youth should consist in securing greater unity of the masses of the young people around the PDPA and the Democratic Youth Organization of Afghanistan (DYOA), its militant assistant and reliable reserve force. Party guidance of the revolutionary youth movement is the main source of strength and a guarantee of the movement's successful development. Party organizations should constantly and persistently direct the DYOA organizations in their effort to involve the masses of the young people in political, production and defence work and raise the level of their ideological and political education.

The Democratic Youth Organization of Afghanistan should enhance its role

and influence among the Afghan youth, educate and bring them together on the basis of unity of the national patriotic forces for the progress and blossoming of the country, mobilize and direct their creative energy to fulfilling the tasks of the national democratic revolution, develop their political awareness in the spirit of patriotism and internationalism, and lead the campaign to abolish illiteracy among young people.

The DYOA must work among all sections of the youth, relying, above all, on working young people. It must intensify its work among the peasants and help them to raise their political and general educational level. An important task set before the organization is constantly to increase its ideological and political influence on students and all the young servicemen in the armed forces, the militia and KhAD. The Democratic Youth Organization of Afghanistan should show constant concern for the Pioneer Organization of Afghanistan, render it effective assistance and bring up children in the spirit of loyalty to the fatherland and the revolution.

The fine young people of Afghanistan are the reliable support of the Party in its struggle to accomplish the revolutionary transformations, strengthen people's power and build up its defence.

### 3

## The Position of Women in Afghanistan

For the first time in the history of the country the victory of the April Revolution provided real opportunities for the active participation of women in building a new society and eliminating the historical causes of their backwardness, illiteracy and inactivity. Drawing women to participate in economic, social and political and cultural life will considerably accelerate the country's social development and expand the social basis of the revolution and people's power. At the same time it will enable the Afghan woman herself to participate in full measure in the life of society and the state.

The Party considers it urgently necessary for this purpose steadily to enhance the role and importance of the Democratic Organization of Afghan Women in the country's social life and regards the activities of this organization as a basic means of involving women in social and political work.

The Democratic Organization of Afghan Women must assist women in exercising and safeguarding the rights granted to them by the revolutionary legislation and in providing opportunities for revealing their talents and employing their creative abilities in building a new society. It must pay special attention to eliminating illiteracy among women, heightening their political awareness and raising the level of their general and vocational education and their cultural standards; it must provide correct guidance in questions of the internal and external situation of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, inform them of the affairs of the world democratic women's movement and assist them in every way in bringing up the country's new generation properly.

## The PDPA Policy in Regard to the Question of Nationalities, Ethnic Groups and Tribes

The April Revolution triumphed in the name of the all-round progress of our united fatherland and the welfare, happiness and flourishing of all the nationalities, ethnic groups and tribes living in Afghanistan. The gains of the revolution belong to all the patriots of Afghanistan, no matter where they were born and to what nationality, national minority or tribe they belong.

The revolutionary government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan is the first in the long history of the country that is determined to ensure real equality for all the nationalities, ethnic groups and tribes and to provide them with equal opportunities for material and spiritual development and for participation in social and state affairs, in carrying out revolutionary transformations and defending our dear country.

Due to a variety of historical, geographical, linguistic, ethnic and other conditions, the population of Afghanistan is not nationally homogeneous. But the common objective necessity of ensuring the all-round progress and development of all the nationalities, ethnic groups and tribes of Afghanistan gives rise to and accelerates the process of drawing them closer together, of cooperation, mutual understanding and feelings of friendship and brotherhood among them.

The Party and the revolutionary government are aware of the fact that one of the most important obstacles to achieving real equality of nationalities, ethnic groups and tribes are the uneven levels of their economic, social and cultural development, which they have inherited from the reactionary regimes of the past. Therefore, the government intends to pay special attention to priority development of the backward regions of the republic.

In the field of national and tribal relationships the Party sets the following tasks:

- pursuance of a consistent policy towards enhancing the social and political activity of the nationalities, ethnic groups and tribes. All the nationalities, ethnic groups and tribes will be ensured just and equal representation through their best members in all the state and party organs, in the National Fatherland Front and all its mass public organizations, both in the capital and the provinces. In regions where the majority of the inhabitants belong to a particular nationality, ethnic group or tribe, they will be duly represented in state and public organizations and their leading organs. At the same time the civil rights of those nationalities, ethnic groups and tribes who are in the minority in the region concerned are to be safeguarded and observed;

- implementation of economic and financial measures to improve the supply of prime necessities to them and facilitate the marketing of their traditional produce, while establishing fair prices on it;

- protection and development of all that is best and most valuable in the culture, traditions, language, literature and folklore of all the nationalities, ethnic groups and tribes, and ensuring that all who study have the right to study in their mother tongue, according to their own free choice;

- radical solution of the nationalities question on the basis of equality and

brotherhood, without permitting any discrimination or establishing privileges and with due consideration for the interests, requirements and rights of all the nationalities, ethnic groups and tribes, including Pashtuns, Tajiks, Uzbeks, Hazaras, Turkmens, Baluchis, Nuristanis and others;

the PDPA and the DRA government recognize and deeply respect the role and importance of the Pashtun tribes in the history of our country and in defending its borders. They also respect their traditions and way of life and pursue towards them a policy of trust, peace and cooperation, which, in conformity with the goals of the April Revolution, is aimed at:

establishing and maintaining peace and tranquillity in the regions populated by the Pashtun tribes;

activizing the work of the tribal jirgahs (councils);

defending the honour, security and inviolability of the life and property of each family and each individual living in tribal regions;

improving living and working conditions for all the Pashtun tribes, and every family and each individual in the tribal regions;

improving the state of pasturelands and allotting them to nomad tribes; making easier conditions for the traditional migration of nomad tribes and giving them all-round assistance in the sphere of education and in their social and cultural development; and

observing the noble traditions and democratic freedoms of the tribes and all the other peoples of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

The Party and the revolutionary government are urging patriots of all nationalities and tribes of Afghanistan to unite on the common platform of struggle and work for the progress, prosperity and welfare of our country.

## 5

### The Policy of the Party in Relation to Religion

The People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan firmly believes that as a profoundly national and democratic revolution, the April Revolution reflects the deep striving and need of the working Muslim masses of Afghanistan for social justice and equality.

The experience of Islamic countries, such as the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria, Syria, Libya, the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen and, lastly, the experience of Afghanistan itself, proves that revolutionary transformations do not contradict the social substance of Islam and its historic call for justice, equality and the abolition of the exploitation of man by man. On the contrary, they provide the necessary conditions for the practical realization of these tenets in accordance with the historical aspirations of the toiling Muslim masses and on the basis of a correct understanding and application of the values of Islam. Only the enemies of our fatherland and of Islam can seek to sow discord in the single Muslim community, to set Sunnites and Shiites against each other and so to damage their honour and dignity and undermine the national unity of our people.

The People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan solemnly declares that in the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan all the rights and freedoms of the Muslims and

ulemas, true patriots of our country, are guaranteed and protected. The state grants the freedom of religious activities to all religious institutions, religious figures and believers and supports their efforts to achieve social justice and equality of all Muslims in public, economic and cultural life.

The Democratic Republic of Afghanistan takes constant care of mosques and other religious institutions, protects the mazars and other places sacred to the Muslims, gives Muslim clergy freedom of activity, assists Muslims wishing to go on a pilgrimage to Mecca or other holy cities and respects all Muslim feasts and remembrance days.

In accordance with the sacred principles of Islam, in our country there is complete freedom to profess any other religion and perform other religious rites so long as they are not contrary to the principles of humanism and do not threaten the security of our society.

But the PDPA and the DRA government will never be reconciled to the efforts of the enemies of our revolution and the people to use the sacred religion of Islam in order to divert Afghanistan from her chosen path. We are proving in practice that social and national progress is not incompatible with Islam, but that it is the criminal activities of those elements who do not wish or are incapable of appreciating the truth of Islam, which go against Islam. Those who are opposed to social progress are also opposed to the social essence of Islam. This fact is confirmed by the experience of those Islamic countries where regimes linked with imperialism and reaction are in power.

The Party will continue consistently to pursue its clear-cut policy of respect for the religious feelings of our Muslim people.

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In the social sphere the PDPA sets itself the following tasks:

to spare no effort to improve the working and living conditions of the working class, peasants, intelligentsia, artisans and all working people of the country;

in accordance with the principle that work in the interests of our fatherland is the honourable duty of every citizen, to create new jobs in industry, agriculture, construction and transport;

to attain that general level of wages for the working people which, in conformity with the ideals of social justice and equality, takes account of the quantity and quality of work, as well as to enforce the principle of equal pay for women and men for equal work;

to promote the all-round development and expansion of the state network of hospitals, clinics, pharmacies and first-aid centres, and provide free medical aid for working people in the low-income category both in the cities and the countryside;

to introduce a state system of life and health insurance for the working people throughout the country and to expand the state system of social security and pensions for the aged and the disabled; to establish a system of labour safety and protection, as well as a system of mother and child care, including a system of nurseries and kindergartens; to grant aid, first and foremost, to the families of servicemen and other compatriots who perished while defending the gains of the

April Revolution and our beloved country, and also to those who were disabled in action or while working for the country in the rear,

to strive for the full eradication of discrimination and infringement of people's rights on the basis of race, nationality, tribe, sex, religion, social origin or property status when settling questions of appointment to a job, of promotion, or of fixing salaries or retirement pensions, and

to promote large scale construction of housing for workers and other categories of working people and improve communal services

Provided the conditions are favourable, the Party will make use of every possibility to extend these programme measures in the social sphere and to accelerate their implementation for the good of our people.

The Party is convinced that fulfilment of the set tasks in their entirety will enable our society to attain a higher level of material and cultural development. People will live better, they and their children will become literate and enjoy better opportunities in the spheres of education and health protection. Hence, there will be greater mutual understanding and stronger patriotic unity between the diverse social and national forces, strata and groups of population, and they will rally even closer around the PDPA. All this will enable us in the future to pass over to a higher social stage in the development of our revolution

#### *Chapter 4*

### **ECONOMIC POLICY**

#### **1**

The major objective the Party and the revolutionary government wish to achieve by their constructive work in the economic sphere is, on the basis of support and involvement of the broad masses of the people, to end economic backwardness, restore national production and accelerate the pace of its development, thereby laying the foundation for raising the living standards of all the people of Afghanistan

The Party is firmly convinced that the historical backwardness and state of underdevelopment of Afghanistan the result of age-old domination of feudal and pre feudal relationships—can be overcome. The people of Afghanistan are industrious and talented. The country possesses large natural resources, a sufficient amount of fertile land, only less than half of which has been so far put to use. The Party is confident that in the foreseeable future our fatherland can and must become an economically developed country with a diversified industry and a strong and highly productive agriculture, a country whose citizens will be well to-do and literate and will be highly developed politically and culturally.

Therefore the economic strategy of the Party is to ensure a planned growth of the productive forces, a gradual rebuilding of the multiform economic structure, improvement of the working people's living standards and consolidation of the defence capacity of the country. This is where the Party is fighting its main battle for Afghanistan's better and happier future

## The Tasks in the Spheres of Industry, Energy, Transport and Communications

The Party considers that its most pressing task in the coming period is the speedy restoration of factories and mills, mines, works and power stations, and transport and communications services, whose work has been disrupted as a result of criminal activities of the forces of internal and external counter-revolution. At the same time it deems it necessary to develop industry and its branches to meet the country's requirements for the means of production, plant, chemical fertilizer and farm implements on the one hand and for consumer goods on the other. Attention will be focussed on the development of the state sector and on making it the industrial base of revolutionary Afghanistan.

In this connection the Party and government consider it necessary: on the basis of rational utilization of all the country's resources and of extensive application of achievements of modern science and technology, as well as by making use of the advantages of complex state planning, to achieve a steady increase in the volume of industrial production through rapidly developing the state and mixed sectors, encouraging the setting up of cooperative enterprises and promoting production by private sector establishments and handicraft workshops;

to ensure accelerated development of the branches of industry connected with the power and fuel supply complex and with the industrial raw material base; to start production at new oil and gas fields; to begin the construction of an oil refinery, the development of the Ainak copper deposits, the Sangalan barite deposits in Herat, and several new building materials enterprises in order to be able to meet the bulk of capital construction needs on the basis of national production;

to build new light and food industry enterprises and to encourage national private capital to take part in the construction of fast-recouping small and medium-sized processing factories, in the development of new food industry projects and in consumer goods production;

to secure production growth at all functioning plants and factories through making a fuller and more rational use of existing capacities and raw materials, as well as through reconstruction and modernization of enterprises;

comprehensively to develop and improve the national power supply base by expanding and modernizing existing and constructing new power stations and transmission lines; to draw up a long-term plan for a power grid in Afghanistan on the basis of comprehensive utilization of all the country's fuel and energy resources;

to step up geological prospecting for new minerals throughout the territory of Afghanistan;

to improve the siting of the productive forces and gradually to level up the social and economic development of the provinces;

to conduct feasibility studies for developing the country's transport and provide for a speedy establishment of state motor transport organizations; to build motor transport servicing and repair stations, as well as road building and repair establishments; to promote private motor transport; to carry out surveying and designing for and to start the construction of a railway line in the north of the country;

to improve reception of radio and television broadcasts, telephone and other communications services; to ensure reliable telephone and telegraph services between Kabul and the provinces; to draw up a plan for and start the construction of radio-relay facilities in the most important parts of the country; and  
to promote the revival and development of national handicrafts.

The Party and government believe that the development of industries, transport and communications should be oriented towards creating a single economic complex capable of resolving both immediate and long-term tasks of economic progress of Afghanistan.

### 3

## In the Sphere of Agriculture and Livestock Breeding

In its agrarian policy the PDPA proceeds from the conviction that only through the abolition of the feudal system can the way be paved for the growth of productive forces, for ushering in a system on the basis of which the peasants will be able directly to benefit from the fruits of their own labour, and for raising the level of agricultural production in the interests of society and in their own interests.

The Party and the revolutionary government are determined to continue to pursue a policy towards a democratic solution of the land question with the direct participation of working peasants. The new relationships in agriculture ensure a reasonable limitation of land-holdings and serve one aim: to create conditions in the countryside that will conform to the principles of social justice and the sacred religion of Islam. The toiling peasants will be allotted plots of land sufficient to ensure a decent life for themselves and their families. The state guarantees the right of property in land and will give every assistance to landowners so that they can manage their farms effectively and increase the production of marketable commodities.

The land belongs to the people and for that reason the people's government will take effective measures to develop new lands, expand the sown area and build irrigation systems at state expense; it will establish state farms in reclaimed areas thereby improving the supply of foodstuffs to the population and raw materials to industry and demonstrating to the working people the advantages of large-scale mechanized production.

In order to carry out the set tasks the following measures should be carried out in agriculture:

to continue implementing the land reform adhering to the principles of social justice and legality as regards distribution and utilization of land, water and revenues from the agricultural produce;

to give the peasants all-round support by granting them credits and rendering technical, agronomical and veterinary assistance, essential for improving efficiency of crop farming and livestock breeding, and introducing up-to-date farming methods; to increase the supply of farm machinery, implements, chemical fertilizers, better grades of seed and highly productive breeds of livestock, by setting up a wide network of state farm machinery stations, veterinary service centres, centres for

plant protection and pest control; special assistance should be given to peasants who have been allotted plots in the course of the land reform;

to strengthen in every way existing and establish new supply and marketing and producer cooperatives of working peasants and nomads on a strictly voluntary basis, regarding such cooperatives as a promising form of agricultural production and as a means of drawing peasants into social and political activities;

to outline and implement a programme for developing and consolidating state farms with the aim of increasing the state resources of wheat, raw cotton, sugar beet, citrus fruit, oil-bearing crops, milk and meat and producing graded seed and pedigree cattle;

to expand the production of agricultural implements on a national basis while also increasing the import of tractors and other farm machinery in order to accelerate mechanization of agriculture;

to draft a long-term plan for developing and irrigating new lands and improving the water supply and cultivation on now irrigated lands; and

to draft and carry out measures designed to help the nomads in improving veterinary services and facilities for the sale of their products; to assist nomads in their voluntary settlement through distribution of land, forming livestock-breeding producer and consumer and marketing cooperatives, the granting of credits and other assistance for the building of housing and production premises.

Taking account of the major share the agricultural sector occupies in the country's economy and its great importance in regard to the development of Afghanistan, the Party has been devoting serious and constant attention to this sector and will take all the necessary measures for increasing agricultural production and improving the life of the peasants.

#### 4

### In the Spheres of Planning, Financial Affairs and Commerce

The Party and the people's government are convinced that the most important condition for accelerating the pace of economic growth and ending the backwardness of the country is drafting and implementing scientifically-grounded short-term and long-term plans for social and economic development. Therefore the planned guidance of the growth of the state sector in the country's economy should be strengthened. At the same time use should be made of economic levers, such as monetary, fiscal, customs and credit policies, and the prices policy for regulating the development of the private sector in the spheres of industry, transport, services and commerce.

In this connection the Party outlines the following urgent tasks:

enhancing the role of the state plans for social and economic development in guiding the national economy and heightening the responsibility of ministries, departments, state enterprises, Party organizations and the trade unions for the timely and full implementation of plans;

systematic improvement of economic guidance and administration at all levels with the improvement of the functioning of government machinery, the strengthen-

ing of state discipline and heightening the responsibility of officials for work entrusted to them;

taking measures for improving the country's financial system so that taxation, customs and credit policies and the distribution of budgetary allocations help accelerate economic growth bringing about progressive changes in the structure of the national economy, the development of the state and cooperative sectors, the increasing of activity in the private sector, and the constant improvement of bank activities;

ensuring correct and rational utilization of the budget, strict observance of state monetary discipline, stepping up the struggle for thrift and economic efficiency and for barring any squandering and lavish spending;

improving the system of direct and indirect taxation in conformity with the principles of social justice and equality;

exercising permanent and effective control of the prices of food and industrial goods of prime necessity, expanding and improving the state wholesale trade, help in creating and consolidating consumer and marketing cooperatives;

strengthening and improving the system of state control over foreign trade and currency transactions; promoting the expansion of the state sector in home and foreign trade; encouraging national traders who are active in the private sector of domestic and foreign trade, and defending them against the competition of imperialist monopolies and big foreign financial interests; helping national entrepreneurs in the economic utilization of the accumulated funds; ensuring the permanent growth of the export of national products, the efficient use of the economic aid, the active securing of loans and aid from foreign countries and international organizations and the expansion of cooperation with these countries and international organizations on a fair and equal basis.

## *Chapter 5*

### **THE PARTY'S TASKS IN THE SPHERE OF IDEOLOGICAL WORK, EDUCATION, CULTURE AND SCIENCE**

The spiritual development of the people and the ensuring of opportunities for the development of culture and science in the country is one of the most important tasks of the Party. On the basis of the transformations accomplished so far, strong blows have been dealt to the ideological positions of feudalism and firm strides are being taken towards ending national disunity. The working people's political awareness is being heightened and their patriotic unity is being consolidated. Measures are being taken to heighten the political awareness of the young generation and the broad masses of the people on the basis of the wide propagation of revolutionary theory and progressive gains of the national culture of our country and world culture. On the initiative of the Party a nation-wide campaign has been launched to abolish illiteracy and it is expanding.

The party considers that ideological work must be stepped up and made more active among the mass of the people in accordance with the needs of the revolution.

The wide propagation of political and scientific ideas among workers, peasants,

soldiers, non-commissioned officers and officers of the armed forces, and the expansion of education and training among the people should be closely linked with educating the people in a true revolutionary spirit and ensuring the active and conscientious participation of the masses in carrying out the current revolutionary transformations and the defence of these transformations. The working people should be helped to understand in practice the goals and tasks facing the revolution, to adopt a correct standpoint on domestic and international events and conscientiously participate in building a new life in the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. Ideological work should be stepped up particularly among the peasants, who form the majority of the country's population. Comprehensible forms and methods of this work should be elaborated and implemented; the role of oral and visual propaganda and campaigning should be enhanced and the mass media activities reviewed with this aim in mind. It is important that those working in our country's ideological institutions should be able promptly and effectively to expose the poisonous ideological activities of the enemies of the April Revolution and to use comprehensible forms of propaganda work.

The fostering in the working people of a spirit of love for the homeland, of national unity and patriotism, loyalty to the ideas of social progress and international solidarity, of irreconcilability to the vestiges of feudalism and to bourgeois and nationalist ideologies is among our most important tasks.

The Party and the revolutionary government attach great importance to the efforts of people working in the sphere of education, literature and the arts and will constantly and steadily work for improving the conditions for their activities which are of signal importance for the country's present and future generations.

In the sphere of learning, public education and science the Party considers fulfilment of the following tasks to be urgent:

- to eradicate illiteracy among the population and achieve an all-round rise in the level of education, culture and technical professional skill of the masses of the people;

- to achieve as soon as possible the transition to the general elementary education;

- to assist the expansion of teaching in the mother tongue of every region's population in the schools;

- to provide necessary conditions for teaching children of nomads;

- to broaden and raise the qualifications of school teachers and lecturers at institutions of higher and specialized secondary education;

- to raise the quality of teaching in the schools and institutes of higher and specialized education for training loyal and skilled cadres for the country's national economy; and

- to develop natural and social sciences in the country so that its progress in the social, economic and cultural fields could be based on the latest achievements of science and technology.

In the field of culture and the arts the Party sets the following tasks:

- to promote the development of the arts, literature and national folklore, the preservation of everything in the rich cultural heritage of the peoples of our beloved country which is positive and valuable;

- to propagate the best cultural achievements of all the nationalities and tribes of

Afghanistan, the peoples of other Islamic countries, socialist countries and other countries of the world;

to help the investigation and study of historical and cultural treasures of the people of Afghanistan and their preservation for coming generations, to expand museums and book depositories and establish new ones;

to improve the work and methods of guidance of the mass media (press, radio and television), encourage documentary and feature film production, actively use these means for enlightening the masses of the people, spreading the ideas of peace, social progress and friendship among nations, exposing the plots and conspiracies of the enemies of the revolution and our beloved homeland;

to promote expanding the network of cinemas, theatres, libraries and study rooms, building houses of culture and folklore of the people in districts and sub-districts and help transform them into centres of the enlightenment and patriotic education of the masses of the people;

to develop in every way the art of the theatre, as well as folk music;

to pay constant attention to developing physical training and sports and involve the great masses of the youth in sports with a view to promoting the physical and moral development of our country's younger generation.

## *Chapter 6*

### **THE AIMS AND TASKS OF THE PDPA IN THE FIELD OF FOREIGN POLICY AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS**

#### **1**

The revolution put an end to our country's dependence on colonialists and imperialists in the sphere of international relations. Prior to the April Revolution the foreign policy of Afghanistan was, above all, determined on the basis of the selfish interests of a handful of exploiters and traitors to the country who had close links with imperialism and the forces of international reaction. Today the foreign policy of the DRA is determined on the basis of the lofty interests of the noble and industrious people of Afghanistan and on the basis of the principles of national independence and non-alignment.

#### **2**

The supreme aims and interests of revolutionary Afghanistan which the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan is unswervingly, resolutely and faithfully pursuing in its foreign policy are as follows:

defence of the country's territorial integrity, sovereignty and national independence;

the creation of favourable international political conditions for removing the grave consequences of tyrannical government by exploiters, and traitors; putting an end to the undeclared war unleashed by the forces of imperialism and reaction

against our country, and creating peaceful conditions for constructive work to fulfil the tasks of the April Revolution,

consolidation and development of fraternal friendly relations and traditional cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries in the political, economic, commercial, cultural, scientific, technical and other spheres, which guarantee the firm international standing of our country and are necessary conditions for development and progress,

unswerving respect for and scrupulous observance of the United Nations Charter and principles;

consolidation of the unity and solidarity of the noble and industrious people of Afghanistan with all the nations of the world in the struggle for peace, international detente, disarmament, the prohibition and destruction of nuclear weapons, friendship among peoples, freedom, democracy, social progress and respect for human rights, as well as against the forces of imperialism, hegemonism, racism, Zionism, apartheid, colonialism and neo-colonialism,

pursuance of a non aligned policy, consolidation of friendly relations and cooperation with all progressive countries and international organizations,

the development of friendly relations with all countries of the world irrespective of their political and social systems on the basis of respect for national sovereignty and independence, equality, territorial integrity, a policy of non aggression and non-interference in each other's internal affairs;

a striving to establish a new and just economic international order to put an end to the policy of discrimination and inequality towards the developing countries of Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Pacific area that is being pursued by the imperialist states and multi national monopolist corporations who are exploiting the people and plundering the natural wealth of these countries,

consolidation and development of mutually beneficial economic relations based on friendship and cooperation with fraternal Muslim countries and peoples in the struggle for progress, world peace, disarmament and respect for human rights;

the solution of unresolved controversial issues between neighbouring countries in the region in a peaceful and friendly atmosphere and on the basis of common sense through constructive negotiations between the countries.

### 3

The People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan will develop and expand friendly relations and cooperation with the international working-class movement, national liberation movements, the peace movement, movements for disarmament, the prohibition and destruction of nuclear weapons, the non aligned movement, the solidarity movement of countries and peoples of the Muslim world, as well as with progressive and democratic political parties and public organizations which are actively participating in the progressive movements and struggling against imperialism, colonialism, hegemonism, Zionism, racism, apartheid and the forces of international reaction.

At the same time the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan will increase its efforts to establish and consolidate fraternal unity, friendship and cooperation with

political parties and organizations that in their activities are guided by scientific revolutionary theory.

The People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan considers it to be its indisputable task further to develop and consolidate its fraternal unity, friendship and cooperation with the great Communist Party of the Soviet Union, founded by Lenin, the leader of the working people of the world, and it also considers it to be its essential duty to study the historic experience and achievements of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in the building of a new society.

The PDPA will untiringly strive for the further consolidation of unity of the three main revolutionary forces in the world today, namely, the world socialist system led by the USSR, the international working-class movement and the national liberation movements.

## *Chapter 7*

### THE PDPA AT THE STAGE OF THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION

As a result of the victory of the April National Democratic Revolution the PDPA became the ruling Party. It plays the leading role in the state and in society as the undisputed political vanguard of the working class and all the country's toilers. Our Party, bearing historic responsibility for the country's progress and prosperity, acts on behalf of the people and in the interests of the people. The Party enjoys the people's trust and achieves recognition and consolidation of its leading role through its everyday practical activities in the building of a new Afghanistan and in the protection of its dignity and honour against the forces of internal and external counter-revolution.

The ties of the Party with the masses are effected above all through the primary Party organizations. So the greater the extent of the daily activities of these organizations and the more active they are and the higher their authority, the greater the influence of the Party as a whole, the greater the confidence and respect of the people and the better it can lead society and the state. To rally the masses around the Party and lead them in the consolidation and defence of the gains of the revolution, in the struggle for lasting peace in the country and the carrying out of further national democratic transformations in the interests of the country and the people, are the basic political tasks of primary Party organizations and all members and candidate members of the Party and the Party on the whole.

The Party strives to consolidate unity in its ranks in order to make its work among the people more efficient and widen its scope. Only a truly united Party can rally the people around itself and lead them to new and greater heights of social progress. The political history and the experience of the PDPA have taught that only through unity can success and victory be achieved. Whenever the unity of the Party was impaired, the Party weakened, it faced defeats and its existence was put in jeopardy. In the present circumstances our Party more than ever before requires unbreakable and organic unity.

Our Party firmly believes that any effort to disrupt the unity of Party ranks,

manifestations of factionalism or sectarianism, go against the lofty role of the Party as the political vanguard and leading force of society. The vital interests and historic responsibility of the Party towards the people make any manifestation of factionalism or sectarianism incompatible with membership of the glorious People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan. This important principle in the Rules of the Party must be strictly observed.

The ideological and organisational consolidation of unity within the Party's ranks is closely connected with the changes in its class composition. At the stage of the national democratic revolution and in conditions of a relatively undeveloped social structure the class composition of the PDPA is characterized by the fact that representatives of the working class and the working peasantry do not constitute the majority in it. But with the development of the revolution and social progress in the country the objective and subjective conditions arise for improving the class composition of the Party through admitting to it, above all, the best representatives of the workers, toiling peasants, the intelligentsia, servicemen, Tsarandoi and the youth who in their deeds prove their loyalty to the cause of the Party and the revolution. The Party will greatly increase the responsibility of Party committees, political bodies and primary Party organizations of the army and Tsarandoi with regard to admitting the best defenders of the fatherland to the Party's ranks.

As the situation at the present time is that young members and candidate members of the Party constitute a considerable portion of the Party, it is a serious requirement that Party committees and primary Party organizations pay urgent attention to the ideological and organisational steeling of new members.

The Party recognises the sound organization and improvement of the theoretical education of members and candidate members of the Party to be of high priority so that the knowledge of revolutionary progressive theory be instilled in their minds, grow into firm convictions and be transformed into a readiness to fight for them. Party education must be continuous, systematic and profound. It is therefore necessary to promote the ideological and political education of members and candidate members of the Party and expand the study of urgent theoretical problems and Party documents, the questions of Party development and problems of the domestic and foreign policy of the PDPA in the educational programme of the Party.

The Party will steadily increase the importance and promote the role of the basic principles of Party life: those of democratic centralism and collective leadership.

The consistent application of the principle of democratic centralism by Party committees in the life and activities of Party organizations must ensure the high level of Party discipline which is compulsory for both leaders and rank-and-file members of the PDPA. This principle also presupposes the necessity of fulfilling decisions of higher Party bodies. Party committees must exercise effective control and verify the fulfillment of Party directives by all Party organizations and state institutions.

At the same time Party committees must attentively heed the opinion of primary Party organizations, of members and candidate members of the Party in its work and regularly report to them on their activities. It is necessary consistently to promote criticism and self-criticism, as an effective means of struggle against self-complacency, ambitiousness and malpractices.

The Party will undeviatingly implement the principle of collective leadership

and ensure the collective solution of problems in Party life and activities in the guidance of all aspects of the life of society. At the same time the Party will pursue a policy of increasing individual responsibility of the members and candidate members of the Party for their assigned tasks. Organic unity of a political decision and its execution is a law of Party leadership.

The Party considers it necessary to enhance the role and responsibility of the Party's Politbureau, the Central Committee and its Secretariat, of provincial and city committees, district and sub-district Party committees in assessing and selecting Party cadres according to their abilities. Those who resort to subjectivism, nepotism and parochialism in assessing and selecting Party cadres for promotion must be severely punished and in some cases even expelled from the Party.

With the deepening and development of the April National Democratic Revolution the leading role of the Party will increase. This ensues from the need to fulfil new tasks in regard to economic growth, scientific, technical and cultural progress, the growth of the consciousness and intensification of the activity of the masses, expansion of democracy, improvement of the political organization of society and the raising of the level of political, ideological and cultural activities.

\* \* \*

Realizing its responsibility for the destiny of the people, the country and the revolution, the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan has approved this Programme of Action at its National Conference so that:

the Afghan people may prosper;

our country, the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, may become a flourishing state developing along the path of social progress and elimination of exploitation of man by man;

our revolution may be victorious and irrevocable.

The PDPA appeals to all its members, all the patriots of our country, all the nationalities, tribes and ethnic groups of Afghanistan to rally around the Party, the Revolutionary Council and the DRA government and to implement this Programme of Action for the independence, progress and prosperity of our beloved fatherland.

## MESSAGE OF THE PDPA NATIONAL CONFERENCE TO THE PEOPLE OF AFGHANISTAN

Esteemed compatriots, brothers and sisters, Muslims and noble patriots in all the near and remote corners of the country,

We, delegates of the PDPA, this vanguard of the working class and all the toilers of the country, have concluded the work of our Party conference which assessed the important issues, and all these issues can be summed up in one sentence, that is, what can and must be done to speed the implementation of the vital, long-cherished aspirations of our oppressed people, which was the purpose of the April Revolution.

The revolutionary storm overthrew and swept away the feudal lords and their flunkies who lived shamelessly and parasitically off the ordinary people of our country. Our homeland has become a democratic country whose destiny is determined by the people.

Brothers and sisters,

Our country is passing through difficult moments. The undeclared and destructive war of united internal and international reactionary forces, US imperialism, Chinese hegemonism and their allies against our beloved homeland has been continuing for more than three years. Our revolution does not accord with their interests because it paved the way for our people to advance from backwardness to progress, and because it will transform our homeland into a strong and independent country. The forces of reaction cannot reconcile themselves with the ending of the power and rule of the oppressors and the implementation of democratic land reforms in the interests of the peasants and hired labourers.

As a result of the criminal war unleashed by the forces of imperialism and reaction against our country a large number of innocent people were killed; severe damage was done to the country's economy, work was halted in some industrial enterprises producing goods vital for our people; irrigation works were damaged and the production of wheat, cotton and sugar beet was reduced.

The freedom of the country was safeguarded and our people have not died from hunger because of the exceptional bravery and heroism of our glorious armed forces, people's militia, the security organs, groups of defenders of the revolution, members of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, the Democratic Youth Organization of Afghanistan, the Women's Democratic Organization of Afghanistan and all noble patriots who bravely, arms in hand, stood up to safeguard the honour, freedom, independence and national unity of our country.

Our revolution enjoys the support of all the progressive forces of the world headed by the great Soviet Union. The great fraternal Soviet Union's defence of the national independence and sovereignty of Afghanistan fills our hearts with feelings of thanks and profound gratitude.

Our conference has adopted a Programme of Action. We wish all noble Muslims and all patriots to know its contents, and we are confident that not one of them can abstain from taking part in the implementation of this Programme.

What do we propose and what are we working for?

We propose the soonest implementation of measures for ensuring work for all toilers, the establishment of fair work wages, the start of extensive work to build housing for toilers, control over prices, the improvement of public health services, and securing general primary education.

Our revolution has unfurled the banner of resolute struggle for human rights. None in Afghanistan should feel themselves downtrodden or underprivileged. The times of injustice and arbitrary actions against innocent people, the times which former feudal lords are clinging to, are irrevocably gone, and we will not permit their return on any account.

The new revolutionary rule will, above all, care for the conditions of workers and farmers, whose needs were neglected by the despotic regimes of the past.

With the growth of industry the wages of workers will be increased, their working and living conditions will be improved. The Party and the government will do everything to ensure that the working class can play a steadily increasing role in the political and social life of the country.

The PDPA and the government will endeavour to ensure in the shortest possible period of time that the farmers have land and water and enjoy the material aid of the government, thus freeing them from the bondage of usurers. The revolutionary government wishes to help the peasants to emerge from darkness and to give education to their children.

The peasants are the most numerous participants in the revolutionary rebuilding of the homeland and the PDPA is confident that they will be increasingly involved in the active struggle for the revolution and their own happiness.

The PDPA is fully determined to enhance the conditions for the creative work of the Afghan intelligentsia and to encourage its participation in solving the pressing problems of the country. Our people have faith and confidence in their patriotic intelligentsia and expect help from it.

Traders and artisans of the country should know that the Party and the people's government are profoundly interested in seeing their productive and trading activities develop. We consider petty traders and artisans to be participants in the revolutionary process in the country and we will give them every assistance.

The PDPA also counts as partners of the revolutionary process those national businessmen who are assisting the prosperity of Afghanistan. The state helps them and defends them against the competition of foreign capital and creates favourable conditions for them in mutually advantageous cooperation with the public sector.

The PDPA will draft plans for creating conditions for all the youth of Afghanistan without exception to have the possibility of the free growth of their talents and wide participation in the revolutionary transformation of the country. The state will support the children of workers and farmers in their efforts to receive

higher education in engineering, medicine and law, or to have a military career, and so on.

We invite the working youth of the country to join the ranks of the DYOA, where they can quickly become involved in public affairs and use their energy, initiative, and talents in the interests of our dear homeland.

The PDPA deems it its duty to provide all the conditions necessary for the voluntary participation of women in the social and political life of the country. The revolutionary government not only defends the rights of Afghan women, but also considers as its duty the protection of their health, help in raising their cultural and political level and in rearing their children, and so on. The WDOA has the task of giving constant assistance to the country's women in securing and exercising their rights.

As for the national question and in relation to tribal policy, truly equal rights and equal opportunities for all will be ensured with the observance of the principle of free will and persuasion. We will help the peoples to speed the process of drawing closer, of cooperation and mutual understanding, of fraternity and friendship among them. Without this a vigorous and flourishing Afghanistan cannot exist.

Honourable Muslims, honest patriots,

You see that the PDPA wishes to give the people what was denied to them by past rulers and what the mendacious Muslims, who would like to take the place of the expelled rulers, are trying to arrogate to themselves. The people must grasp firmly whatever revolutionary power gives them. To this end, you should boldly and actively participate in the struggle against counter-revolution, in the work of local organs of state power and committees of the National Fatherland Front which should be formed in all provinces, cities, regions and districts.

The people are strong with the support of the state, and the state with the support of the people.

The people, together with their revolutionary government, should strive to achieve the most important aim today—to ensure peace and tranquillity in our beloved homeland. Only the ringleaders of criminal bands do not want peace. And so they are disrupting peace and tranquillity in Afghanistan. They do not want peace, because they profit by war. If peace is restored, the imperialists and hegemonists will pay them nothing and they would not be able to resort to highway robbery and to plundering peasants, artisans and traders with impunity. The insurgent and interventionist bands must be crushed as soon as possible. Voluntary groups of defenders of the revolution and resistance groups must be organized in every region and district. The state will assist these groups with weapons and clothing, means of communication and transport. We will not let the rebels—these false Muslims—into our towns and villages. Let the land burn under the feet of the killers and plunderers!

Muslims, we solemnly reaffirm that respect for the sacred religion of Islam is a part of the policy of our Party and revolutionary government. It is the criminal activities of the forces of counter-revolution which go against Islam, not the efforts of the people's government along the path of realizing the long-cherished aspirations of the toiling Muslim masses mentioned in the Holy Koran. Therefore we participants in this conference call upon all Muslims, ulemas, Mullahs, imams, preachers

and, in short, all religious figures in the name of Almighty God to unite for resolute and relentless struggle against the enemies of the sacred religion and our long-suffering people, and in the name of the historic call of Islam to justice, equality and an end to oppression.

With an awareness of their patriotic duty, with devotion and sacrifice our glorious armed forces conduct a heroic struggle against the internal and external enemies of the revolution and safeguard the gains of the revolution. This is a new, people's army. Its supreme honour is to serve the people, not to defend a handful of oppressors from the anger of the people. We call upon all officers and soldiers of the armed forces, the militia and the security forces in every way to improve and perfect their fighting proficiency and discipline and always to be with the people and fight for the people.

Dear friends and comrades,

Join the ranks of our heroic armed forces to bring nearer peace and tranquillity over our homeland!

Honest patriots, you have a worthy part to play in the common cause of struggle for a new society in our country by helping to raise the level of the economy, to restore and operate the idling enterprises and to build new projects. This will provide work, food and housing for thousands of people. This will provide the necessary means for realization of our plans for raising the living standards of the people, which will be the first step on the way to the prosperity of Afghanistan and the implementation of the long-cherished dream of every patriot, every honest Muslim in our country. All public property—factories, plants, bridges, roads, power stations, irrigation canals, schools and hospitals—must be protected from the attacks of our enemies. Our enemies destroy them in order to continue the war situation with the help of economic dislocation. They are indifferent towards people's suffering and hardships. Saving our beloved homeland from plunder and ruin is a matter of honour for all noble Muslims and patriots of Afghanistan.

We are absolutely confident and convinced that no matter to what savagery the forces of counter-revolution may resort and no matter how much gold US imperialism and the Chinese hegemonists may spend in support of our enemies, their ignominious plans are still doomed to failure: they cannot again place the yoke of feudal slavery and exploitation on our people.

Honest and noble people of Afghanistan,

Our Party has no other interest apart from working for the welfare of the people of our beloved homeland. The Party wishes the people to have what every Afghan wants: peace, jobs and food.

But victory over the counter-revolutionary forces, over wrongdoers and bandits will not be won by itself. This victory requires the full concentration of all our forces and reserves of materials, all our courage, staunchness and firmness. We must untiringly strengthen the unity of our ranks, the cohesion and solidarity of all patriots of our homeland.

Victory can be won if all struggle jointly in unity for it.

Sons and daughters of our beloved homeland, Afghanistan,

We call upon you to unite around the PDPA and under its leadership to complete the defeat of the forces of counter-revolution that are creating obstacles along the path to a happy future for our people.

May peace and tranquillity be restored to our beloved and sacred land!  
May human dignity and goodness prevail in our homeland!  
Under the banner of the April Revolution, forward to building a prosperous,  
independent and happy Afghanistan!  
Death to counter-revolution, reaction and imperialism!  
We shall win!

## CONCLUDING SPEECH OF COMRADE BABRAK KARMAL on March 15, 1982

Comrade delegates,

Dear guests,

The National Conference of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan is concluding its work. All of us present here in this hall for the past two really historic days now have the right to feel a sense of pride and satisfaction. The course of the debates on and discussion of the Draft Programme of Action and the modifications of and additions to the Rules of the Party showed the great interest of the delegates and their unanimity in the evaluation of the major points of principle in these very important documents for the Party and the people. The conference clearly showed the ideological and theoretical maturity of our Party and its ability objectively to assess present realities and to determine the general policy line of our advance which undoubtedly the broad masses of the people will worthily evaluate and take to heart and will spare no efforts to have it realized.

A great number of Party committees, Party activists and delegates to the conference have voiced their proposals and wishes with regard to the drafts submitted. They do not change the essence of the said documents. This fact once again shows the high degree of unity of views and ideological unity achieved by our Party. I think that the Politbureau should be instructed carefully to assess these proposals and bear them fully in mind in preparing the final text of the documents to be adopted by the conference. These proposals and wishes reflect the practical experience accumulated by Party organizations in the localities and therefore they are worthy of attention. Permit me sincerely to express gratitude to the comrades who have participated in the discussion of these important documents for the life and activity of our Party.

Comrades,

Our conference has clearly shown the increasing unity of the Party. The atmosphere of the revolutionary fervour which reigned in this hall during the conference is living testimony to this fact. Each speaker spoke about problems relating to the whole Party! This is a source of happiness for all of us and creates great confidence that after this we will continue to advance in unity and cohesion. May this atmosphere of unity be universal and embrace the whole Party!

Only in this way can the Party fulfil its historic mission as the real vanguard of the people in the struggle for their bright future.

Comrades,

Enormous work and a hard struggle lie ahead of us. The unity of the Party and the people's cohesion around the Party can be consolidated only in practice. General talk will not help here. We realize that approval of the Programme of Action is only the beginning of our advance along the path of progress. This is only the beginning of the work. But without it we cannot advance to the next stages. Therefore the efforts of the Party and all its sections, of the government and the bodies of state power in the localities, should be directed to the fulfilment of the primary tasks of consolidating the gains of the revolution, the revival and growth of the economy and the solution of urgent social problems. There is no more important task for the Party than drawing the broad masses of our working people into the accomplishment of these tasks. This is the main thing. It is here that the front of struggle for the happiness of our homeland and people lies.

Dear comrades,

Our National Conference has met with the broad support of the progressive forces of the world.

The messages and congratulations we have received from fraternal and friendly Parties, movements and organizations, leave no room for doubt that the real revolutionary and progressive forces of our time are with us. Our real friends are with us. The internationalist solidarity of the world's peoples is with us.

On behalf of our Party, on behalf of the noble and freedom-loving people of Afghanistan allow me, dear friends, to tell our friends all over the world: Thank you! We have not let you down. We shall continue to be worthy of your friendship. We shall win!

Comrades,

On this solemn day, on behalf of all Party members, all patriots of our homeland I address our great and faithful friend and ally—the Soviet Union, the Leninist Communist Party of the Soviet Union and its militant headquarters—the CPSU Central Committee headed by the outstanding statesman and political figure of our time and great friend of the Afghan people, Comrade Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev.

I am saying: Dear friends, dear brothers, today each Afghan patriot knows for sure that there is no nor will there be happiness and freedom for Afghanistan without eternal unbreakable friendship with the Soviet Union.

Patriotism and Sovietism are inseparable in the soul, the mind and the heart of each true patriot and each true Party member. We promise that no one and nothing will turn us from the road we have chosen. Afghanistan will become happy and prosperous. And it will always be a loyal brother, friend and ally of the great Soviet Union.

Comrades,

In concluding our work, on behalf of the PDPA CC and the Revolutionary Council I wish you all, dear delegates, and through you all the members and candidate members of our Party consistently and fully to implement the resolutions of the PDPA National Conference in all the areas of your noble activities.

I wish you every success and victories in this work, which is vitally important for the Party and the people.

Long live the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan!

Long live our glorious April Revolution!

