

**POLITICAL DECISIONS
AND RESOLUTIONS OF THE
CONGRESSES
OF
THE COMMUNIST PARTY
OF CYPRUS (KKK)
AND
THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY
OF WORKING PEOPLE
(AKEL)**

(1926-2011)

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Congresses of the Communist Party of Cyprus (KKK) and the
Rehabilitation Party of Working People (AKEL)**

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EDITORIAL NOTE

This edition is the result of a search of various files, public and private, which contained documents, announcements and articles in relation to the subject of the publication which is the whole of the political decisions and resolutions of the Communist Party of Cyprus (KKK) and the Rehabilitation Party of Working People (AKEL) since their foundation.

In cases where it was not possible to find such documents, mainly due to the loss of the relevant files, this publication included documents or decisions published in Press and related to the Congress and their content. The shortcomings concern, mainly, the first congresses of the KKK and his AKEL.

It is noted that for the 3rd and 4th congress of the KKK that took place in 1936 in Varosi and in 1940 in Deryneia respectively, which were held illegally, it was not possible to find any relevant document.

An investigation was carried out in the Archive of AKEL, Museum of Hezekiah Papaioannou, the Haravgi archive, the Archdiocese library, the Press and Information Office as well as in private archives.

The texts quoted in the edition retain the original spelling and vocabulary of the original texts. Until the 15th Congress of the AKEL of 1982 the original texts were written in the polytonic system, which has been converted to the present version in monotonic.

PUBLICATION SOURCES

First Founding Congress of the CCP

Newspaper "Neos Anthropos " 18/9/1926, 1/10/1926, 18/10/1926,
6/11/1926, 23/11/1926, 10/12/1926

2nd CCP Congress

Newspaper "Neos Anthropos" 6/12/1928

5th CCP Congress Proceedings of the Congress

11/11/1944

AKEL Constituent Assembly

The Historical Document of the Meeting

for the establishment of a Political Party of Principles

Newspaper "Independent" 15/4/1941

1st AKEL Congress

K.E. Publications AKEL, Programme and Articles of Association
of the "Correctional Party of the Working People"

1941

Newspaper "Independent"

8/10/1941

2nd AKEL Congress

"Independent" newspaper 3/2/1943, 4/2/1943, 7/2/1943, 12/2/1943,
14/2/1943

Congress Proceedings

3rd AKEL Congress

Newspaper "Anexartitos" 19/4/1944, 26/4/1944, 27/4/1944,
28/4 /1944, 29/4/1944

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4th AKEL Congress

Newspaper "Independent" 21/8/1945. 22/8/1945. 24/8/1945,
26/8/1945

5th AKEL Congress

Newspaper "Independent"

14/9/1947, 16/9/1947

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For a Free and Happy Life

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"Democrat" newspaper

11/9/47, 16/9/47

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30/8/49

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**AKEL's proposal for the modernization of Cypriot society
2000**

**20th AKEL Congress
C.C. Publications AKEL Decisions and Other Documents
2006**

**21st AKEL Congress
C.C. Publications AKEL Decisions and Other
Documents** 2011

CONGRESSES OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CYPRUS (KKK) AND THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY OF THE WORKING PEOPLE (AKEL)

**First Founding Congress of the CCP, August 15, 1926, Limassol
Second Congress of the Communist Party , End of November 1928,
Limassol**

**Fifth Congress of the Communist Party, November 11, 1944,
Varosi**

AKEL Constituent Assembly, April 14, 1941, Skarinou

1st AKEL Congress, October 5, 1941, Limassol

2nd AKEL Congress, 30-31 January 1943, Varosi

3rd AKEL Congress, April 23, 1944, Larnaca

4th AKEL Congress, 18-20 August 1945, Nicosia

5th AKEL Congress, 13-15 September 1947, Nicosia

6th AKEL Congress, 27-28 August 1949. Limassol

7th AKEL Congress, November 30 - December 2, 1951, Nicosia

8th AKEL Congress, 5-7 March 1954, Nicosia

9th AKEL Congress. September 9, 1959, Varosi

10th AKEL Congress, March 8-11, 1962, Nicosia

11th AKEL Congress, March 3-6, 1966, Nicosia

AKEL 12th Congress, 5 -8 March 1970, Nicosia

13th AKEL Congress, 25-28 April 1974, Nicosia

14th AKEL Congress, 25-28 May 1978, Nicosia

15th AKEL Congress, 13-16 May 1982, Nicosia

16th AKEL Congress, 26-30 November 1986, Nicosia

17th AKEL Congress, 3-7 October 1990, Nicosia

18th AKEL Congress, 16-19 November 1995. Nicosia

19th AKEL Congress. 7-10 December 2000, Nicosia.

20th AKEL Congress. 24-27 November 2005. Nicosia

21st AKEL Congress, 25-28 November 2010, Nicosia

PROLOGUE, Andros Kyprianou (Secretary General of the Central Committee of AKEL)

With special joy, satisfaction but also pride I preface the Volume "Political Decisions and Resolutions of Communist Congresses Party of Cyprus (KKK) and the Rehabilitation Party of Working People (AKEL) ", which as the title says, in its 560 pages includes decisions and resolutions of the congresses of the Communist Party Cyprus-AKEL since its foundation in 1926 until today.

I feel joy and satisfaction because it is delivered to the Cypriot historiography, in our estimation, valuable study resource not only of the history of the Left Popular Movement of Cyprus but also of itself of Cyprus in the last century. Because the course of KKK-AKEL and his of the wider Popular Movement is closely intertwined with the historical course of Cyprus all these years.

At the same time I feel proud because this volume largely reflects the positions, the struggles and the contribution of KKK-AKEL to the 90 year old life and activity of the Party. I say to a large extent, because the decisions of the Congress certainly do not exhaust this rich history and offer, nor can they give a complete picture of the sacrifices and trials of the world of the Left.

In the almost 90-year historical course of KKK-AKEL undoubtedly existed errors and omissions. After all, we are the only political force in Cyprus that has had the power to approach its moments with a self-critical lens its history and learn from it. But mistakes and omissions are not what characterizes the history of KKK-AKEL. What characterizes it are the genuinely patriotic struggles for freedom and defence of the independence of Cyprus, the consistent struggle for democracy and human rights, the unresolved confrontation with nationalism; chauvinism, the hard struggles for social progress and justice and the diverse contribution to culture. What no one can to dispute is that the starting point of all the struggles of KKK-AKEL was the defence of the interests of Cyprus and our people, claiming and defending the interests and achievements of the workers of Cyprus, the peaceful coexistence and cooperation of Greek Cypriots and Turkish

Cypriots. The KKK-AKEL was and remains a genuine anti-imperialist patriotic force, a bulwark of class and social struggles, a constant bearer of the ideas of progress, internationalism and socialism.

The collection and editing of the material included in the volume was done by the research institute "Prometheus". I warmly congratulate the Institute for hard and painstaking work that has been done. Contrary to what some may think, it was not at all easy to gather the material.

The two periods of illegality of the Party, that is, from 1931 to 1941 and from 1955 to 1959, we have been deprived of valuable archival material. Therefore, it was necessary for the contributors of "Prometheus" to resort to the press of the time and other sources to find, collect and edit the required material. Despite the tremendous work that has been done, there are still some gaps. I hope that in the future it will be possible to fill these gaps in new reprints.

I consider the publication of this volume as a first step in the publication of the archival material available to AKEL. Other editions of similar content should follow. It is an obligation that as AKEL we have to the academic scientific world, but also much more to the ordinary Cypriot citizen, who is interested in the history of the country and of its people.

I wish the book a good trip. I hope it enriches libraries universities, schools, institutes, research centres, municipalities and communities, but also ordinary people. I hope it will be used by scientific community and the political world to highlight the historical truth and not to serve expediencies.

June 2014.

INTRODUCTION, Giannos Katsouridis, (Scientific Director of PROMETHEUS Research Institute)

It is a fact that in the historical study there are "different stories" serving different purposes. Historical events may be real and given, but the interpretations of history vary, which is somewhat normal. The different interpretations have to do with the initial motivations and goals that the writing of one serves historical text and study methodology. But they are inseparable connected with the respective social, ideological and political interests dominating a given historical period. Therefore, the study and the presentation of history is not neutral. And it cannot be, in a society divided into classes, with opposite interests and needs. This does not mean that there can be no objective historical science. That everyone has their own truth. The scientific study history and the drawing conclusions about the present and the future are a weapon inundefined hands of those who expect and fight for a better and fairer society, without exploitation. The falsification of history is a tool of the conservative social and political forces that the current system is displaying in our day that is, capitalism, eternal.

The history of the Left in any country, and especially communist left, brings to the fore the class conception of history and of society. An approach that is more or less marginalized, even slandered, especially in the post-1990 period. The Left itself, and especially communism, is inherently a vehicle for changing and overthrowing social relations, relationships and institutions. This danger creates the necessary conditions for marginalization, demonization, or at best classification of the Left's visions in the category of utopia.

In educational institutions, whether they are universities, or secondary schools, or research centres, but also in journalistic organisations and media empires that control their flow and content information, the history of the Left, the view of the Left, is silenced and is often distorted. In this way the system itself (education and not only) functions as a filter for the distortion of the knowledge that is channelled into a society and the

methodology of its acquisition, with the aim of "protecting" it from "desecration". Where the left movement itself failed to create its own mechanisms for producing and channelling of knowledge, the situation was even worse.

The left movement in Cyprus has a long-term presence, according to which has played an important role in shaping the social and political becoming of the country. Essentially, apart from the ecclesiastical institution, the political party of the left is the longest-lived political institution/organisation in Cyprus. This presence is reflected in the strong social, political, but also electoral presence of the Cypriot left over time and has been expressed in various ways over the years. The institutionalized political presence of the Left in Cyprus is immediate intertwined with its partisan expressions—the Communist Party of Cyprus (KKK) (1926-41) and the successor, the AKEL (1941).

Unlike other leftist movements and parties in Europe, especially after the events of 1989-90, the Left in Cyprus, managed to strengthen even more so in conditions extremely difficult for the world left movement. Indicative of its influence is the maintenance of an electoral influence of about one third of the Cypriot people. The history and the evolution of the Cypriot Left, however, in the form in which we know today in the Cypriot area, it has not been yet the subject of systematic scientific analysis, to the extent that it corresponds to this strong presence. Partly and under the responsibility of the political party itself, which favourably represents the left in Cyprus, the history of the Popular Left Movement was not fully captured.

And as it is known, *scripta manent, verba volant* (the writings remain, the words fly). The study of the action and the presence of the Left in Cyprus failed to be placed under the microscope of historical research and this creates a big gap in the study of the historical becoming in Cyprus.

Important aspects of the history and action of AKEL are reflected in texts and documents of the party itself. Texts and documents, the which constitute valuable historical / archival material and of whose the public exhibition will be a useful and useful tool of learning and study both for the people and for the research community. With this in mind, the Prometheus Research Institute undertook to collect all policies decisions of all the Congresses of the KKK-AKEL from 1926 until today and to edit their publication. This publication is obviously not the History of KKK-

AKEL. Unfortunately, 88 years after the founding of the party a complete history of KKK-AKEL has not yet been written. This allows many events to be presented selectively, piecemeal and distorted. Scientific objectivity was absent. This edition, although not based on party history, is provided to historians and researchers the raw material of historical research: primary sources study.

The idea for this version has been around for some time. The collection of materials, their editing and publication, however, required considerable preparation and access to material available to both AKEL itself and to other archival sources. The establishment of the Prometheus Research Institute at the end of 2011 and the cooperation started with AKEL for the archiving and digitization of the party's historical archive made the effort this possible. This volume is the first tangible result of this collaboration.

Presenting the political decisions of the KKK-AKEL Congresses through the pages of this volume, the reader will feel the modern history unfolding before him, not only of the party, but also of Cyprus. After all, it has been said that writing the history of a party is like writing the history of the country from a certain point of view.¹ A story seen or not from the point of view of the ruling class, as is customary. The information contained in these decisions is not for informational purposes only. They include a substantial analysis of the international and local historical environment and place the party's action party within it. The social and political context of each era is a determining factor in shaping a political party strategy and tactics and the latter cannot be seen outside these conditions, with a retrospective lens. A mistake that many make modern historical scholars with a particular victim the Cypriot left in a competition for the discovery or invention of errors.

This volume is, in essence, a reflection of the modern history of Cyprus, but also of the party itself. It monitors the creation of a party in adverse conditions, its mode of action, the forms of organisation it uses and, above all, its analysis of the problems of the country and the people and its proposals. Through the short periodicity that follows, the aim is to give a "framework reading" of the Congress decisions you hold in this volume, highlighting the key

¹ Gramsci, Antonio, (1978), *Prison Notebooks*, [Τα Τετράδια της Φυλακής], New York, International Publishers, p. 151.

elements that identified each period in which the congresses of KKK-AKEL were held.

A. The Period, 1926-1941

The most heroic period in the history of the party. Through the very few texts saved, the reader can understand the very difficult and hostile conditions in which "the seed was planted." Starting from the attitude of the British and the social establishment in the emergence of new ideas and the new party, in the first steps of organising in trade unions, the establishment of the Communist Party of Cyprus, the methods of organisation, the participation in the elections, the role of the former communists in the organisation and leadership of the trade union movement, the anti-colonial discourse of the newly formed party, its attempt for joint struggle with the Turkish Cypriots, etc. This was the first period of the party's activity ending with the establishment of AKEL in 1941 and the gradual integration of the KKK in it, which is completed in 1944.

B. The Period, 1941-1955

The period beginning in 1941 constitutes a substantial, qualitative change in role of the party in the Cypriot environment and is the second period of party history. This period lasts until 1955.

During these years the left movement gains volume, impact and fist and in fact in the midst of a fierce conflict with the right and colonialism, under the influence of the Greek civil war. In this complex and hostile environment, the Left asserts itself as a powerful political actor, which everyone has to count on.

You are the protagonist in the anti-colonial struggle of the Cypriot people. Gains presence in every village and community of Cyprus through the movement of sports and educational clubs and the organisations of the popular movement. It is the period of change of the party's position in the Cyprus issue leading to the massification of its structures, of great social and strikes and great social conquests. It is, at the same time, the period in which the policy of alliances is established through the strong electoral presence of AKEL in the municipal elections, during which the party managed to elect its own people as leaders of the municipal

councils. Internally, it is also an interesting one period with intense ferments and controversy. It is, at the same time, a period of search in relation to the Cyprus issue through participation in the Congress and subsequent withdrawal.

C. The Period, 1955-1959

The years of the armed struggle of EOKA constitute a separate or third period in the life of the party. It was a period of great ordeal for party of the left, having fought twice. On the one hand, it was declared illegal by the English colonialists and its leadership was imprisoned. Secondly, it was prosecuted by a section of the EOKA leadership, faced persecution and murders of its executives on the basis of accusations that were never substantiated. The same, if not worse, persecutions were faced by Turkish Cypriot members and officials of the party and the PKK from the TMT. Cyprus had come closer than ever to the brink of a civil war, which was prevented due to the responsible and patriotic attitude of AKEL. The party, analysing local and international data, rejects the armed struggle waged by the right and proposes the massive Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot struggle as the only or method of struggle to shake off the colonial yoke. An analysis of undefined position justified by the facts. During these difficult years, the party continues to fight for the right of self-determination of Cyprus, condemning the hanging of EOKA fighters, even if we disagree with the tactics of its armed struggle.

D. The Period 1960-1974

The most difficult years of the short history of the Republic of Cyprus. Despite its disagreement with the Zurich-London agreements, AKEL supports the independence solution. During these years, it has been fighting with all its might to support the rule of law, democracy, the President of Cyprus Archbishop Makarios, and the independence of the Republic of Cyprus, against local and foreign intrigues. It has rendered valuable services to the legitimate government and has placed itself at the disposal of the authorities to combat illegality, parastatal and far-right terrorism both with proposals as well as with militia forces, which it has put in place, disposal of President Makarios. Both before, but mainly

after the coup d'état or rise of the junta to power in Greece, the AKEL was at the crossroads of an intense, ideological, political and social war on many levels. A typical example is the lessons of anti-communism in the army. Despite the many and strong warnings of the party for the various plans for a coup and the overthrow of democracy, these are not taken seriously into account resulting in double crime of 1974: The coup and the Turkish invasion.

E. The Period, 1974-1990

The period during which the party contributed with all its might to the patriotic tasks of reconstruction of the country after the catastrophe of 1974, utilising its relations with the countries of the socialist bloc. During these years the party is waging an intense struggle its democratisation of the society of our country and with its support, governments of the patriotic forces are elected, which lead to the restoration of stability in Cyprus. The struggle for liberation from occupation and reunification is primary duty of the party in all forums, local and international. In these the years, the AKEL, alone, keeps the flame of peaceful coexistence with the Turkish Cypriots lit in very difficult conditions. Electorally, the party manages to take the first place in the 1981 parliamentary elections, there was a contraction in 1985 as a result of the coexistence with DISY. In the last years of this period, the party is going through the most important crisis in its recent history with the faction of the group of executives who left and founded ADISOK. At stake was the very nature of the party and its policies.

F. The Period, 1990-2004

This period is determined to a significant degree by the end of the Cold War and the dissolution of the Soviet Union. In the new world data resulting from the absence of the adversary awe, the Western (American) "new order" of things, the fierce attack on communist/socialist ideology, the impact on communists parties is strongly negative. Unlike other sister parties, however, AKEL is neither dissolved nor transformed into something else. It retains its basic ideological principles, at the same time, however, feels the need for modernisation, renewal and making the necessary adjustments in a way that allows him it remain strong and a protagonist. Two decisions stand out in this period: "Our

conception of socialism "adopted at the 17th Congress in 1990 and has since become the ideological manifesto of the party and the change of the negative position adopted at the 18th Congress in 1995.

At the same time, during these years, the party raises the issue of power from a different perspective, while making alliances both in presidential elections of the period as well as in the local (municipal) elections, where achieves very good results. It is a year of sharpening of nationalism cultivated by the Clerides government and DISY, with the spearhead their S-300 missiles and the Doctrine of the Common Defence Area, but also chronic marginalization of the left. This period ends with victory in the 2003 presidential elections, as well as with the processes for the resolution of the Cyprus problem and the positive completion of Cyprus' EU accession process.

G. The Period, 2004-present

This period is marked by three historical events that change the structure of Cypriot politics. The accession of Cyprus to the EU in 2004, the failed referendum on the Annan plan in 2004 and the promotion of the former Secretary General of AKEL. D. Christofias in the Presidency of the Republic of Cyprus in 2008. The accession of Cyprus to the EU completely changes the framework of the struggle and claim, as most the issues are decided outside national borders, now, and with much more ominous power correlations. The referendum of 2004 brought to the surface strong controversies in relation to both the content of the solution, that is, the bi-zonal-bi-communal federation, and the very desire for a solution. The election of Christofias in its presidency of the Republic opened a new page in the history of the party, while it also led to a strong anti-communist and anti-nuclear campaign.

The above outline obviously does not exhaust all the details and are diligently analysed in the decisions of the party congresses. They are simply a trace of the environment divided into chronological periods aimed at aiding reading. What emerges from this publication and volume of information and analysis it includes? Mainly, the need for further and more diligent study of the Cypriot left. A study, which cannot be seen beyond and overall history of Cyprus in the 20th century, of which the left existed in one, or to another degree co-modulator.

We hope this publication will be the beginning of a series of activities of a similar nature that will be put under scientific investigation the evolution of the left movement in Cyprus to the present day. This volume summarizes the historical activity and course of the longest-running Cypriot party and is a necessary resource for personal library of each member of AKEL, of the researcher, of the academic, of every citizen. It is true that there were several important decisions of the party that were not taken at congresses, but in plenary sessions of the Central Committee of the party. The next goal for Prometheus is the publication of the decisions of the plenary sessions of the C.C. at least those that have been saved over the years.

Nicosia. June 2014.

A. THE CONGRESS OF COMMUNIST PARTY OF CYPRUS (KKK), August 15, 1926

THE DECISIONS OF THE CONGRESS

Decision On the Activities of the Central Committee¹

The First Pancyprian Congress of the K.K.K. after the report of C.C. on the activities of the party from its foundation until today finds:

(a) That no effort was made by the C.C. to stabilize the organisation of the party, the rational use of its forces and the political development of all its members

(b) That it was not possible to develop broad action on political issues of the island and no campaign was possible in its parliamentary elections 1925. In the Limassol mayoral election in 1926, the party failed to orient in time and to keep a firm line towards the competing bourgeois parties which harmed the workers' struggle and downplayed party influence among the working class.

(c) That in the professional and agricultural issue great efforts were made for the organisation of workers and farmers but without satisfactory results because the poorly governed Party coloured these organisations during the their establishment, presented them as an annex of K.K.K. and brought about the immediate reaction of the government and the capitalists to the workers' organisation and farmers.

(d) That the organ of the Party did not take on a pan-Cypriot character because all the issues of interest to the oppressed classes of the island were not raised.

¹ Newspaper *Neos Anthropos*, October 1, 1926

(e) That the C.C. showed weakness in general in the action and propaganda of the Party.

Decision On The Economic and Political Matters²

The First Pancyprrian Congress of the K.K.K. after hearing the suggestion for financial and political situation of the island and studied the relevant positions, decides:

(a) Approves the (published) positions on the economic and political situation and accepts them as the programme basis of the K.K.K. on the political issue of the island.

(b) It is ordered to the new C.C. to work with all its might for the realisation of the united anti-imperialist front. To this end, it must get in touch with the elements who like the idea and work in accordance with them for the preparation and convening of a Pancyprrian popular congress, of Greeks and Turks, (of the representatives directly elected by the people, of political parties and labour organisations) which will study the programme and the way of self-government.

It wishes and hopes that the new C.C. will fulfill its duties, using for this purpose the journalistic organ of our party, the newspaper "New Man", which it hopes will be published weekly.

Decision On Professional Matter³

The First Pancyprrian Congress of the KKK after the presentation and the relevant discussion on the professional issue of the island finds:

(a) That the transformation of Cyprus into a colonial market of the metropolis of England prevented the development of a serious

² ibid.

³ ibid.

domestic industry and that is why the working class of the Island represents a small minority of the population.

(b) That there is a tendency for mining companies to develop for the extraction of ores, in which the island is rich, and very soon a large working class, the miners will be created.

(c) That the abundant supply of labour, due to the destruction of many areas and the restriction of migration, creates very unfavourable working conditions, especially in the mines, and contributes to the development of inactivity.

Decides:

(a) That one of the main duties of the KKK is for entertainment of the miserable financial situation of the Cypriot worker and the struggle for direct demands of the working class of Cyprus e.g. the increase of the part-time work, the implementation of the eight-hour period, protection against accidents work and free care during illness, financial support for the unemployed and the freedom of association, together with legal recognition of existing or established labour organisations.

(b) That the K.K.K. must work for the organisation of the workers of Cyprus based on the class struggle, because without strong organisation the struggle for the daily demands is impossible. Also to fight for their unification of workers' organisations, fighting the reformist and nationalist elements, which are trying to divide the working class.

(c) That the K.K.K. must not maintain a direct organic relationship with the working class organisations, without, of course, ceasing to direct and guide them through its members, as long as they are elected by the workers in the administrations of the organisations. It must also try to consolidate its influence within in the labour organisations and to develop its action among their members by founding factions of the K.K.K. within all unions, labour centres or their administrations.

(d) It is ordered in the new C.C. to implement the above decisions immediately and to methodically direct the party forces in the pursuit of the above pursued aims.

Decision on the Agricultural Issue⁴

⁴ ibid.

The First Pancyprian Congress of the C.P. of Cyprus after the suggestion and the discussion on of the agricultural issue decides:

(a) To accept the published positions on the agricultural issue as programme basis of the Cypriot C.C. in its agricultural action.

(b) It is ordered in the new C.C. to ensure the greatest possible spread in the villages and prepare the ground for the convening of a Cypriot agricultural Congress, in which to develop its programme in the rural and to indicate the need to elect a Pancyprian Action Committee, which will undertake to fight, in parallel with our party for the agricultural demands.

(c) It is also ordered in the new C.C. to make every effort to organisation of the peasants and the establishment of agricultural nuclei of the K.K.K. who they will connect it with the rural mass and will channel the action of the K.K.K. in the villages.

Decision on the Ecclesiastical Issue⁵

The First Pancyprian Congress of the KKK, after the presentation and the relevant discussion on the ecclesiastical question finds out;

(a) That the present management of colossal ecclesiastical property is very backward and primitive, especially of the agricultural estates that is done to the detriment of the peasants.

(b) That its income is wasted unnecessarily for the preservation of a luxurious lot or is saved in sacred vestments and icons, at a time when the country is in dire need of capital to overcome the financial crisis.

(c) That a rational management of ecclesiastical property in order to materially support the working and rural strata of the population will help in their financial recovery.

It decides like the K.K.K. fought for the establishment of a special bank for management of ecclesiastical property. This bank will be governed by a council elected directly by the people by universal suffrage and will accumulate all ecclesiastical property, agricultural or urban estates, and precious metals or stones.

The agricultural estates will be distributed to the landless with amortization depreciation. The income of this property will be used

⁵ ibid.

(a) for the provision of cheap loans to local or cooperative companies and cooperatives, (b) for the provision of loans to urban productive organizations or trade unions, (c) for the maintenance of public schools, (d) (for the establishment of hospitals and sanatoriums for sick workers and farmers and (e) for the establishment of poor, nursing homes, nurseries, etc.

The new C.C. has a duty not to neglect the struggle of the K.K.K. in the present case.

Decision on the Organisational Issue⁶

The First Pancyprrian Congress of the K.K.K after the presentation and discussion on the organisational issue, recognizes:

(a) That the existence of a well-organised and disciplined party is a necessary condition for the success of the whole party struggle. He also admits that a good organisation of the K.K. must be based on the nuclei businesses or villages in Cyprus but where large enterprises are rare, there is a need to temporarily implement a mixed system, which will be recommended in organisation of nuclei of enterprises, nuclei of villages or neighbourhoods in cities. It also admits that factions of trade unions are carrying out core work.

(b) That in the specific period, which passes the K.K. K. need to give great attention to the combination of legal and illegal action, trying to all its might to maintain its legality as much as possible.

(c) That no organisation can progress and no action real cannot be done unless the members acquire relevant political education and therefore one of the most immediate tasks of the party is the education of its members. For this purpose it is necessary to use the party type, to take special courses, to distribute relevant literature, etc. It is ordered in the new C.C. to pay close attention to the organisational issue of the party and to ensure the implementation of this decision.

Decision on the Issue of Young People⁷

⁶ *ibid.*

⁷ *ibid.*

The First Pancyprrian Congress of the K.K.K. recognizes that work among young people needs to be further stimulated and youth organisations supported, so that they first acquire labour union and secondly spread among young workers or peasants, pupils and children of workers.

It also recognizes the need to unite Working and Student Youth in a single communist youth organisation, which will seek to extend its activities to other towns or villages, establishing similar organisations everywhere. Youth organisations must work in accordance with the C.C. for the improvement of the position of young workers and students e.g. the prohibition of work for children under 14 years, six-hour work from 14-18 years, the reduction of school fees and free enrolment of poor students, etc.

The Communist Youth must, in parallel with its educational and organisational activities, pay close attention to sports, which have begun to spread a lot on our island. It is necessary to create workers' sports and scouting. That is why the K.K.K. to assist the Communist Youth in establishing sports workers' organisations, which would include various sports teams and scout working groups.

The Pancyprrian Congress instructs the Party organisations to give great attention to the education of the youth, who must acquire a sense of order.

Decision on the Organisation of Women⁸

The First Pancyprrian Congress of the K.K.K. cannot but be interested in the issue of economic and social oppression of women in general and workers in particular. That is why it recognizes that the K.K.K. has to fight for the various demands of women e.g. for the equality of men and women in marriage, for the provision of maternity protection (establishment of maternity clinics and for the provision of equal pay to women and men for as long as they perform the same work, etc.

The K.K.K. has to work for the organisation of women in women's struggle associations to seek satisfaction of their

⁸ *ibid.*

demands. It also has to work to attract as many women as possible to its organisations, because if it does not gain the sympathy of women, who are oppressed than any other social group, it will not be able to achieve its ultimate goals, nor can it be called a true communist party.

That is why it is ordered in the new C.C. to draw its attention to the women's issue and direct the party organisations to work methodically in organisation of the women's world.

Decision on the Issue of the Party Press⁹

The First Pancyprian Congress of the K.K.K. observes that the organ of the Party "N. Man" has not yet managed to become a truly Cypriot newspaper dealing with all Cyprus issues, that it is limited to almost all issues of the province of Limassol. Also the K.K.K. has not yet been able to use "N. Man" "for real political campaigns, which greatly damages the spread of the Party's influence. The General Secretary recognizes the need to elect a special three-member committee for the management of "N. Man" its composition and dissemination and is instructed in it to take care a) to ensure its normal pension, (b) to improve its appearance, (c) to spread more through its sales per sheet, where it is possible (d) to provide regular correspondents in all cities and mining or rural centres, (e) to try to achieve its financial independence and (f) work for its weekly publication.

It is ordered in the new C.C. and to all the organisations of the Party to assist the management committee of "N. Man" in its work, especially in C.C. to also supervises all its work.

The Protest¹⁰

The First Pancyprian Congress of the K.K.K. notes with regret that the Local Government declared a fierce war against our Party. It does not know if this attitude is the result of instructions from the Ministry of Colonies or if it comes on the own initiative of

⁹ *ibid.*

¹⁰ *ibid.*

the Local Government. But the fact is that the exile of S. N. Giavopoulos and the two-month imprisonment of the head of the "New Man" organ of the party S. Ch. Solomonidis, continuous monitoring of the various members of our Party and others taken against it measures are of this nature, in order to hinder its free action. In particular, the excessive zeal of some local bodies in Limassol makes these measures completely brutal and offensive to the individual freedom of the members of our party and its organs. The General Secretary of the First Pancyprian Congress of the K.K.K. protested vigorously to the whole working class of the world and especially to the working class of England for this attitude of the local government and calls for its assistance in lifting of these restrictive measures.

It is ordered in the C.C. of the Party to send the present protest to the Local Government, and the Ministry of the British Colonies. Also to all brother parties of the world and the Labour Party of England at the request to publish it in their official bodies.

THE PRESENTATIONS OF THE CONGRESS

The Presentation On the Economic and Political Situation¹¹

Cyprus under the Turks

Cyprus, under Turkish feudalism, where it remained for 300 whole years, lost all its fairly developed economic organisation, which it acquired against during the Venetian occupation. The population from 800-1000 thousand, dropped to about 120,000 when the English occupation took place (1878). Its trade was destroyed together with its shopping centre in Famagusta, and little by little the patriarchal productive relations prevailed, that is, the exchange in kind.

During the Greek revolutions, Cyprus did not play a significant role, for various reasons: (a) because it was very close to the Asian coasts and very far from the revolutionary centres (Peloponnese), (b) because the Cypriots felt more of its political oppression of the powerful church and of local Kotsapasids, despite Turkish oppression. Thus, the island plagued by epidemic diseases, droughts and locusts, was increasingly backward financially and was being destroyed. This miserable situation was blocked by English occupation in 1878.

The British Occupation

The British occupation took place mainly for military reasons. The English, however, tried to reorganise the island economically and to develop it as colonial market for the industrial products of the Diocese. To this end, capitalist relations of production had to be developed, the development of agriculture favoured to produce raw materials for export, and the population developed to such an extent that they become accustomed to the consumption of industrial products. This is the positive action of

¹¹ *Neos Anthropos* newspaper, October 18, 1926 and November 6, 1926.

the British administration during the occupation, which can be summarised as follows: (a) development of agriculture production, (b) development of domestic and foreign trade, (c) intellectual development of the population, (d) development of transport, events that can be characterised all together, the development of capitalist relations of production.

The attempt to transform Cyprus into a colonial market had as a consequence not only positive results, but also negative ones. The flourishing handicrafts of the Ottoman Empire began to decline in favour of importation finished industrial products. Also, the household economy of the peasants was completely destroyed, without Cyprus acquiring its own remarkable industry.

The tax has been increased too much to meet the needs of our luxurious administration and the payment of the subordinate tax, which is still paid to this day. This constant export of capital, together with the exporter of budget surpluses, constantly exhausting the country and causing the lack of funds, which is observed on the island. The oversupply of foreign trade has an even greater impact. The population, after acquiring relative intellectual development, also acquired the habit of consuming various industrial products. Most of these industrial products come from the Diocese, due to the relative tariff protection in Cyprus. In order to deal with this large import, the export of agricultural products, which come from the deprivation of the lower strata of the population, was overemphasised. Thus, despite the development agricultural production, the agricultural population is constantly impoverished and passing through bad financial crisis, while the capital is concentrated in the hands of some usurers and traders or exported abroad.

The Economic Crisis

This crisis has intensified in the post-war period. The cause is the agricultural crisis that followed. The then increase in the prices of agricultural products contributed to the inflow of abundant funds to the villages and to the creation of a relative happiness. But instead of using these funds to pay off their debts and intensify their crops, the peasants preferred to expand their businesses, buying new estates at high prices and often on credit, or wasting their funds acquiring new consumer habits, which caused a great demand for goods, which resulted in the

development of speculation. So not only have the peasants' funds fled the villages, but in the end, as soon as we returned to the normal post-war period, the peasants found themselves in debt with exorbitant sums. With the deprivation of the agricultural products, they did not manage to pay them, and thus either lost all their property or are in on the verge of disaster.

This agricultural crisis, due to the fact that agricultural production is the basis of our entire economy, causes a general economic crisis of the country with devastating effects on small trade. The result of the general crisis is both the destruction of the small property of the peasants and the destruction of small traders with the parallel accumulation of capital in hands of some big merchants and usurers.

Overcoming the economic crisis is possible only with intensification of agricultural production and the development of domestic industry, to the extent that Cyprus ceases to depend on the Diocese. But the British administration will never favour such a programme, which would tend to change the island from colonial market in a self-sufficient country. In addition, the implementation of such a programme requires new funds, which are not in place, but can be found either on loan or by repaying the budget surpluses, which are immobilised in England and already amount to approximately £600,000.

Appearance of the Bourgeoisie

The economic development of Cyprus had its impact on the political formation of the country. The main result is the development of a domestic bourgeoisie, which plays an important political role today. The political career of this young class went through different periods e.g. (a) the struggle for political and social supremacy among the population of the island to the detriment of the clergy, (b) the struggle for the liberation from British rule by union with Greece and (c) the period of its defeat by the British administration and its capitulation.

The period of the struggle for political and social domination (its sharpest appearance) coincides with the period of the archbishopric issue. At that time, the young bourgeoisie, gathered around the liberal metropolitan of Kiti, Cyril, struggled to participate in the administration of the church and ecclesiastical property. The British administration in order to weaken the

omnipotent clergy that was drafted together with the then metropolitan of Kyrenia, favoured the plans of the bourgeoisie, which managed to force the clergy to accept a compromise, after a ten-year and stubborn struggle.

The "Unifying" Issue

This victory, the almost simultaneous intensity of the national liberation movement in Macedonia and Crete and the predominance of liberal nationalist bourgeoisie in Greece, gave the required courage to the weak bourgeoisie of Cyprus to lead the "unification" struggle and to turn the island's population against England. This struggle took on its greatest intensity in 1911-1912. During this period there was the biggest movement for the "Union" and the organisation of large rallies, which ended in riots. This movement finally pushed the Turkish population towards the side of England and developed the racial hatred between the Cypriot population, the Greeks and the Turks. This movement went bankrupt during the period of "abstention" and boycott of the local administration—due to the economic crisis after 1920. The peasants, who found themselves in a difficult financial situation, unjustly waited for the "Union" leaders to ask for some financial help.

The bourgeoisie and the "union" leaders, not only did not favour the demands of the peasants, but also reacted to them because they turned mainly against their financial interests e.g. the courtroom. Thus, they lost their influence in the villages and were defeated in 1925 by various workers and peasants who took the opportunity to take advantage of the discomfort of the people against the old leaders.

The bankruptcy of the expansionist policy and the political and economic anarchy that followed it in Greece contributed greatly to the bankruptcy of the "unification" movement.

The Agrarian Movement

The peasants started moving spontaneously to ask for some financial demands, in particular for the provision of credit and a reduction in taxation. This movement of the peasants (which manifested itself at the agricultural congresses of Lefkonikos and Nicosia) is still in its infancy and has not yet assumed the character

of a real movement with a specific programme. However, various experts were found who took advantage of this movement, wearing the mask of a peasant or a worker.

The Anglophile Current

The British administration is also trying to join the dissatisfied peasants to turn them against the "unionists". GG abolished the tenth in order to win the sympathy of the rich peasants, who are mainly favoured by of this measure. Thus the current political situation can be summarised by the following features: (a) the near-permanent bankruptcy national "unification" movement, (b) the development of an indefinite agrarian movement and (c) the British administration's attempt to create an Anglophile current.

The Workers' Movement

The development of the working class and the establishment of the K.K.K. They are also great political events that will have great political significance in the near future. The K.K.K. bearing in mind the fact that the liberation of Cyprus is a condition necessary for its future economic development and its establishment the current political situation, must draw a positive political line, which will assist both the liberation of Cyprus and the future developing its influence. And it will achieve this if it manages to maintain a correct tactic towards the "unionists" and the various workers' and peasants' by which it proves their inability to fight for the liberation of Cyprus, and for the economic interests of farmers and workers, for which the K.K.K. must act as best it can.

The United Anti-Imperialist Front

In this particular phase of the political situation in Cyprus, right for the K.K.K. from a political and tactical point of view, it is the united anti-British front for the attainment of self-government and self-determination (5th) of Cyprus. Specific and immediate requests for achieving self-government are:

(a) The application of universal suffrage, that is, the right to vote to all, without exception, male and female residents over 18 years of age years.

(b) Transformation of the Legislative Council into a real parliament, directly elected by the people by proportional representation and separately representation of minorities (Turks, Armenians, etc.) depending on the population.

(c) Formation of a responsible person in the Parliament of the Government.

(d) Abolition of Cyprus' share of Turkish debt and a corresponding reduction in taxation.

(e) Return of the budgeted real estate surplus to England and allocate it to support agriculture and industry.

(f) Military evacuation of Cyprus and assignment of its guarding to local militia.

The Duties of K.K.K.

The K.K.K. in the common struggle for the success of the above demands, it must seek to cooperate with all political elements that accept to work on the basis of these demands. The General Secretary must take the initiative of the action for the preparation of the convening of the Pancyprrian Congress of Greeks and Turks, which will elect a people's committee and a delegation, who will travel to England to achieve self-government. Congress delegates must be elected in general assemblies of villages and towns by parish. In addition, MPs and representatives of the various parties and clubs and trade unions must attend. But the K.K.K. will never lose its independence within the united anti-imperialist front, but will continue to criticize any inaction or political betrayal of other groups or individuals, that will make it up. Objective purpose of the K.K.K will be the conquest of the majority of the working class—agricultural masses of Cyprus and through them its dominance in the united front, of which to take the lead.

The K.K.K. will never fail to recall that the liberation of Cyprus is connected with the struggle of the world proletariat and especially of the English proletariat, whose victory against British imperialism will mark the end of Britain's colonial expansion and consequently, the liberation of Cyprus. Also one of its main tasks is the propaganda to workers and peasants that their final economic and political liberation will not take place either by the "union" of Cyprus with Greece or by the self-government of the island, but only with its establishment labour-agricultural democracy in Cyprus

and its entry into the Federation of Labour Agricultural Republics of the Balkans.

Presentation on the Professional issue¹²

The Working Class Power

The British occupation, although it favoured the great development of agriculture, did not allow the development of domestic industry. On the contrary, it contributed to the decline and partial destruction of handicrafts, which flourished during the Turkish occupation, especially in Nicosia. This fact stems from colonial economic policy of England, which turned Cyprus into a colonial market, that is, a country that produces raw materials and consumes industrial products. The only industries that are relatively prosperous are those who do not have to compete with the metropolis, e.g. the distillery, cigar industry, etc. This number of industrial workers is very limited and does not exceed 1000-1500.

On the contrary, the production of ores (exported as raw materials), due to the richness of the Cypriot soil in various metals (copper, sulphur, asbestos, magnesium, etc.), is very developed. Very large companies work in this sector, e.g. of Asbestos and Skouriotissa, used by 7-8000 workers. The entire working class of Cyprus can be estimated at 9 - 10000 wage workers (excluding land workers about 6-8000), and its proportion to the population 5-6%. However, the continuous development of new mining and industrial enterprises will multiply the number of workers very quickly and will develop the social and political importance of the working class.

The Economic Situation of Workers

The financial situation of the workers is deplorable in every way. The agricultural crisis on the one hand constantly throws new elements at the proletariat devastated peasants, and the limited development of industry, which do not can absorb all the labour

¹² *Neos Anthropos* Newspaper, November 23, 1926

force of the island, along with the reduction of migration on the other hand, contribute to the existence of a large supply of labour, much greater than demand. Thus, not only are the wages kept at a low level of 1-2 pages per day and the working conditions are miserable (twelve hours of work), but inactivity is developing too much, both in cities and in villages. This situation is constantly aggravated by the supply of new workers, because the workers are almost completely disorganised and cannot oppose effective defence against employers.

The Struggle for Daily Demands

Needless to say, the K.K.K. has a duty to work for improving the position of workers. The K.K.K. is the same party working class, the most conscious part of the proletariat and therefore its first duty is the struggle for the liberation of the proletariat from the bourgeoisie exploitation, which will take place only with the imposition of the dictatorship proletariat. But this does not mean that our party until then must ignore the daily struggle of the working class. The K.K.K. has first task to realize this class and prepare it for its final release, succeeding in guiding it. And that can be it succeed only by fighting for the daily demands of the workers.

Thus, our party must fight for the improvement of the workers' daily wage, for the reduction of working hours (eight-hour implementation) and for the protection of workers from accidents at work, illness, etc. Also for government protection of the unemployed. The K.K.K. must always be at the forefront whenever workers fight for these demands against employers.

The Workers' Organisation

But there can be no serious talk of such a struggle, as long as the workers are still disorganised and without any coherence between them. This party of ours is obliged to throw all its forces for it organisation of workers in conscious professional organisations and above all of miners.

These organisations (trade unions and E.C.) will be linked to each other in one higher body, the general union of workers of Cyprus and will try to have relevant funds for each case of strike movement.

Fight Against Reformists and Nationalists

In order for workers' organisations to become real instruments of labour struggle, they must to be based on the principle of class struggle. The K.K.K. has an obligation to expose in the eyes of the workers, the tactics and purposes of the reformists and nationalist elements appearing within the unions. There is also a need to mercilessly beat any tendency of these elements to divide the workers, setting up separate unions. Where the workers have already divided or there are more than one labour centre, our party will work for their unification, opening a struggle for this issue and fighting anyone who will react to the unification.

The C.P. Relations and Unions

Another delicate point to which our party must pay close attention is the issues of relations of the C.P., with labour organisations. It must be understood by all members of the party that between C.P. and labour organisations there can be no organic relationship because they are two completely different organisations. The only direct purpose of the workers' organisations is to carry out the struggle of the workers for their immediate demands,—improvement of the daily wage, reduction working hours, etc.—while the C.P. fights for them as well, but it develops its action at a higher level, also fighting for the economic demands of the spatial and other petty bourgeois classes. In other words, it takes on a political character, while labour organisations have only an economic character.

This is why the workers' organisations in which not only the communists become members but also in general any worker who wants to fight for the economic improvement of his position, cannot be organically dependent on the C.P. It does not mean, however, that our party will refuse to lead labour organisations, as long as the workers voluntarily assign their administration to members of our party.

The Trade Union Factions

The C.P. will also try to further develop its influence within the workers' organisations by establishing factions, which will be

those members of the party who belong to the organisation in which the faction will operate. Thus, the faction will be the channel through which the tactics of our party will be channelled into workers' organisations, without the latter being dependent on it.

Our party with the professional one we mentioned above, will succeed to organise the working class of Cyprus and to make it aware, thus preparing it for its toughest struggles tomorrow, which will have as their objective the final liberation of the proletariat.

The Presentation on the Agricultural Issue¹³

The Role of the Peasants

The working class in its struggle against the bourgeoisie must ally with all the oppressed classes of the population to secure its final victory. Such an order in today's society and especially in the colonial countries are the landless or smallholders, because they also suffer from the exploitation of either the foreign conquerors or the local landlords or usurers.

The alliance of workers and peasants is therefore a historical need of the present social period and is a necessary condition for the overthrow of imperialism and capitalism.

This and the Communist parties, this vanguard of the working class, under the bright direction of the K.D., they work for the conquest of the lower strata of the rural population and for their entry into the struggle against imperialism despite the side of the working class.

Similar duties are imposed on the K.K.K., in fact bearing in mind that the Rural population in Cyprus constitutes about 85% of the total population. From the rural population an insignificant minority are the rich peasants, while the rest are the agricultural workers (landless) or indebted to usurious smallholders, whose conquest by the K.K.K. is not much difficult.

¹³ *Neos Anthropos* newspaper , 23 November 1926 and 10 December 1926.

The Agricultural Crisis

Especially the agricultural crisis, which was mentioned in the presentation on the economic and political situation, results in the impoverishment of the rural population. Due to this crisis, the peasants were forced to take out large loans or they were unable to repay the loans they took out during the war to buy new fields.

One that cannot repay their loans is a natural consequence usurers seeking to collect it, selling the property of the peasants. And indeed most of the peasants lost their property and if many still retain it the reason is because the various usurers, bearing in mind in the depreciation of the value of land, they are not in the mood to expropriate the peasants because they think that the sale of their property in the present situation is not enough to cover their loans. But it is a fact that many they lost their property so in the villages a large army of inactive proletarians of the land was created, who either suffer in their villages or go for work in mining companies, or in cities. The restriction of immigration, which was absorbed before the surplus inactive population of the Island, also contributes to the development of inactivity.

The Agrarian Movement

This financial mess forced the peasants first to abandon the "union" leaders and secondly to act instinctively to protect their interests. Thus was born the agricultural movement that manifested itself at the agricultural congresses of Lefkonos and Nicosia. Unfortunately, however, various experts who profess to be "agricultural" [Dr. Rossidis and Co.] managed to exploit this movement of the peasants only to satisfy their conspiracy plans. The attitude of the so-called "workers" and "peasants" Members of the Legislative Council clearly proves our point. E.g. Rossidis fought Michaelides' proposal for the conversion of the peasants' debts into mortgage loans, and described this proposal as "premature", maybe because not all the peasants have been destroyed yet!

The Duties of the K.K.K.

In the face of this situation and in order to achieve the workers' and peasants' alliance, our Party must first fight the

pseudo-peasants and free the agrarian movement from their influence and secondly adopt the demands of the peasants in their purest manifestation, and to fight despite the side peasants for their realisation.

The agricultural issues in which the K.K.K. should pay more attention are (a) issues related to the protection, maintenance and development of smallholdings; (b) tax issues; (c) the protection of the peasants from traders; and (d) various other general issues (transport, education, etc.)

The Smallholding Ownership Protection

We mentioned above that the small property, which is in charge, is being destroyed with huge debts. But also the position of smallholders who are not in debt their property, not much better. In order to overcome the current crisis, they need to intensify their production, and they can only achieve this if they find new funds to buy new tools, fertilizers etc. If they are borrowed from usurers or fertilizer traders in two or three years, their property will also be in danger.

Therefore, the protection of small property and its development depends on the settlement of debt and raising funds to provide cheap and long-term credits with which they will intensify agricultural production.

The Agricultural Debts

In the matter of debts, our Party must pursue complete secession, that is, debt repayment. However, it will definitely fight for a medium and temporary solution of the issue by converting the debts into collateral to 5% and long-term loans.

The Finding Funds

On the issue of finding funds, the K.K.K. has a duty to fight for establishment of a real agricultural Bank, in the administration of which the peasants will also participate, which will provide cheap and long-term loans to the peasants through the "cooperative companies". The funds of this Bank can be found either with an external loan guaranteed by the Government, or with the

repayment of the surplus budget, which is found almost unused in England amount to about £600,000.

Also, the solution of the ecclesiastical issue will contribute to the finding of funds, the property of the well-managed monasteries and churches will leaves huge surpluses, which can flow into the Agricultural Bank and be used to support the agricultural population.

The Restoration of Landless People

The restoration of damaged and landless peasants is included in the chapter on the protection and development of small property. For this purpose the K.K.K. will fight for the return of the land, which passed into the hands of usurers and merchants during the last decade to its old owners and at the same price it was sold. This transfer to be done without any tax burden, and the repayment to be done in a debit manner, unchanged as we mentioned for the repayment of debts. In addition, it should be distributed to landless peasants of monastic or vakuf estates and tsifliki.

As far as the expropriation of the tsifliki is concerned, it must be done without compensation, while for the ecclesiastical property a reasonable depreciation by amortization should be defined by amortization, as long as this property will be used for the benefit of the entire agricultural population.

The Tax Reduction

One of the main tax issues, which directly interested the peasants it was the tenth. But the British administration, in order to win the sympathy of the rural population, abolished it. This abolition was done in such a way that benefited only the rich peasants, who paid mainly the tithe, while its conversion into indirect taxes affects all poor peasants and the workers in general. Also, the imposition of a tax on alcohol affects certain areas, which live from viticulture.

Our party today has to fight for the abolition of the alcohol tax and property tax (*vergi kimat*). Also for the exemption from anyone taxation of landless and poor peasants and the general reduction of taxation of peasants that can be achieved.—

(a) by the abolition of the subordinate tax;

(b) by the simplification of the government mechanism; and
(c) with the taxation of capital, which in Cyprus is completely useless.

Against Speculation

On the issue of the protection of the peasants against trade, which is terribly speculative to the detriment of the peasants, the K.K.K. will ask for the support of agricultural associations, to undertake the trade of agricultural products, chemical fertilizers, agricultural tools, etc.

The Organisation and Action of Peasants

The K.K.K., of course, cannot be limited to an ideological struggle for agricultural demands. It has to connect with the rural population, which must organise it and direct it in a struggle for its agricultural programme.

For this purpose there is a need to spread the "N. Man "in all the villages and to popularize both its agricultural programme and the general one with popular and simple brochures, if possible in the Cypriot dialect.

The mobilisation of the rural population can be achieved with various local or general Congress of peasants, in which the relevant issues are considered and committees of action are elected on specific requests.

One of the main tasks of our party is to organise the landless peasants, the proletarians of the plain and the poor peasants.

The peasants' organisations will work on general agricultural demands, however, at the same time they will take care of the improvement of the daily wage, the reduction of working hours and other labour demands. In addition, they will take care of securing employment for their members by undertaking contracting companies, especially when they form a small capital or can find any loan, they will be able to e.g. undertake the construction of a certain road, the drainage of a certain area, etc. In pre-fascist Italy such landowners' organisations, the Braccianti (the manual workers), prospered in large numbers.

The Organisation of the K.K.K. in the Villages

The K.K.K. will not be able to cope with these tasks until it is organisationally rooted in the villages. It has to acquire in the main rural centres its rural nuclei, which perform the work of the party within in the villages. Creating such cores is not difficult today. In the villages there is generally great sympathy for communist ideology, though the peasants do not have an accurate understanding of the issue. The K.K.K. has only to approach these elements to identify them and guide them in the organisation illegal agricultural nuclei.

This is the A and Z of our current action in the villages, because no matter what programmes we have we, we will not be able to approach the peasants and mobilise them in our slogans, if we do not connect with them organisationally, through the agricultural organisations of the K.K.K.

The Presentation on the Organisational Issue¹⁴

The Importance of an Organised Party

One of the main problems they face in front of any Communist Party is the organisational one, that is, the way in which it will get to the point of acquiring a good organisation. When we say good organisation what do we mean? That way of organising, which allows the party to develop and make better use of its forces to reach its objective faster and more safely and to be able to meet the demands of any political situation.

The importance of the organised party in the development of the political situation was felt better than any other by our great leader Lenin. He realised that without an organised party we would unjustly wait for the revolution as a result of the "mechanical evolution of economic conditions" as the social democrats almost acknowledge, eliminating the role of the party in the revolution.

Lenin from 1903 still indicated in his book "What to do?" the need of the organisation of the "professional revolutionaries" party as he called them.

¹⁴ *Neos Anthropos* Newspaper, December 10, 1926.

That is, of people who sacrifice everything for the revolution. He himself pioneered the organisation of a similar party in Russia. All of us now we see the result. The workers and peasants in Russia succeeded under the leadership of the Bolshevik Communist Party to seize power in 1917 and maintain it to this day.

Of course, various political and economic conditions contributed to this, but we can say as an axiom that any conditions, even if they existed without the C.P. of Russia would not be able for the workers to understand and above all to retain power. Workers' revolutions took place successfully in Hungary and Bavaria after the armistice of 1918 and we are glad they ended. We are also pleased with the results of the movement of Italian workers' movement in 1920. All these revolutions and movements failed just because the iron organisation of a true communist party was lacking. This is one of the main theories of Leninism, which distinguishes it completely from social democracy, is its conception of party organisation.

The Nuclei Organisation

As for the implementation of a good organisation, we can generally state that the best party organisation for a country is one that allows the party to maintain contact with the working masses and its involvement in its daily struggles and their preparation for the final goal, the social revolution. And because the socio-political terms differ (especially in their details) in different countries, the organisation of the parties must take a similar form and thus necessarily differs from country to country.

But no matter how different the organisation of a country's party is from the organisation of another party the general basis of their organisation is still an organisation based on the nuclei.

The existence of nuclei within the hearts of workers in the enterprises or villages as organisations with independent life, but at the same time disciplinary in higher organisations, ensures all the above-mentioned advantages. The organisation based on nuclei is one of the main differences of the Communists Parties from the social-democratic parties organised by constituencies, because these parties use their own organisation only during periods of electoral struggle. It is obvious that such an organisation cannot meet the demands of a party that wants to be in daily contact with

the masses, and especially in a period of illegal action, which most communist parties in the world are going through.

The nuclei are also creations of C.P. of Russia out of need of illegality it had to go through during the terrible period of Tsarism.

Unable to keep the party in touch with the masses "from above" the party was forced to go down to the factories and grow into as many small parties (nuclei) as factories or companies. The experience of R.C.P. in this matter is valuable, but it cannot be transferred to all countries as it is.

The Nuclei in Cyprus

Especially in Cyprus where large companies are rare and counted on the fingers, the organisation of our party will necessarily take a different form, trying as much as it can to reach the nuclei organisation. Thus very few business nuclei can be organised e.g. in Asbestos, in Skouriotissa etc. Also spatial nuclei. As far as cities are concerned, there is a need to establish neighbourhood nuclei, and temporary nucleus functions can also be performed by the professional factions. The establishment of these bodies and its relations with higher bodies will be determined in accordance with the statutes that will be voted immediately. But the organisation of nuclei is not enough.

The nuclei must have an independent life and be interested in all the issues of the Party. They must also be able to develop their action within their own radius.

The Political Education of Members

In order to be able to carry out their duties, it is necessary to take care of the political education of the party members.

The programme of the party and the basic principles of Marxism and Leninism must become the property of every member.

The Legal and Illegal (Covert) Action

One of the main problems of the party organisation and above all in an illegal or semi-illegal period, such as the one our party is going through, is the combination of legal and illegal action. The party must neither be seduced into a mystical illegality, which will prevent it from acting, or turn it into a harmless illegal

organisation with no connection to masses, nor to ignore certain points of party's action only to avoid persecution. We need to realise that the best guide to the combination of legal and illegal action is to work and to fight for legal action without neglecting to work illegally in places where we cannot appear legally.

Our party in this period is going through a semi-illegal situation. Although it is legally tolerated, publishing its newspaper and being able to make it public gatherings, its well-known members are under such surveillance that it tends to isolate them from the party organisation and paralyze their activities. Our party must fight in this case for its legitimacy with all the forces at its disposal. It should not be paralysed from constant surveillance and go into a severe illegality. On the contrary, by organising its illegal organisation, it must take care of the legal appearance of the party, for the existence of a legal C.C. and not neglect to protest abroad for any excesses committed against it.

We hope that the new C.C. will pay close attention to the organisational issue why is one of the most important problems of the struggle.

THE MANIFESTO

The Manifesto to the Workers and Peasants of Cyprus¹⁵

Comrades,

The first pan-Cypriot congress of the Communist Party of Cyprus met in a period during which our country is facing a terrible economic crisis. The peasants are oppressed by the usurers and crushed under heavy taxes. Thousands of peasants have lost their property and the rest (except for a small minority) are at the same risk if not taken protective measures are not taken.

The peasants, out of self-preservation instinct, try to increase their production and thus pay off their heavy debts, using chemical fertilizers or new tools, but the lack of funds thwarts their every effort. The establishment by types of an Agricultural Bank is not enough. Large funds are needed to protect the villagers and funds with low interest rates. While the Agricultural Bank allocates only a few thousand pounds and loans them with the exorbitant interest to the co-operative companies to get into the hands of the peasants with 10% interest, at a time when hundreds of thousands of pounds, the leftovers of the Cyprus budget, are left almost unused in England and millions of pounds' fortunes are at the disposal of the monks without performing any useful purpose.

This agricultural crisis has its impact on all other sectors of our country's economy. It causes a general cessation of all work and has a great impact on the financial situation of the workers. The increasing inactivity every day and the entry of thousands of damaged peasants into the working class creates an abundance of working hands, and worsens the living conditions of the workers.

The average daily wage is much lower than the index of life, that is, the average expenses needed to maintain a working family, at a time when Cypriot workers work 12 or more hours in the

¹⁵ *Neos Anthropos* Newspaper, September 18, 1926

mines, to profitably fill the pockets of the Anglo-American capitalists, they sacrifice their lives every day on the altar of capital (how many did not find a grave in the mines!), their blood and their existence without being able to provide their children not a single piece of dry bread! This is the situation of the workers who are not inactive. What is the situation of inactive and landless peasants in the villages? Everyone imagines their crap and their indescribable sufferings!

Poverty and hunger reign in the lower strata of the population, and thousands of workers and peasants starve. There is an urgent need to take exceptional measures to save the peasants from destruction and the workers from starvation.

It would of course be ridiculous to expect such measures from the goodwill of a foreign domination. The Government of Cyprus only aims to protect and develop the interests of the British imperialists and not to cure the needs of our poverty.

The independence of Cyprus will of course be a way out of this situation, but it would be foolish to cross our arms and not try to achieve certain concessions through struggles and not to ask for the protection of certain protective measures.

But where are our various politicians? Some continue the old *hava* of the "Union" without paying any attention to the economic crisis that is passing the rural and working world is going through. The various "young people" who came out in the last elections very quickly forgot the promises they spread to the peasants. After securing the parliamentary seats for five years, they have now tarnished the peasants and workers who voted for them. This is their moral responsibility to the peasants!

So no one is interested in the demands of the peasants and workers from the various politicians, because they are conscious or unconscious organs of capitalists, traders and usurers.

The congress of the K.K.K. examined all economic and political issues of Cyprus and concluded that workers and peasants can extract certain concessions, and achieve its final independence Island only with intense struggle and action under the leadership of the K.K.K.

The K.K.K. is the only Party that supports the interests of poor and can lead it to its final liberation. The General Secretary of the K.K.K. Congress invites all workers and peasants to organise and stand under its flags to fight for their liberation, despising all the politicians of Cyprus.

Their struggle will be based on the following demands:

- Concession of broad self-government in Cyprus with a responsible Government and by universal suffrage.
- Abolition of the servitude tax and the property tax.
- Reduction of indirect taxation and capital taxation.
- Return of the budget surpluses and allocate them to provide cheap loans to the peasants.
- Write off debts or convert them into long-term loans with low interest.
- Implementation by law of eight hours in all companies.
- Freedom of workers' organisations and together with the recognition trade unions. Adoption of protective labour laws.

Workers! Farmers!

Front! Get organised and prepare to fight for the enforcement of our demands.

The K.K.K. will always be by your side and will guide your fair fight.

Long live Independent Cyprus.

Long live the Communist Party of Cyprus.

Long live the Communist International.

THE CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CYPRUS (K.K.K.), November 1928

THE DECISIONS OF THE CONGRESS

The Decision on the Report of the Central Committee¹⁶

The Second Congress of the KKK. after hearing the report of the Central Committee, on in its action (on the organisational, political, journalistic and economic issues) finds that:

(a) approves the action of the C.C. at all levels, comparing it (of course) with difficulties which it found at all levels of its action.

(b) approves the decision of the C.C. for expulsion from its organisations of the Party of traitors, created by its last intra-party crisis of the K.K.K.

(c) More efforts should be made in the field of propaganda of our slogans among the popular Turkish masses.

(d) Immediate efforts must be made for the good organisation of the Communist Youth throughout Cyprus, as long as it limits all possibilities for organisation of a good and strong Communist Youth of Cyprus.

Decides:

(a) to instruct the new Central Committee to use all means for the most systematic propaganda among the Turkish working masses.

(b) instructs the new Central Committee to immediately reorganise all sections of the Party according to the new illegal situation in which the CCP will pass, from the 1st of January 1929.

(c) is ordered in the new C.C. to use as strong and effective means as it thinks for its political action in the midst of illegality.

¹⁶ *Neos Anthropos* Newspaper, December 6, 1928.

The Decision on Political and Economic Positions¹⁷

The 2nd Congress of the K.K.K. after hearing the positions on the political and economic situation it finds that:

(a) Today the struggle of the Cypriot people must be carried out under harsher conditions, including the struggle of K.K.K. should be performed more methodically and more intensively.

Decides:

(a) To Instruct the new Central Committee to make every effort to organise an illegal (of course) Anti-British United Front, whose ultimate goal is the expulsion of England from our Island.

(b) It is mandated to the new Central Committee with the possibilities that it will be able to use in the illegality to launch the Party slogans and to make so that the masses of the people adopt its programme, because without such an awakening of the Cypriot people, the struggle to wake them up will be in vain.

(c) It is ordered to the new Central Committee to declare in the illegal situation by any means possible to the economic demands of the people.

¹⁷ *ibid.*

THE POSITIONS OF THE CONGRESS

The Positions on the Economic and Political Situation¹⁸

1. The British occupation is an important transitional stage in economics development of Cyprus. It gave great development to capitalist relations, which were just beginning to appear during the years of Ottoman rule and helped in their penetration into the villages.

The immediate consequence of this situation was the destruction of patriarchal relations and the "in-kind exchange" of products.

2. Positive results of this change were:

- (a) the great development of agricultural production and
- (b) the development of trade relations between Cyprus and abroad, which allowed the intellectual development of the island.

The direct consequence of these events was the stabilization of smallholder ownership in the villages and the development of a commercial bourgeoisie in the cities, originated in both domestic and foreign trade. The unification movement is its action at the political level.

3. Negative results are:

(a) the decline of handicrafts and trade union productive relations but without the simultaneous industrialisation of Cyprus due to the imposition of British industry in Cyprus

(b) the increase in taxation, which resulted from the maintenance of luxury administrative mechanism, from the payment of the former subordinate tax and following Cyprus' share of the Turkish debt, which had just risen in 1927 seemingly abolished, without of course this line ceasing to put pressure on Cypriot people in another form (salaries of employees, contribution to the imperial defence, etc.)

(c) Excessive growth of agricultural exports to deal with the import of agricultural products from abroad

¹⁸ *ibid.*

4. During World War there was a relative improvement of the economic situation of the peasants (a) because the compulsory conscription of the peasants was not imposed and so the agricultural production did not stop at all, while in all other countries it suffered a significant recession and (b) because prices of agricultural products (due to the devaluation of the gold coin) rose sharply, which caused large inflows capital into the villages.

Most of these funds, however, were gradually concentrated in hands of the allied capitalists, who kept the prices high of imported goods. The peasants sought to increase their production with purchase of new fields, despite doubling their value, and thus managed to acquire all the fields that passed into the hands of the merchants before the war.

This acquisition was made either in cash or most of the time on credit and with very high interest rates. So the villagers created huge debts in the hope that they would pay them off quickly, always calculating the duration of their relative "happiness" very long.

5. The end of the war and the ensuing agrarian crisis were refuted the hopes of the peasants. However, the huge devaluation of agricultural products and of land did not allow the peasants to pay their debts. The result was the mass destruction of most of the smallholders who lost not only the property they bought during the war, but also their pre-war property.

6. This agricultural crisis is still going on and with it general economic crisis is developing, because agricultural production is the basis of the whole economy of the Island. The main features of the economic crisis are

(a) The reduced price of the products of the peasants, the maintenance of accuracy of life and the excessive import of cars to our Island, but without simultaneous development of production.

(b) The excessive growth of animal exports resulting from continued destruction of smallholding.

(c) The descent of the peasants into the cities which creates inactivity and the development of an excessive degree of migration.

7. The intensification of agricultural production and the development of the local industry (increase of production and change of crops), the only possible ways to overcome the crisis, it collide with the passage of land in the hand of usurers (merchants and church). The economic crisis resulted in the political

differentiation, which manifests itself with the disappearance of the influence of the "Unionists" among the working masses and with the manifestation of an agrarian movement, with economic slogans (reduction of taxation, establishment of an agricultural bank, solution of the ecclesiastical question, etc.).

8. The main features of the current political situation are (a) the relative bankruptcy of the Unity movement (b) the growth, but indefinite rural movement (c) the attempt of the British administration to create Anglophile current (with the abolition of the tenth, with the law of 19, with the appointment of Indigenous people to senior government positions and the abolition of community freedoms, that is, with the Government—the employment of mukhtars, azas [freedmans—Ed], teachers and school boards) (d) the relative bankruptcy of the pseudo-filigree policy that some have tried to shape politicians, after the fall of the "Union" policy.

9. At the same time, however, the British Government, seeing that all its efforts to create an Anglophile current, commensurate with its aims, fail, while on the contrary an anti-British struggle is constantly being created, which takes place with the awakening of the popular masses, and which is assisted, from the intense actions and action of the Communist Party of Cyprus and seeing that the British imperialism for the introduction of its capital in Cyprus requires a complete suppression of the popular voice and a perfect blow to the fighters of the Cypriot cause, imposed by Royal Decree, which is nothing more than the suffocation of every popular voice, for the preservation and continuation of capitalist and imperialist exploitation.

10. The bankruptcy of the "union" movement is due to:

(a) The inability of the union leaders to take over the leadership of the agrarian movement and to undertake a real anti-imperialist struggle. And the reason is because the slogans of the people are directed against the local bourgeoisie, which took over most of the agricultural property and enslaved the peasants with usury,

(b) The reaction of the Turkish population of the Island who prefers British rule to Greek occupation and who was pushed into this perception for reasons of reaction to the unification movement,

(c) The inability of the Greek bourgeoisie to renovate internationally the Cyprus issue since it is completely dependent on

British Imperialism, this is exactly what greatly influences the manifestation of the "unifying" movement, limiting it to a literary event awaiting "union" from the "Noble Gesture" of British Imperialism and

(d) In the square enlightenment of the masses by the Communist Party of Cyprus.

11. The agrarian movement is still in its infancy and is presented in a very vague form. It is mainly limited to economic claims, leaving in the second place the main political issues, which proves its ideological weakness. The British administration, seeing this, is trying to win over the peasants by making some small concessions to the rich, especially the peasants, e.g. such as the abolition of tithe, the law against usury and the law in favour of indebted peasants and with the efforts for the establishment of Cooperative Credit Companies, as well as with the so-called such ones for the establishment irrigation projects. The creation of a purely Anglophile current encounters great difficulties and despite all his efforts he cannot meet supporters from the working masses, he only meets supporters among the traitors and traitors of "Union" Greek and Turkish politicians, who are trying to achieve Government positions.

12. The relative bankruptcy of the "unifying" movement and its leaders, existence of indefinite and without real leaders of the agrarian movement and the constant growth of the proletariat with the constant destruction of the peasants and the establishment of mining companies allow the K.K.K. to take this on initiative of the anti-imperialist struggle for the liberation of the Cyprus problem people from British rule, a necessary condition for overcoming the crisis. The K.K.K. is the only Party that can help the organisation of a united anti-imperialist front, in which all the elements that are willing to fight for the real liberation of Cyprus in any social class, whether Greek or Turkish, take part. In the K.K.K. it still has to lead the United Front if it manages to conquer the agrarian movement, adopting its demands, and reconcile the Greeks and Turks under its leadership, which can be easier than any another party to succeed, because of its international character.

13. The United Anti-Imperialist Front, is unable to rely on slogans of the "Union" for the following reasons:

(a) because it hinders the cooperation of Greeks and Turks and

(b) because it also divides the Greek population, pushing the peasants and workers who no longer have any confidence in the

"Union" leaders to follow the trajectory of Anglo-Saxon policy and (c) because the population of the Island stopped waiting for its salvation from "Union" with Greece, enjoying its miserable financial crap.

This does not mean, however, that elements of the "Union Movement" cannot take part in the United Front as long as they recognise the above basis and conditions and abandon their romantic manifestations.

14. The basis of the United Anti-Imperialist Front, in addition to satisfying the immediate economic demands of the peasants, will be the conquest of independence of Cyprus to the point of complete self-government and self-determination, because only then will Cyprus succeed in pursuing economic policy independent of the Diocese, thus it will be able to overcome the current economic crisis. Immediate demands of the anti-imperialist struggle will be:

- (a) the implementation of universal suffrage.
- (b) the transformation of the Legislative Council into a real parliament with a full "elected" delegation,
- (c) the formation of a responsible Government over against the parliament.
- (d) the abolition of the £10,000 tax for the Imperial Defence.
- (e) the reduction of taxation.
- (f) the return of the budget surpluses;
- (g) the military evacuation of Cyprus and the formation of a local militia and
- (h) the abolition of the New Penal Code, and the drafting of another based on social and psychological conditions of our country.

15. The K.K.K. has a duty to work with all its forces for the organisation of United Front based on the above programme and cooperate while maintaining always its independence, with any elements they will want to work with for it.

At the same time, however, the Communist Party of Cyprus must remind the workers and peasants of Cyprus, that the struggle for the liberation of our Island is connected with the revolutionary movement of the world proletariat and especially of the British and only with its victory will the final independence be achieved of the Island. It must also be recalled that the final economic and political liberation of workers and peasants will not be achieved either by the self-government or autonomy of Cyprus, or by its "Union" with

Greece, but only by the establishment of a workers' and peasants' democracy, which will move proceed within a broader workers' and peasants' organisation of all the Balkan states and its Turkey, that is, the Soviet Federation of Workers' and Peasants' Republics of the Balkans.

The Positions on the Organisational Issue¹⁹

1. The basis for the steel fastening of a Communist Party is its organisational issue, that is, the way in which the forces are well organised that allows it to develop and use its forces to more confidently serve its purposes. Without the good organisation of the Communist Party can certainly never walk its difficult path.

2. The good and helpful organisation for the struggle is the one that allows in the Communist Party, in the midst of terrorism, secrecy and reaction, to maintain good contact with the working masses and to allow the development of all its forces with the most perfect and effective work plan.

The Communist Party must rely on such an organisation that it always manages to guide the working masses on the real path of their struggle against their oppressors and exploiters.

3. A suitable and unique organisation for the main purpose of the Communist Party is the organisation based on the nuclei because the existence of nuclei in the hearts of workers and peasants is the only means that can ensure the contact of the Party with the working masses. The core is the smallest but also the most helpful organisation for the struggle, because, living, as a Communist organisation within the working masses that surrounds it, it always succeeds to supply the Party with all the necessary supplies, so that it can adapt to the psychology and demands of the masses, and on the other hand living as a Communist organisation among the masses that surround it will be able to launch and propagate the relevant slogans of the Party, and most importantly, direct the workers on the right path.

4. Each nucleus develops its own initiative, acts spontaneously, however within the margins of the positions and decisions of the Congress and in accordance with the respective provisions of its

¹⁹ *ibid.*

higher bodies. It develops its own method of action and constantly invents new means of better service of the struggle.

5. In the current period of the Cyprus struggle is going through, between systematic Government monitoring of the Party's activities, between the open white terrorism that is constantly intensifying and in illegal situation in which our Communist Party will go from the New Year of 1929, our Party's action for propaganda, awareness and education of new members must be carried out completely conspiratorially (secretly). The action of all nuclei must take this form. No member of the Communist Party Cyprus party should not be known.

6. The Party must also make every effort so that the members of the various nuclei do not know each other. The illegal situation from which only days separate us, does not allow the members of our Party to have any relationship with each other, in addition to the relationships they will have within their nuclei.

7. The recruitment of new members, which must begin very intensively, especially from the working proletarian masses, must be done with great care and with serious control. New members must be constantly monitored.

THE MANIFESTO

To the Workers, the Poor Peasants, the Toilers and all Oppressed Cypriots²⁰

Comrades, our brothers,

The 2nd Congress of the Communist Party of Cyprus, which met today sends you its revolutionary greeting, in whatever corner of our Island you are, and demonstrates to you its courageous decision, his unshakable decision to stand guard and claim your own interests from our class enemies, the imperialists and capitalists.

Exactly today, when white terrorism and vulgar hafidism have managed to break, to crush every other struggle, today when Ronald's policy Storrs managed to drag the leaders of yesterday's "Union" leaders !!!

In the Government oppressive chariot of horrible imperialism, offering as a gift to each of them a filthy bone with plenty of fat, today that there is no leader from the old and the new exists, today that the new Penal Code made them all hide in their own skins and confine themselves in the hypotheses of their offices, just today, in the most critical period of your struggle, which has received the most vile and immoral betrayals, the Second Congress of the Communist Party of Cyprus met. It came to pass today that the Government, through the mouth of its official organs, proclaims without any sorrows and without any shame the pretexts of white and savage terrorism in order to lay the foundations, the solid and the helpless, of an honest struggle, of the struggle of the Cypriot people against the new fascist regime of the "liberal" kingdom of the state of Britain.

The Congress dealt extensively with all the issues that the new regime of black tyranny will present, it dealt mainly with them, in order to make the most solid and secure decisions, on which the Communist Party of Cyprus will carry out the struggle of the oppressed and exploited Cypriots, against the awful imperialism

²⁰ *ibid.*

and against the heavy exploitation of the local and foreign bourgeoisie.

In the illegal situation in which the unbearable, the enormous and the shameful oppression will rage, in which the wave of Government rage will be unleashed against every popular awakening and against every honest fighter of the popular struggle, in this indescribable terrorism, which Ronald Storrs, this "liberal" Englishman, envied glories of Mussolini, Chagoff, Liachev, Pilsudski, adopted and will implement by the Black New Year of 1929, the Communist Party of Cyprus, always heroic and always faithful to its struggle, enclosing in it all possibilities of the decisive struggle against the oppressors and strangulators of human rights, while all the others, as cowardly and cowardly human beings or as vested interests and redeemed scum, withdrew or joined in solidarity in Government's barbarism, it took the honest and unwavering decision to work persistently and heroically until the end, until the day of the glorious victory struggle of the oppressed Cypriot people.

No force, no matter how infamous rage is watered, will be able to drink, to stop its fatal historical road, the hard road to the final liberation of oppressed and exploited workers and peasants of our Island. No power of Government rage, no power of it imperialist oppression, just like any other, can stop the world proletarian torrent, which, advancing more and more rapidly, reaches the rotten walls of the capitalist fortress rushing to make it all rubble. The vanguard of the huge torrent, the Russian proletarians, rebuilding our Soviet Homeland, in front of which all governments of the imperialists and capitalists around the world tremble, illuminate our path and strengthens our courage.

The organisations of the Communist Party of Cyprus, fully adapted to the new situation, to the regime of black tyranny and the brutal fascism, will not only they not lose contact with the oppressed masses of the Cypriot people, but will become more connected with them. Everywhere and always the organisations of the Communist Party will be in the front of the struggle of the proletarians of Cyprus living their lives and fermented in their daily struggle they will always demonstrate the abominations of the new fascist regime and will push the masses forward, illuminating their path to the world redemption.

Comrades, our brothers, all of you who are being pressured by the black yoke of the British imperialism and the local bourgeoisie.

Accept with enthusiasm the revolutionary greeting of the 2nd Congress of the K.K.K. Accept it, all of you slaves and untouchables, who burst all day working in the sunless galleries and the deadly mines. Accept all of you, who like meat machines, work without rest, away from human life, in the plain and in the factory, in the office and the warehouse, in the shop and at sea, on the road and in the factory.

Accept, comrades, the class and fraternal greeting of the Party, whose destination is the struggle for your own cause, for your liberation. Accept it and at the same time accept its honest promise, that its drinkers, neither under the orgies of the fascist regime, nor in front of the roars of the imperialist lion, will stop its struggle for the interests of your class against the class of the exploiters and the Sovereigns.

COMRADES, OUR CLASS BROTHERS,

The Second Congress of the K.K.K. laid precisely these foundations. The foundations of the struggle of workers and peasants, which must be stubbornly be carried out under the threats of imprisonment, the brush, and the gallows, which will be used by bloodthirsty and murderous imperialism.

COMREDES,

Follow the path of struggle against our class enemies. The K.K.K. under any terrorist regime will always guide you.

LONG LIVE C.P. of Cyprus

LONG LIVE all our brother colonial Communist Parties

DOWN with the traitors

DOWN with imperialism

LONG LIVE the labour-spatial Government of Cyprus

LONG LIVE our Soviet Homeland

LONG LIVE the Communist International

LONG LIVE the World Revolution

Limassol 1928

Note²¹

The other proposals, positions and decisions of the Second Congress cannot be published, due to the illegal situation that will arise, but they will become known to all the organisations of the K.K.K. by the new Central Committee, which should ensure that this work is done in the most secret way.

²¹ *ibid.*

THE FIFTH CONGRESS OF THE KKK, November 11, 1944

THE DECISIONS OF THE CONGRESS²²

The Decision of the Fifth Congress of the K.K.K.

1 . To elect a new C.C. of the K.K.K. with an order to draft a programme, statute and internal regulations of the K.K.K.

2. The work of the congress should be postponed for a month, at which time the congress should meet again to approve the programme, statutes and internal regulations to be sent to dealers at least 8 days before the day of the congress.

3. The approved by the congress of the C.P. programme, statute and internal regulations to be sent to the C.C. of AKEL with an order to go down in active and in groups. The Communists have to work in active and groups under the guidance of C.C. of K.K.K. and T.E. for adoption by the members of AKEL.

4. The C.C. of AKEL from the day it receives the new programme, statute and internal regulations will begin to guide the party on this basis. The C.C. of K.K.K. will be the controller of their faithful application.

5. Four months after the approval of the regulations by the congress of K.K.K. AKEL will hold an extraordinary congress on the adoption of the new programme, statues and internal regulations, to accompany the adoption of agricultural policy.

6. For the purposes of K.K.K. the congress of AKEL will also be considered as a congress of K.K.K. during which the two parties will be merged under the name AKEL.

²² From the *Proceedings of the Congress*, 11 November 1944. (The 5th Congress of the K.K.K. was also the last to be carried out by the K.K.K. The decision is based on the dialogue developed at the congress on the basis of a report of the temporary C.C. who was elected to lead the Party to the 5th Congress.)

7. The General Secretary of AKEL must necessarily reside in Nicosia.

8. At the congress of K.K.K. which will take place after a month the C.C. to present suggestion for reclassification of AKEL executives.

9. The provincial congresses of AKEL should be postponed so that they take place two months before the congress of AKEL.

THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF AKEL, April 14, 1941

THE HISTORICAL DOCUMENT OF THE MEETING FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A POLITICAL PARTY OF PRINCIPLES²³

At 10.30 p.m. on Monday, April 14, 1941, a number of people from different parts of the Island met at Skarinou to exchange opinions and make decisions for the establishment of a Pancyprian Political Party.

The Constituent Assembly decided to rename the party to be founded the Progressive Party of the Working People (AKEL).

At the end of the meeting, the elected Pancyprian Organising Central Committee, drawn up in this House, prepared the following communique:

On 14 April 1941, following the permission of the authorities in Skarinou, Cypriots concerned with public issues, who, after hearing and discussing programme positions, decided to establish a Cyprus Political Party under the name the Progressive Working People's Party (AKEL).

After that, the Party's statutes were discussed and approved, and the Cyprus Organising Committee and Local Organising Committees were elected in the cities of Nicosia, Limassol, Famagusta and Larnaca.

2. At the Constituent Assembly, it was decided to publish the party's programme positions in the press in order to give the opportunity to all Cypriots to form an opinion on it.

3. The founding Assembly expressed its regret that the Turkish element could not be represented in it, as well as that more peasants could not be present.

4. The Constituent Assembly decided that the AKEL should not participate as a Party in the upcoming municipal elections.

²³ *Publications K.E. A K E L, Album for Dochrona AKEL, 1976, p. 87*

5. The Constituent Assembly referred to the critical situation and considered that the establishment of a Party as the AKEL with a purely Democratic, Anti-fascist and anti-Hitler in nature, it is fully in line with the current struggle against totalitarianism and violence.

FROM THE PAN-CYPRUS ORGANISING CENTRAL COMMITTEE
Skarinou, 14/4/1941.

THE FIRST CONGRESS OF AKEL, October 5, 1941

THE PROGRAMME OF THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY OF THE WORKING PEOPLE²⁴

(The programme of the AKEL was initially presented and *approved at the Constituent Assembly* of the Party, on the 14th April 1941 in Skarinou, and took its final form, after suggestions, additions and changes, at the *First Pancyprian Congress of the Party* in Limassol, on October 5, 1941).

1 . The development of the mines and small light industry, the expansion of the road network, and public transport with exterior, the partial progress in intensive cultivation of the land for the last twenty years, are, events that caused significant changes in the economy of the Island. They helped to grow the population of cities, to create numerous working class in mining areas, in cities and in the countryside, to develop the internal and foreign trade and related professions, and finally to raise the intellectual and cultural level of the people.

2. However, Cyprus remains, to this day, a predominantly agricultural country, significantly lagging behind both in the agricultural economy and in all other productive sectors of the national economy.

Cyprus is dominated by small scattered agricultural economies (households), farming uses mainly primitive working methods, and the basic productive strata of farmers are economically enslaved.

In the light industry, with the exception of a few factories, equipped with newer machines (K.E.O. Factories of teeth, buttons, etc.), the others use old-fashioned machines, and in most

²⁴ Publications C.C. AKEL, *its Programme and Statue of "Rehabilitation Party of the Working People"*, 1941. pp. 3-15

professions prevails the micro-employer employee system of the journeyman and of the toilers.

In the mining companies the perfection of the means of its mining ore does not go hand in hand with measures for the protection of the working class, and thus the conditions under which the miners live and work are unimarginably tragic.

3. The lack of protective policy and state care for the issues concerning the workers, peasants and the working people in general, exacerbates the situation and is today the main reason for both the delay of the national economy, and its low standard of living of the masses.

To date, substantial legislation for the protection of the working class has not been enacted and only in recent years has there been talk that the issue is being studied by the Government. The working class is exposed to the exploitative dispositions of employers. The vast majority of farmers (poor and middle class) are in the hands of traders, interest rates, the Agricultural Bank, and the latest law on farmers' debt relief does not seem to have provided real relief to the majority of producers. The purpose pursued by the law on the relief of farmers has failed to settle satisfactorily, for the farmer, the debts, and the ease of payment of the debts will not bring about any substantial change in the damaged producer. The living conditions of the rural family are truly indescribable.

4. The tax and tariff system is anachronistic and unpopular and depressingly burdens the agricultural productive classes and all the other strata of the working people (property, school and professional tax, high duties on basic necessities, etc.) In many cases the landowners and other taxes absorb 1/3 of the net income of farmers who fully cultivate their land.

On the contrary, affluent classes of industrialists, merchants and landowners are taxed on almost the same basis as the working people, without taking into account their large incomes and dead capital. The mining and other industrial enterprises are burdened with insignificant taxes.

The lack of irrigation works and periodic drought cause, at times, great hardships to the working people. The failure to ensure regular and favourable markets abroad for Cypriot products, mainly agricultural products, creates a situation of uncertainty in the Cypriot producer, who produces without prospects and becomes a victim of circumstances. The policy of monopolies (in wines,

tobacco, etc.) unilateral and exclusively favourable to the interests of monopoly companies, has caused severe damage to some commodities, so that producers cannot secure from them even the production costs.

5. Thus, Cyprus with its natural wealth and the fertile for everyone cultivating its soil. Cyprus that with a paternal Government care and a constant interest around the problems of the working people and the national economy, could today be have a comfortable life for all working classes, is in a chronic decay with debts and without appetite for work the agricultural productive classes, and the working class completely unprotected and malnourished. The essential problems of the national economy and the basic demands of the working class and workers (rural and petty bourgeois classes) remain neglected and unresolved.

Unemployment is also a key feature of the working class and has a significant impact on the lives of all other strata of the working people.

6. From the national point of view, the amazing majority 5/6, about 300 thousand of the Cypriot people, are Greeks, and the second neighbourhood indigenous element is the Turkish. However, the migratory flow of recent years has created in the Cypriot cities some foreign communities, such as the Armenian, the Jewish, the English, etc., each of which plays a similar role in the economy Island.

The two indigenous elements, the Greek and the Turkish, live today in complete harmony, and no racial or ethnic rivalry separates them. Moreover, the working class and working classes of all neighbourhoods face their economic problems in the same difficult way.

7. The Government's tactic in recent years, which has tended to deny the national conscience of both the Greek and Turkish elements, in official documents calling the Greeks Christian Orthodox and the Turks Muslims, has succeeded in exacerbating the dissatisfaction, of this unjustified tactic. The Greek and Turkish population of our Island is a population with an unshakable national conscience and tradition, and no measure can destroy their national identity. Therefore, the political intervention of the Government in the Ecclesiastical issues of the people, as well as in the educational issue, which is based on the national conscience of the people, created a very acute dimension between the people and the Government.

8. The deprivation of the civil rights of the people, which ended with the events of 1931, and the imposition of a completely authoritarian regime, has created an even greater gap between the people and the government. The policy of setting up various advisory bodies, the appointment to these bodies of persons who had nothing to do with the working people and their interests, the replacement of all the elected Principals of the people (Municipal Councils, Capacity Authorities, Euphrates, Educational Councils, etc.) were measures that not only increased the dissatisfaction of the people, but also constantly worsened their economic situation.

9. In both the economic and political demands of the people, the Government did not pay due attention that the Cypriot newspapers, which in various cases, became the expressive organs of the people, were censored from time to time and were forced to stop publishing them temporarily or even forever still, because they had supported one or the other vital issue of the people contrary to the views of the Government.

10. The recent decision of the Government to grant general suffrage for the promotion of Municipal Authorities (with limited power, however) was the only comforting and concrete point, that the Government began to listen to the persistent and stable voice of the working people. However, this fact of granting only the above rights is not a satisfactory presumption that the Government has decided to satisfy all essential economic and vital demands of the working people. The mobilisation, therefore, of the working class and the working people in general, around their daily and general demands, is the only guarantee that the Government will pay due attention to them.

11. Under these circumstances the organisation of the Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus (AKEL), which will base its demands on political-economic and general demands of the working class and its working people, is necessary and timely.

AKEL aims to be the most essential factor in solving all without exception the problems of the working class, the working class and the working strata of the city.

12. AKEL represents the principles of the People's Democracy, which it sets as its basis the exclusive service of the interests of the working people.

AKEL strongly opposes the dictatorship of wealth and Fascism, which is in their fierce and ruthless enemy. The AKEL still believes

that there can be no reconciliation and harmony of interests between working class, the working peasantry and the working classes of the city on the one hand, and of big capital on the other.

The struggle of the working class, the rural working class (poor and middle class) and the working classes (professionals, small shopkeepers, and working scientists) is a common struggle in claiming better working and living conditions. AKEL defends with all its might these interests against any opposing interests.

13. In its daily systematic struggle, AKEL will fight, as long as the Island is part of the British Empire, lawfully and always within the framework of the law for the following essential claims of the working people:

(a) For complete freedom of the press, speech and assembly, as well professional and political organisation.

(b) For the full recognition of the national existence of the neighbouring elements of the Island, the Freedom in education of the youth based on the national traditions and the national conscience, the complete freedom of the Church to solve its issues without any intervention of the Government Authority.

(c) For the complete freedom of the community both the Municipalities and in the rural communities, for the complete disappearance of the system of appointments, and the promotion of all Authorities under the people.

(d) For a Government that is responsible and accountable to the people, that comes from a Parliament elected by general universal and proportional voting of all the constituent elements.

(e) For universal compulsory education up to the age of 14, with full provision of all conditions for such education.

(f) For complete labour legislation that protects the worker and employees of the liberal professions from all risks (unemployment, old age, disability, accidents), for eight hours of daily work, for part-time job that corresponds to the index of life and specialty of the worker. Ensuring the right to rest and education and construction of apartment buildings or working-class settlements for workers.

(g) For the full protection and security of agricultural productive classes, organisation of an Agricultural Bank purely in the interests of the producers, allotment of land to its cultivators, abolition ownership of the rivers, to whoever belongs without compensation to the cultivator, provision of agricultural tools and

seed for the poorest strata, and solution of agricultural problems in general, based on all the latest achievements of science.

(h) For the full protection of our agricultural products, permanent abandonment of the policy of monopolies, finding favourable markets abroad and ensuring regular transportation abroad, and encouraging the productive, consumer and export cooperatives of farmers.

(i) For the adjustment of tax and tariff policy with replacement of the duty of the essential items with the tariff charge for luxury items, etc. The income tax and dead capital to replace the various taxes levied on the people.

In its daily activities, AKEL takes care of the resolution of the issues of the national minorities within the framework of the above tasks. Also, the issues related to the emancipation of women and especially to the improvement of the economic position of the working woman, are always at its centre of attention of AKEL.

In general, AKEL sets as its goal the tireless and systematic work to support all, without exception, the demands of the working people, for the prosperity of our rich and fertile Island, to ensure of a happy and joyful life to the working people.

14. The AKEL as a Party is realistic, will regulate its action and its actions on the Cypriot reality and the erased perspectives, always fighting on the front line and within the framework of the Law.

The AKEL as a Party of the Working People, and daily action, rests all the hopes of his success on its good and solid organisation.

AKEL believes that without systematised organisation from the bottom up, without iron discipline in its lines (organisations to obey faithfully and consciously to their superiors), without its ramifications in all places and areas of Cypriot life, without a systematic and daily guidance, it cannot succeed. The programme may be great in content and alive in demands, but will remain dead and unenforceable without strong Pancyprian Organisation based on democratic centralism.

15. AKEL systematically studies all the problems of the Cypriot inner life, maintains its own journalistic body, systematically informs members on all problems and carries out systematic fermentation and enlightenment among the broad working layers. The daily contact of AKEL with masses of working people is the best guarantee for the success of the above programme.

THE PROCLAMATION

THE FIRST CONGRESS OF THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY TO THE CYPRIOT PEOPLE²⁵

The First Congress of the Progressive Party of the Working People, addresses the following proclamation to the Cypriot people:

The Cypriot reality with its many unsolved problems, as erased in the programme positions of AKEL, and with its growing labour and popular movement, gave birth to the idea of the Progressive Party of the Working People which has taken on flesh and blood today.

AKEL in its final composition promises the solution of the problems of these. It has full conviction for the fulfillment of its goals and the desires of the Cypriot people, represents the people, are these people. The people, with their pioneer children in charge, know what they are asking for, because whatever asks for it lacks.

The founding of AKEL coincided in general with the most critical turning point that the humanity and culture are going through and in particular with the most important event for the Greek people of Cyprus: fascism that threatened and is threatens these acquisitions of civilisation, oppressed Greece while the heroic Greek people then proposed their proud chests to its barbaric hordes. The vanguard of AKEL at the founding assembly, declared its solidarity with the Titans who fighting against barbaric cannibalistic fascists.

The fatal events that followed, led Cyprus to the sphere of military operations. AKEL sensed the danger that threatens its homeland and took the position to guide the Cypriot people, alongside the liberal peoples of the world, against the threat of fascism. As a start, it chanted the slogan of one day work for the defence of Cyprus, which was embraced by hundreds and thousands of patriots—anti-fascist patriots, of all classes of the Cypriot

²⁵ *Independent Newspaper* , October 8, 1941

people. It began the broad enlightenment of the masses, with lectures and discussions on content and aspirations of fascism. It pioneered the organisation of the united anti-fascist front in Cyprus.

AKEL, as a Party of the working people, liberal, pioneer and progressive, calls on the Cypriot people to rally under its flag. It calls on every honest Cypriot who respects his freedom, and longs for their enslavement enslaved Greeks, with whom we have inseparable ties of history, culture and blood, who longs for the enslavement of Poles, Yugoslavs, of the Norwegians and other enslaved peoples. interested in the titanic allied struggle, invites him to take his place where is the place of all fighters for freedom.

The Progressive Party of the Working People entering today strongly steps on its historic path puts in front of its members the following slogans for fulfillment:

1 . Forward for the unification of all the forces of the Cypriot people.

2. Forward for the defence of our homeland and the relief of the victims of barbaric raids.

3. Forward for the organisation of fundraisers, for the support of the freedom fighters.

4. Forward to save and send food to the hungry Greeks and other oppressed peoples.

Only united and next to our strong allied forces will we succeed to give a strong and unforgettable blow to the enemy, if it tries to drag its bloody leg on our peaceful beaches.

AKEL, faithful to its programmatic positions, which are the basis and the peak of his existence, inspired by the desires and longings of the working people of Cyprus, and guided by its wishes, begins to fulfill its goals.

AKEL is now taking more active action. Its action and the results will the reflect the energy and action of the entire Cypriot people, who we believe are striving for higher, universal ideals that we firmly believe should live happy and joyful days and in this struggle for happiness and joyfully the leader and guide is the Progressive Working People's Party.

Limassol 5/10/1941

FOR THE CONGRESS BUREAU

THE SECOND CONGRESS OF AKEL, January 30-31, 1943

THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE CONGRESS

Proclamation of AKEL to the Cypriot People²⁶

During the 2nd Pancyprian Congress of the Progressive Party of the Working People, convened in Famagusta on January 30 and 31, 1943, the following proclamation of the Party to the Cypriot people was read and approved:

On the occasion of its 2nd Pancyprian Congress, the Progressive Party of the Working People comes to address all workers, farmers, working women and the middle classes of our island, the most cordial greeting, demonstrating its faith in the great ideals of the Cypriot and of universal avant-garde, which especially under the current world-historical conditions transmit the vibration to every free mind, to every free soul and increase the desire to fight for a new life, truly human life, value for every sacrifice and heroic self-sacrifice.

This greeting is accompanied by a promise and a sacred oath—the oath of three thousand pioneers, who proudly raise the flag of AKEL—for more intensive work and more systematic fighting effort in our great path to the final victory of the sound principles of civilization.

Cyprus People,

We started as a small group envisioning a better tomorrow for this the place that is suffering and wronged in every way. We started with a few forces but always with hope and faith, that our voice and our fighting courage would find their proper justification among them all classes of the working Cypriot people. And it was not long before on our difficult uphill road to find many companions, dense armies of fighters, competitors and

²⁶ *Independent Newspaper* , February 4, 1943.

companions, ready to climb with us to the high peak of culture and humanity from where we will see—very soon, as we hope—the sun of freedom and happiness will rise from the depths of the gloomy and dark horizon.

We have come a long way until the 2nd Pancyprrian Congress of our pioneering Party. We toiled, we struggled, we faced the most adverse conditions, we overcame various obstacles and enormous difficulties. We overcame them where possible and armed ourselves with all the experience needed for greater conquests. But the road is even bigger and rougher and more uphill. We will not stop anywhere. We will never be afraid and we will not stand or breathe in this heroic course of our great one duty.

Workers,

Tighten and strengthen your ranks even more and fight under the banner of our Party leadership, of your own Party, for acquisition of all your inalienable rights in life.

Peasants,

The trumpet of freedom calls you —the slogan of liberation from the hands of your eternal exploiters and the ascent to the prosperity of the whole rural world. Shake hands with your children, with the workers of the land, with all workers, and away from the faction of the tsiflikades and politicians, form the irresistible united rural front, which will ensure you a free and happy life.

Working Cypriot people,

We are always by your side. We surround you with the most sincere affection and we are ready to offer the greatest sacrifices to ensure the satisfaction of all your rightful demands and ideals. Come with us. Thicken our ideological armies and we are sure that the victory is yours, it is ours.

THE DECISIONS OF THE CONGRESS

The Draft Decision on the Report of the Trade Union Sector²⁷

1. The Central Labour Office failed to fulfill to the important task of which it was entrusted. In particular, it did not study all the issues that concerned the labour sector and did not guide all strike struggles as a Labour Office. A struggle like the struggle of the 9,000 defence workers were not under its watchful eye and guidance.

2. Lack of a specific work plan on which all the Labour Sectors would base their work for the development of the Sector workforce and the education of the members.

3. The organised Party leadership of the Guilds in the various cities was not fully secured.

4. The proportion of Party members in the Trade Unions in all cities except of Varosi, is insignificant. This means precisely that our Party failed to conquer the majority of organised workers.

5. The lack of executives capable of responding both qualitatively and quantitatively to all the work of the Guilds is obvious.

6. The mass work was not at all satisfactory. The Labour Sectors did not fully responded to all the anti-fascist tasks that the our Party ousted.

7. Unjustified delay occurred in the issue of workers' education which affects the whole quality of our work.

From the above (i.e. Decision) arise our duties.

Fully ensure the guidance of the labour movement both in the economic sphere and in politics. This will be achieved by setting up a living and agile Labour Office, with the recruitment of new members to the Party. Specifically, all the evolving members of our Guilds, to find their place in lines of our Party in the shortest possible time. At the same time we must work to achieve good organisation and systematic work of our teams, so that they

²⁷ From the Proceedings of the Congress, 31 January 1943.

become living organisms that whose work will greatly develop to the prestige and influence of our Party among the broad masses of organised workers.

Great attention must also be paid to the work plan on which all our Party organisations work. With this work plan we will be able to divide the work, to exercise systematic and paternal control over the members of our Party organisations and in this way will be born and developed among our members the polite rivalry for which member will perform its duty and present the best work.

Our central task: The working class in our person, in our organisation, must to find the best supporter in its struggle, the economic and political and the Cypriot people must find in the face of our organisation the main leader in their struggle for the claim of political rights. The task that history has placed on us is to be the key to ensuring to this people a life in which poverty, deprivation, unemployment, the economic crisis, and all the general features of capitalism will be eliminated, will belong only to the past. It is an honour to for every worker to belong to the lines of our Party and it is a greater honour to those members of our Party who feel their great duty, work tirelessly for the short-term realization of our Party's goals.

The Draft Decision on the Report on the Middle Strata²⁸

1. It is noted that the Office of the Middle Classes did not function properly, however, the professional organisations of the Middle Classes are well guided and in good position:

2. The organisation of scientists and intellectuals was not achieved in all cities. We recommend:

(a) Reorganisation of the Office of the Middle Class with responsible members who are free relived of other duties, at least the Secretariat.

(b) Our Party, through the Office of the Middle Classes and the Party executives of General Assembly to study all the issues of the

²⁸ *ibid.*

Middle Classes, organisationally, financially and to draw the right line on which to work fanatically all AKEL members within all the organisations of the Middle Classes.

(c) Effort through lectures and speeches to understand all the Mediums what is AKEL and what its goals are.

(d) Recruitment of as many members of AKEL as possible from the middle class organisations.

(e) Organisation of Party factions in all the organisations of the Middle Strata in general.

(f) Organisation of Cooperation on a Pancyprian scale after a good study of the issue by the Party.

(g) Closer contact and cooperation with labour organisations. Establishment by cities of Joint Medium and Workers Committees on the basis of a Programme.

(h) Efforts to organise scientists and intellectuals in all cities.

(i) The AKEL to express itself in favour of the specific special issues of medium-sized Organisations in order to gain prestige in them.

(j) Effort by our Party to elevate and gain prestige of the organisations of the Middle Strata, so that these organisations can find their way in parallel with the Labour Organisations and Organisations of the countryside, these basic organisations that our Party has set as its goal to guide them.

The Decision on the Party Anthem²⁹ , Tefkrou Anthia

We are the Workers of the Rise
Towards any bright high peak
And we are all pulling towards a new horizon
with a whole vertical soul.
Workers, working women
farmers strong levers of land
mind workers heavily tied
we ask for the dawn of a new life

²⁹ *ibid.*

CHORUS

Forward to the Great Victory
in the arena of culture
helpless flag bearers
of the idea of redemption
Holding the Banner of AKEL
high with a steady step
we ask for the sun of joy
for every town and village
We are the opponents of violence.
which enslaves man,
we long for the Right, the Truth
and a new, free life.
Bread and roof and light for everyone
in our place, in every corner,
all over the earth, which awaits Spring
rise after the severe winter.

CHORUS

The Banner of the Party is also approved at the 2nd Congress³⁰



³⁰ *ibid.*

THE PRESENTATIONS OF THE CONGRESS

The Political Events of the Progressive Party³¹ (From the Report of the General Secretary of AKEL, Ploutis Servas)

The correctness of our general national political direction and the specific political decisions of our fifth and sixth plenary sessions, reflects on following facts:

(a) Just thirty days after the decision of the fifth plenary session for the assertion of Municipal elections and in the face of our massive demonstrations—sending mass memos from all cities—only the memorandum of Nicosia was signed by 5,000 people—the Government makes the announcement that they will launch in the near future the Municipal elections.

(b) The English pro-Cypriot MP Mr. Pritt, known for his anti-fascist, democratic sentiments, he responds to our appeals and immediately demands the restoration of some civil liberties to the Cypriot people who contributed so much to the anti-fascist struggle.

(c) Of course, the people do not listen to the foolish appeals to wait for the realisation of our only claim, the national claim. In his simplistic perception he finds no contradiction between the present claims and his central desire. On the contrary, he finds complete harmony and sends his petitions to the Government, demanding political freedoms and in particular the immediate holding of local elections together with the Municipal Elections. Only from the Province of Nicosia and on the initiative of the EU, of our Party were sent within a short period of time political memoranda from 28 villages with a total of 4,264 signatures of rural residents.

(d) The 70 or more telegrams sent to Mr. Pritt by all workers' organisations, small shopkeepers and the main rural workers' organisations. The excellent result in this case is that after the insistence of our Party we succeeded and secured a voice abroad

³¹ *Independent Newspaper, February 12, 1943.*

and specifically in England. Certainly the creation of conditions under which not only in England but also in America our voice and our efforts will find a continuous response and reinforcement, must be a serious concern for our new Central Committee.

(e) The unprecedented for Cyprus telegram to the minister of the colonies under which were signed the signatures of almost all of the organisations of the city, (professional, cultural and of course our Party) and many rural organisations (not excluding ecclesiastical committees, Orthodox Christian Associations, Spatial Authorities, financial institutions etc.) with a total representation of about 30 thousand.

But the essence of the issue is not only in our mass memos and telegrams that are so willingly signed by employees and workers' organisations. The essence of the issue lies in the undeniable and important fact for our country, that our people, the organised working people, began to think politically and combine their economic issues with their political demands. Our Trade Unions, our Educational, Agricultural Associations, and even the Women's Workers' Unions, have officially combined their financial issues with our entire political issue and clearly and persistently submitting political memoranda to the Government.

A typical recent example of the maturation of political consciousness within the vanguard of our movement, within the working class, are the results of the vote on the Political Guild Fund. From data that I have in mind now, it turns out that from 14 guilds in Limassol (all Guilds are 16) attended the time of the election and voted 551 workers. Of these, 534 voted in favour of the political fund, 9 ballots were found invalid and 8 voted against. It should be noted that out of the 8 blacks, 5 come from five workers of the Button Guild, to whom the issue had not been well explained. If one were to stop at all our political events (not only in telegrams and memos) but also in our celebrations, rallies, lectures, repercussions on our official party documents, one would conclude that the current war, brought significant changes to our Island. He put a heavy and specifically the political stamp on the whole movement of workers and working people. And these changes are what lead the people under the economic and political slogans of our Party, they are the ones who led us in front of this huge organisational orgasm for which we will talk about below.

The political maturity on our island is already evident. No one can dispute it. The whole people, the organised working people,

are on the right path, the path that combines economic and political demands. All those who want to maintain contact with the people as politicians independent of our Party must follow this path.

The hard-hearted reactionaries do not want to follow this path stubbornly and foolishly, who find no other way to beat our Party, despite the systematic reaction against any attempt of our Party for political mobilisation of the people.

This path, the path of political education, of the systematic and tireless mobilisation of the working people, we will continue more intensively, more persistently, more methodically and with more forces until the end. There is no other way to the end goal.

The Progressive Party of the Working People and the Workers³² (From the Report of the General Secretary, Ploutis Servas)

They also accuse us of being a Workers' Party and of the workers only, and that our exclusive concern is our extreme interest in the working class, and that, in fact, we take care in such a way that the interests of the working class are served in a way contrary to the interests of other productive strata of the people.

They say, for example, that we only care about the high wage, and now we do not care at all about the earnings of the middle classes, the wheat producer or the potato grower. or for breeder's milk and animals.

They also say that we would like all peasants to be alienated from the land, to become all proletarians. This would make the fight easier.

But the issue is becoming comical, very comical.

We may like the proletarian separately because he no other means to maintain it except his two hands, but by wanting all Cypriots to immediately stand out in two camps, the bourgeois and the proletarian, we would become ridiculous and unarmed, simply

³² *Independent Newspaper* , February 14, 1943.

because we would ask to shoulder the tasks which are called upon to carry out a social development from which many, many years separate us.

Whether we like it or not, the peasant, the poor and middle peasant and the small shopkeepers live and toil in Cyprus, and will live for many more years. And they must should live in complete harmony with the working class. If they exist differences, these do not exist between the worker on the one hand and him poor middle-aged peasant and professional practitioner on the other. These class differences exist between the worker and the capitalist and at the same time between the poor middle peasant and the poor professional on the one hand and the capitalist on the other. Everything that exists between the worker and the poor peasants are just differences that can be bridged as long as there are the right policy of serving the interests of workers, and such a policy of our Party. If there is anything that must exist between the proletarian workers on the one hand and the poor and middle class peasants and professional practitioners on the other, this must be a strong alliance that must unite them in the common struggle against capital and the big business.

They can say what our accusers want. Their right. This however cannot stop our executives, who work in the countryside and among the middle classes of cities, to increase their efforts tenfold to explain the issues well to the producers, to prove them squarely where their interest lies, today and tomorrow, to consolidate and to strengthen the sacred alliance of the working-class with the poor and middle class producers and professional practitioners of the city.

THE LETTERS FROM THE CONGRESS

The Telegram of C.C. AKEL to Mr. Churchill³³

Yesterday it was sent to the Prime Minister Mr. Churchill under the C.C. of the Progressive Party of the Working People the following telegram:

The Central Committee of the Progressive Party of the Working People welcomes you and takes the opportunity to transmit the following message, approved yesterday unanimously under the 2nd Pancyprrian Congress which took place in Famagusta.

The Second Congress of the Progressive Party of the Working People, which have more than 3,000 members and which took place on the 30th and 31st of January, declares that the working people and the entire working people of Cyprus insist on the immediate concession of political freedoms and national restoration immediately after the victorious end of the war, in harmony with the aims of the anti-fascist struggle.

The 2nd Pancyprrian Congress asks you to personally examine the natural desires and the justified complaints of the Cypriot people.

May your struggle against Hitlerism and tyranny be crowned with glorious success.

Chair.

To Tsouderon, President of the Greek Government³⁴

2nd Pancyprrian Congress of the Progressive Party of the Working People assures your Government that the Cypriot people are watching with holy emotion the epic struggles of a brother of the Greek people and at the same time informs you that main

³³ *Independent Newspaper*, February 3, 1943.

³⁴ *From the Proceedings of the Congress*, 31 January 1943.

reasons are not allowing the people to participate in the struggle anti-fascist struggle.

Please mediate now for the granting of civil liberties now and respect for the national dignity of the Cypriot people.

Chair.

To Churchill, Prime Minister of England³⁵

The 2nd Pancyprian Congress of the Progressive Party of the Working People, guiding workers and working people, blames Government policy for the non-major contribution in the material struggle of the Cypriot people.

All workers and the entire working people today demand political freedoms harmonised in the spirit of anti-fascist struggle and leading to national restoration.

Chair.

To Stalin, President of the Soviet Union³⁶

2nd Pancyprian Congress of the Progressive Party of the Working People expresses with emotion and admiration Pan-Cypriot sentiments in favour of your great struggle.

No glory reaches the glory of your country and your own glory.

The whole of humanity sees its fate entrusted to your hands.

Your wishes follow your every step, your every word.

Chair

To Pritt, English Member³⁷

2nd Pancyprian Congress of the Progressive Party of the Working People informed of the cancellation of your permit to visit

³⁵ *ibid.*

³⁶ *ibid.*

³⁷ *ibid.*

the British Barracks, expresses its full sympathy and hopes that the British people will restore your right to complete this duty.
Chair.

To Papaioannou, Chairman of the Cyprus Committee³⁸

2nd Pancyprian Congress AKEL thanks you and the Cypriots of London for your tireless efforts.

The Congress decided organisation of Party Departments abroad.

It entrusts you with the initiative.

The Chair.

³⁸ *ibid.*

THE RESOLUTION OF THE CONGRESS

The Resolution of the 2nd Pancyprian Congress of AKEL to the Governor³⁹

On the 30th and 31st of January in Famagusta, the following resolution to the SA was approved by the 2nd Pancyprian Congress of AKEL the Governor of the Island.—

Your Excellency,

One hundred and fifty delegates from all parts of Cyprus representing about 3,000 members, gathered on the 30th and 31st of January at the 2nd Congress of the Progressive Party of the Working People.

This Congress, the only political party in Cyprus, proved, Your Excellency, in the most obvious way, that AKEL is today the real leader of the working class and the working people of the city and part of the countryside.

That is why the composition of this Congress speaks first, secondly the dozens of greetings and telegrams from all the basic organisations of the working people speak, thirdly the fact that all the Trade Unions Executives invited by your Government to one committee or another, are all selected members of AKEL.

You excellency,

The Second Congress of the Party showed us things more clearly. There is one reality in the political life of our country and this reality is that our Party is the political leader of the masses. No one else has today the right to say that it represents the working people, the feelings and their demands. This right is held by our Party today.

Your Excellency,

The Party at its Second Congress set a political line. The same line, in which we have walked until today. We did not find another line but neither does it exist. Let us follow, Your Excellency, the same line and we want Your Excellency to believe that this is the

³⁹ *Independent Newspaper, February 7, 1943.*

only line that serves both the real purposes of the anti-fascist struggle, as well as the interests of our people.

Starting from this decision, the Second Congress wants to make only one request before your Excellency:

Let our Party leave undisturbed in its work, as long as it operates within spirit and context of today's universal struggle for the freedom of the peoples.

To be allowed to hold its meetings freely as we did the Second Congress.

Nothing else is in front of you today, Your Excellency, the 2nd Congress of the Progressive Party of the Working People.

In all the demands and memoranda of the Party so far, the Second Congress does not has nothing to add but that it is always waiting for your reply on all issues, as well as for the immediate granting of civil liberties and national restoration immediately after the victory against Hitlerism.

We live, Your Excellency,

By order of the Second Congress
THE PRESIDENT (A. Fantis)

THE THIRD CONGRESS OF AKEL, April 23, 1944

THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE CONGRESS

THE TRUMPET OF VICTORY⁴⁰, *The announcement of the Third Pancyprrian Congress of AKEL*

This is the third time that the Progressive Party of the Working People, continuing its uphill path, confronts and reorganises its forces, submits to a strict and realistic self-criticism, looks with a clear view at the distances it has travelled while gazing at the peak of its history, where it must reach—and it will reach without a doubt—and make a correct assessment of its achievements in the economic, political, national and the social areas.

Our third Pancyprrian Congress is also the third milestone of our uphill course. And every milestone is a start for us—always a new starting point for bigger, more systematic and more militant fights.

Working People,

In fifteen months alone—from the 2nd to the current AKEL Congress, your pioneering Movement became more human and stronger and spread even more, to the last corner of our country. Despite the plutocratic and mukhtarocratic reaction, which with spasmodic but also organised movements, sought to halt your triumphant progress, to split the working classes to subordinate them to the furious plutocratic class of the big industrialists, the merchants, the bigots and the gold diggers. You working people, you did not take a single step, nor did you allow your class enemies to relax your forces. The opposite: in their attack, you responded with continuous attacks, victorious attacks that were truly overwhelming. You humiliated them by raising your

⁴⁰ *Independent Newspaper*, 26, 27 and 28 April 1944.

morale and fighting spirit your fist. You have humiliated all their weapons and especially their main weapon: money—yes, their money, earned from your own sweat, your own malnutrition and your own tragedy. You humiliated their institutions—their newspapers and their parties—which are still tearing in vain to this day, shading and barking.

You threw the masks at them and stripped them of any argument against your honest fight. Not in words. But with works and sacrifices. Not with slander—as they usually do—but with a brave and honest war.

The historic June 16th was for us a day of glory and practical proof of our national, liberal and anti-fascist sentiments. But for them—our class enemies, who falter in trying to support their class with supposedly ideological political, national and philanthropic slogans—it was day of mourning, day of nightmarish impasse because in the face of the irresistible the armour of the works they could only oppose hysterical national cries, bitter reservations and ruminant resuscitations of slanderous bullets.

And here! The Third Pancyprian Congress of AKEL, after studying and judging the whole organisational situation of the Party, after deepening in the new political ferment and perspectives, and after charting new directions in the organisational course, sets before us new tasks, which we have to execute them with the same and greater fanaticism, with the same and more steely discipline.

Workers,

The star of your Progressive Party illuminates your honoured path with a coarser and stronger light. Continue your fighting expeditions with a greater courage and greater stubbornness, with the unshakable belief that nothing, absolutely nothing can stop or limit your momentum.

To the neo-enlightened and late fliers of the reaction, who seek to deceive your class and dream—summer night dreams—to dismantle the steel guilds, based on the truth and a proper understanding of class workers' interests, you opposed with your fighting spirit, your honest and conscientious work, your moral superiority, and your great your decision: to guard the organisations by all honest means.

The arena of honour and fruitful action, reserves for you new laurels. You are the rigid backbone of the labour movement and the free people movement in general.

Stand as always, upright and move with a firmer step towards the Sun, and always to the Sun, under the bright and honoured flag of the Progressive Party.

Peasants,

Working peasants! You too are the victims of a criminal exploitation. You have lived for years and years under the nightmare and bleeding of usurer, of the mukhtar, the wholesaler and the tsiflika. You have reached the edge of the abyss, and you have fallen into the abyss, pushed, driven away, kicked by the foot of your terrible exploiters. The land, which was watered by your sweat and your guts, the land that your fathers have laboured in, and your job patience, the land, which—alas—denied your children, and did not give them their motherly love of, this Earth, says yours and should belong to you and nurture you with its lively breasts, it became the property of the few and—what you have left—is not enough even for the basic maintenance. And you suffer. And you are suffering. And you live like musicians and like helots, because no positive measures are taken for increase your production and ensure your products at good prices.

The Progressive Party of the Working People offers you its honest and glorious flag. Lift it and you—like the other wrongdoers of our island—high up to the sun, that you so long for, farmers, honest workers of the plain and the mountain.

Do not be fooled by the deceptive drug slogans of your enemies, who try in vain try to play the role of your protector and friend.

Do not be fooled by the leaders of the PEK who have shown that they are not interested in your issues at all and they are not really happy to work for what interests you.

They want to break you up, to hit you and take advantage of you more easily. Your physical position, which your social class demands, is on the side of the workers. Take as your main motto and as a conscious great faith: the United Worker-Agricultural Front. Only with this alliance, the sacred alliance two basic unjust classes, you will reach—we will reach—the final victory of Honour, Progress, Truth, Justice, Happiness and Freedom.

Middle brothers,

Do not forget that our struggle is yours too. You are also wronged by the current situation and the current social regime. You are also victims of the big capital of plutocracy and the various competent but in fact incompetent—Principles. Stand

still, fighters on the side of all other classes of working people. And walk with the absolute confidence, and unwavering faith, never submitting to the AKEL flag. Always confident that in struggles and sacrifices we will reach our final victory.

Working women,

Our unjust social system put you lower than the last helot-worker. It kept you away from the insignificant opportunities of progress that provided for your fellow human beings. And always the toil, your toil, is paid less, no matter how great your contribution to production, to culture.

The Progressive Party of the Working People trumpets for you the invasion of redemption from your shackles. You demand your fair and inalienable rights. The enslavement from work and infamous exploitation. The right to life, happiness, education and parity with the rest of the working world.

AKEL offers you its luminous guidance.

Intellectuals, honest and hardworking intellectuals!

You are also workers. Even if you do not work manually. You are workers of the mind. And the mind—when it is healthy and bright—offers the most valuable services to humanity. Consider the tasks that your education imposes on you. Think about your huge debt to culture. And ally with all the other classes of workers to play your role in the great struggle of Pancyprian, the Panhellenic and World Redemption.

Brother Cypriot people. The Third Pancyprian Congress of AKEL took the big oath:

To promote the cause of your economic, national and social freedom. Stand upright by your side. And it raised its flag high, very high up to the Sun.

Swear and join us that you will work with all your strength for a better tomorrow. Tomorrow—for the great Tomorrow, which foretells fruitful sacrifices of the freedom fighters.

Long live our national restoration.

Long live the free man.

Long live AKEL.

PRESENTATIONS OF THE CONGRESS

AKEL and the Peasants⁴¹

Agricultural issues, due to their diversity, complexity and the fact that they are not presented as a whole, they are the most difficult area of work of a political party and in fact of the type of our own Party, which sees the agricultural economy in the light of its correlation with the economy of the other working people and the whole national economy in general.

The rural economy cannot be studied outside the framework of the national economy and the economic system that exists in every place and in every era. For example, today it (the rural economy) cannot be studied outside the framework of the current capitalist system and influence which he receives from it.

The axiom that the rural economy under the capitalist system is obliged to produce goods instead of products, and therefore to become more and more dependent on the market, to accept the law of supply and demand or the law of accumulation, leading to the disappearance of smallholding ownership of the land, only unhistorical people can dispute it.

Our Party, haven in mind the current position of the agricultural economy in our country and the fact that it is still influenced by its remnants feudal system, in its programme positions set as its tasks for the promotion of the rural movement towards growth, the development and the synchronisation of agricultural production the following:

- (a) the return of land to farmers;
- (b) the appropriation of the estates,
- (c) the abolition of water privileges;
- (d) the reorganisation of the agricultural credit by the creation of a real agricultural bank,
- (e) the provision of agricultural implements, seeds and chemical fertilizers for producers,

⁴¹ *Independent Newspaper, April 19, 1944.*

- (g) securing markets for agricultural products and ensuring augmented price for them,
- (h) abolishing all monopolies;
- (i) establishing productive, consumer and export cooperatives;
- (j) the adjustment of tariff and fiscal policy, etc.

Next to them it put the solution of the problems created with controlled economy, brought about by the current state of war.

Within this framework, during the three years of its existence, our Party worked tirelessly to create favourable conditions in the countryside and prepare our farmers and especially the poor and middle peasants to solve their problems.

To this end, our Party, since its inception, organised special organisations, central and provincial, for the development of our rural policy and the preparation of our farmers for the solution of all these problems.

There is no doubt that in the short time it has elapsed since the founding of our Party, the work that has been done is enormous.

Its correct policy for the solution of agricultural problems is evident from fact that in almost all large villages of Cyprus there are educational and agricultural associations that have undertaken the great task of enlightening the farmers, that in all large villages there are and function quite satisfactorily party organisations and that a large part of the rural world began to organise and to enter into its agricultural productive organisations.

But despite all the enormous work done during this time, the results are still very poor and it can be argued that, comparing the results to the volume of agricultural problems, we have enormous work to perform and infinite difficulties to encounter. The main cause of the huge difficulties presented for the development and synchronisation of our agricultural production are:

(a) The anachronistic colonial system of government which we have the fact that Great Britain, having the rich sources of its possessions and of large colonies to be supplied with raw materials and food, gave very little importance to the development and synchronisation of our agricultural production,

(b) The fact that our agricultural strata are in a very backward state due to the indifference of those responsible and

(c) The fact that a portion of our farmers are fooled by inflation of the banknote in circulation today and a small part of it

which has managed to obtain, created the illusion that they overcame their economic crisis and that they should reach the point of domination in the countryside, which brought them to the point of becoming an instrument and a victim of the referendum and the camouflaged slogans of the reaction and exploiters.

From these facts it can be concluded that a great deal of work is still needed to bring our farmers to realise the need to unite their forces, of their political education and the struggle for granting civil liberties immediately in order to realise the solution of our agricultural problems.

Besides, it is imposed as the slogan of the aggregation of its struggle of the rural class and other working classes, workers and the middle class. It must be explained broadly to the peasants so that they become conscious and believe that without the coalition of these forces they cannot solve really their infinite problems.

There is no doubt that the Third Congress of the Party will give the necessary seriousness to the agrarian problems and struggles of the peasants and the Party's political position must be that without the workers' and peasants alliance no real political pursuit can be realised.

(Iakovos Nikolaou)

THE RESOLUTIONS OF THE CONGRESS

The Resolution of the 3rd AKEL Congress to S.A. the Governor⁴²

The following resolution was approved and sent to the S.A. the Governor under the 3rd Pancyprrian Congress of the Progressive Party of the Working People.

Your Excellency,

The Third Congress of the Progressive Party of the Working People, in which represented 3790 members with 255 self-employed, wishes to put so much in front of your Government, and (through your Excellency) to the Ministry of the Colonies the following:

1. The Progressive Party of the Working People is today the only political leader of all the Trade Unions of Cyprus, all the Associations of Small Shopkeepers, 210 agricultural organisations with 15,500 members. The party that leads the Municipal Councils of the second and third Cypriot city, which ideologically and politically guides the majority of the working people of all the cities of the Island. In addition, our Party is the only political organisation that has studied all the problems of the country and against therefore has the right to submit as all its views are taken into account and all its memoranda are answered.

2. The Progressive Party of the Working People, on the basis of aims of the present war, to which Cyprus has offered us great sacrifices, and on the basis of all the Allied declarations, demands:

(a) Complete freedom in every national and political event, which is in line with spirit of the anti-fascist struggle.

(b) Abolition of all, without exception, anti-democratic laws and decrees, including laws that impede the resolution of the Archdiocesan issue.

(c) Granting the villagers the right to immediately elect their village authorities and granting to all the people of the Island the right to manage with their own representatives all the internal

⁴² *Independent Newspaper* , April 26, 1944.

affairs of the country, political, economic, educational, etc., including of the immediate transfer of the Procurement Control Office and generally of all of the economic problems created by the war, into the hands of elected representatives of the people.

Ensuring the right of the people to prepare as they wish for their national restoration immediately after the liberation of Greece.

3. AKEL also puts in front of Your Excellency the following central demands of the workers and the working people and demands:

(a) Immediate provision of real social insurance (work or unemployment benefit, satisfactory compensation in case of accidents, old-age benefits, allowances for widows and orphans, allowances for large families, free medical care for all workers). Also to enact legislation for full protection of the working class in the working conditions and for a minimum daily wage.

(b) Full satisfaction of all the demands of the strikers of March 1.

(c) Measures to increase agricultural production (concession with pre-war prices of seeds, fertilizers, sulphur, herbal medicines diseases, tools, concession of free arable land, reduction by law land rents, abolition of water ownership privileges, etc.). Also ensuring the availability of all agricultural products at barren prices.

Immediate abolition of the Perishable Plan, as long as it harms Producers and Consumers and the National Economy, and as long as this is the wish of the amazing majority of producers and all concerned in general. To make available to the producers means of transport with cheap conductors.

(d) Measures to protect their professional interests small shopkeepers, who have reached the brink of disaster. Procurement of raw materials for their work, abolition of the tax for practicing the profession and the right for issuing licenses.

(e) Measures for the protection of teachers (reclassification of pay scale, substantial war allowance, equal pay for teachers). In distribution of items, the teacher to enjoy the rights enjoyed by every citizen.

(f) Measures for the protection junior Government Officials and police officers (granting of a satisfactory war allowance and abolition of the allowance limit to 110% of the salary. Permanent

and securing the right to a pension for temporary employees who have been in service for more than one year).

(g) Provision of real allowance to the families of Soldiers, which covers their essential needs based on the index of life.

(h) The release of trade union members convicted of strikes.

(i) Improving the living conditions of all prisoners.

(j) To ensure that the Government imports wheat and barley in a timely manner for the needs of the Cypriot people, given that this year's harvest is forecast to be very poor.

(k) The put the co-operative movement on a democratic footing and encourage its spread to all popular strata.

The Third Congress declares that the Party, regardless of its political, social, and national goals, is always ready to assist the Government in the real solution of the above demands of the working people.

With due respect,

For the Bureau of the Third Pancyprrian Congress of the Progressive Party of the Working People.

PRESIDENT

Larnax. 24/4/44

The Resolution to the Greek Government⁴³

The Third Pancyprrian Congress of AKEL, which took place today in Larnaca, Cyprus, is surprised, sadness and upset to learn that the voice of genuine Greek free fighters in favour of the participation of representatives of Greek slaves is drowning in blood.

The facts, as at least the Reuters reported, do not justify them fratricidal measures taken by the Greek Government, a Government, which—as it has stated—has no temporary character at all, and favours the participation of representatives of the enslaved struggling Greece.

As a Department of Hellenism, a Department that contributes with thousands of its children to this patriotic and liberation

⁴³ *From the Proceedings of the Conference, 24 April 1944.*

struggle, we expect that the Greek Government will issue an official Announcement for the enlightenment of the entire Greek people. On the current events which destroy the harmonious cooperation of all Greeks in the struggle for the short end suffering and the resurrection of our Martyrdom Homeland.

LETTERS FROM THE CONGRESS

AKEL Telegrams to the Leaders of Allies⁴⁴

The following telegrams were sent by the Pancyprrian Congress of AKEL:

To Mr. Churchill

The Third Pancyprrian Congress of the Progressive Party of the Working People Cyprus, of which hundreds of members are waging, alongside the children of the British people, the war against fascism, expresses to you its Prime Minister of Great Britain, its absolute belief in the short-lived final victory and submits that the people of Cyprus must enjoy immediate democratic governance until the end of the democratic liberation struggle gives you the opportunity to implement the declarations of the Atlantic and Tehran for the Cyprus as well.

To Mr. Roosevelt

The Third Pancyprrian Congress of the Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus greets the President of the American Republic, whose people and army provide the greatest and most valuable services in the titanic struggle of the Republics. We believe in the imminent crushing of tyranny and we hope in your declarations of the Atlantic, as complemented by the Tehran Conference.

To General Stalin

The Third Pancyprrian Congress of the Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus, inspired by the spirit of the anti-fascist struggle, enthusiastically greets the heroic peoples of the Soviet Union, their glorious leader and the Red Army, who after crushing the barbaric forces of the invaders in its country, is now pursuing

⁴⁴ *ibid.*

them beyond its borders and enlivening the hopes of the soon imminent liberation of all enslaved peoples.

We contribute as much as we can and we absolutely believe in the short and happy ending of the anti-fascist struggle and the foundation of the post-war world on Tehran declarations and that is because we believe in the power of the Soviet Union.

To the Member of Parliament Mr. Pritt

The Third Pancyprian Congress of our Party, which met in Larnaca on the 23rd and April 24th, warmly thanks you for the support you have so far offered for the Cyprus issue. The Third Pancyprian Congress of the Party expresses the certainty and the conviction that in the future you will continue your efforts in favour of national, political, social and economic aspirations of the Cypriot people.

Greetings to the Volunteers who enlisted in the Army with the slogan of the 16th June⁴⁵

The 3rd Pancyprian Congress of AKEL addresses a warm friendly greeting to all the friends, who after the historic decision of June 16 are today on various war fronts for the fastest crushing of forces of violence and slavery.

To the majestic decision and appeal of the Party, you responded heroically and willingly PRESENT. We are all proud of you, and it is not unreasonable to shudder and feel the emotion that we all experience in your memory at our present Congress, in which your names shone in the Columns of Honour.

Make sure that our Party still holds the Flag of the struggle high, which all the friends conduct systematically and intact, and our Third Congress with its majestic order, discipline and enforcement, is the greatest guarantee for the conscientious, methodical and disciplined work done in the back, work that completes your own struggle, work that will contribute so that your blood sacrifice is not in vain.

Our Party looks forward to you with pride, and assures you that and you too must look forward to it with confidence.

⁴⁵ *ibid.*

Honour and glory to you, heroic fighters, that you give us so much honour and glory!

Message to the Guerrillas of Greece⁴⁶

Guerrilla Brothers of Greece,

From the ramparts of the 3rd Pancyprian Congress of the Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus, (AKEL) we proudly welcome the heroic struggle of the Greek people against the enslavement of Greece.

The working people of Cyprus, confident of the imminent Victory, looks forward to your struggle, brothers of Greece, with faith and conviction in the People's Democratic content, and he is sure that as a result of your legendary struggles, a new world will rise in Greece, so all together, free peoples of the land, nationally integrated, we will rebuild the new life.

Long live the United Liberation Front (EAM)

Long live the Greek People's Liberation Army (ELAS)

⁴⁶ *ibid.*

THE FOURTH CONGRESS OF AKEL, August 18-20, 1945

THE CONGRESS ANNOUNCEMENTS

THE UNITY OF THE LABOUR MOVEMENT AKEL AND THE GUIDANCE OF THE MASS ORGANISATIONS⁴⁷

By order of the 4th Pancyprrian Congress of AKEL C.C. the Party issued yesterday the following Declaration, regarding the guidance of the Mass Organisations and ensuring the unification of the Trade Union and in general of the Professional Movement:

The 4th Pancyprrian Congress of AKEL, examining the issue of the Party Guidance of Mass Organisations (trade unions, etc.) took the following decision:

(a) From the first day of its establishment, AKEL has been the tireless organiser and the bright leader of our workers' and professional organisations.

Under the leadership of our Party, the Trade Unions and the Associations of small-craftsmen developed and became enviable to a degree and became the vigilant guards of the people's rights and interests.

(b) During the four-year period of party political leadership, necessary for the education of the workers and the protection of their organizations from the dangers that surrounded them (internal and external), the Cyprus Trade Union Movement has created a competent and enlightened leadership, way that it is necessary today to declare the independence of mass organisations.

Our relations with the unions must take on a whole new form, the form of the free, voluntary acceptance of our party line. Our

⁴⁷ *Independent Newspaper*, August 22, 1945.

insistence on maintaining the old form of Party leadership would be an obstacle to the further development of the organizations, would create dangers for their unity and would greatly hinder the necessary unification of the trade union movement today.

(c) The 4th Congress of AKEL, having in mind the above, and the need to broaden the labour and professional movement as much as before, firmly believes that each member of the mass organisations has an inalienable right to represent its own ideological and political beliefs, as long as they are combined with strict discipline towards all the decisions of the mass organisation to which it belongs.

The Fourth Congress believes that any other tactic that would be harmful and destructive today for the interests of the workers of our country, would be harmful and destructive for this basic cause of the national liberation of our people.

At the behest of the Fourth Pancyprian Congress of AKEL

THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE

FOR NATIONAL FREEDOM, FOR THE ECONOMIC RECOVERY OF OUR PEOPLE⁴⁸

With the Authorisation of the 4th Pancyprian Congress of the Progressive Party of the Working People, the Central Committee issued yesterday the following Declaration:

1. At a time when the world progressive powers have crushed fascism militarily and are decisively eradicating it from the face of the earth every fascist political and influence, the Cypriot people continue to suffer under the weight of an unbearable economic, political and national oppression. The end of the anti-fascist war—on the altar of which we have offered so many sacrifices—was not an opportunity for our people to reap even a small percentage of the fruits of Victory, but, on the contrary, marked the beginning of greater sufferings for our people.

⁴⁸ *Independent Newspaper, August 26, 1945.*

2. The popular masses and especially the organised working class are now deeply aware of how, without the national rehabilitation of our people, no basic—political or economic—problem can be solved decisively. This became a belief in the daily struggle for the solution of the demands of the working class, of the other productive classes (especially the peasantry) and, in general, of all the working classes. Based on this complete understanding, the great doubts of our people for every new step of the Government, which aims, with economic and political reforms, to perpetuate the colonial regime in our country.

3. With the end of the war, our Party is fully aware of the heavy tasks that fall on its shoulders, for the fulfillment of the national aspirations of our people—its Union with Mother Greece. In order to carry out this high, honorary duty, the Progressive Party of the Working People calls on every patriotic organisation, every honest patriot of Cyprus to equal cooperation and a planned, organised and systematic effort, AKEL, for the case of the National Left of our people, is ready today to unite all its forces with every other national force in our country, but at the same time to stigmatize every enemy of unity, which, in one way or another, stands in the way of the fulfillment of our national destinies.

The Cyprus National Liberation Front is becoming more necessary today than ever. In this direction, our Party is ready today to move forward decisively, taking the position—ignoring—denial.

4. We declare that we are a Party based on its sound principles Socialism. Our ultimate goal is to create a society in which the means of production will belong to the whole and not to the few. A society that will produce to meet the needs of the people and not to make big profits. A society in which the exploitation of man by man will cease. In which each employee, offering all his skills, will be paid according to the work and the its real value. Education will cease to be the privilege of the few wealthy and will become a gift to all workers. Unemployment will be eradicated and will eat only whoever works, unlike in today's society in which usually those who never work for them are usually full. Such a society, which provides equal opportunities for all workers, a society without classes and exploiters, is our ultimate, socialist goal.

However, the AKEL—as a realistic Party—fully understands how, based on the local backward, petty-bourgeois, semi-feudal economy of our country, such a socialist society cannot come

before us today as a direct pursuit. A necessary condition for such a society is the national freedom of our people and the development of our country's economy within the bourgeois-democratic framework.

Thus, based on this Marxist theory, on which the Party is based and who unequivocally emphasises that **no social formation is replaced by another, until all the necessary material conditions mature within the old society**, we declare that it is a duty, imposed on us by the theory in which we believe, to set aside every immature, ultimate goal, **gathering all our forces for the promotion and solution of those exclusively mature problems, which correspond to the economic conditions of our country.**

Such immediate problems are today the National Rehabilitation of our people and the economic, **bourgeois-democratic**, upliftment of our country. Let our people be liberated, united with their other brothers. To restore its own economy, to develop the cooperative in all relations of production and consumption, in order to free the producer from the competition and the exploitation of the big capital. To enter, with the help of the state, control in the mines. To develop its own industry, based on the raw materials provided by our country. To free our economy from the shackles of foreign capital. To raise the living and educational level of the people. To develop the household of the farmer and the small-craftsman. To make the working masters of their country. In a word: **To complete the bourgeois-democratic transformation of the Cypriot economy, breaking all the semi-feudal remnants.**

5. The Fourth Pancyprian Congress of the Progressive Party of the Working People declares unreservedly that we will fight for the national liberation of our island by any peaceful means. At the same time we can only demand from the foreign Government immediately **to ensure all those conditions free democratic expression**, which would make the peaceful development of the efforts of our people unhindered and fully legal. It is the inviolable duty of the Government, imposed on it by these obligations towards it to a people who sacrificed everything for the overthrow of fascism, to abolish immediately all the unfree, laws and decrees restricting the freedom of thought, of the press, of assembly and of organisation, and personal freedom.

As a primary, practical manifestation of its disposition, the Government must withdraw the criminal prosecution against the

members of the Pancyprian Trade Union Committee, who are accused of belonging to an illegal organisation and of publishing insurgent documents.

6. Based on all the above duties, the Progressive Party of the Working People today throws to all its members the slogan of the movement's platform. Based on the new line and tactics, drawn up by the 4th Pancyprian Congress of AKEL, every opportunity is created to grow our Party, to include in it the most active elements of the workers, the peasants, the middle and the intellectuals of our country, all those, that is, the forces that are capable of leading the Cypriot people to their National Left and its economy recovery.

We must become the Party that is closer to the people than any other people suffer. It is the duty of all Akelists to stand by the people, by the workers, the peasants, the unemployed, by the youth, the housewives, by the intellectuals of our country, by our soldiers and pensioners. The Akelists must be able to understand all the daily problems of the workers and fight for their solution. **Anyone who does not believe in the workers and the people cannot become an Akelist.**

These are our tasks, our basic tasks today. Tasks that are heavy and serious, which every Cypriot patriot is called upon to perform. For these tasks the Progressive Party of the Working People is ready to offer all its forces.

Nicosia 25.8.45

CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF AKEL

THE DECISIONS OF THE CONGRESS

The Decision for the Former General Secretary⁴⁹

The Congress decision on the issue of the former General Secretary is as follows:

The Fourth Pancyprrian Congress of AKEL after hearing the report of C.C. up on the issue of the former General Secretary and the apology of the latter took the following decisions:

- The Congress considers unjustified and anti-party the action of F. Ploutis Servas to submit his resignation from the C.C. and the party. It considers unjustified and anti-party his tactics to abstain from meetings of C.C. in which issues of personal interest were to be discussed.

- Unreservedly condemns it as anti-party and substitute energy of F. Ploutis Servas to submit in any form and under any psychological conditions for his stay in the Party.

- Approves the decision of the C.C. dated 10.7.45 for his removal F. Ploutis Servas from the Party.

- However, the Congress accepts with satisfaction the statement of F. Ploutis Servas by which he acknowledges his mistakes. It also welcomes statement of how to discipline the decisions of today's Congress and of all Party organisations.

In view of the above, the Congress considers the expulsion to date of F. Servas from the Party as enough and approves his return to the Party, however, excludes him from the right to run for the post of central or Central Audit Officer at today's Congress.

At the same time the Congress criticised the attitude and the whole behaviour of some others members of the C.C. who were unable to hold their criticism against F. Ploutis Servas at the height of truly partisan and creative criticism, and they gave it the form of personal struggle, which instead of helping to overcome difficulties of the Party, on the contrary contributed to the crisis. These members are Markos Markoullis, Kosmas Christofidis

⁴⁹ *Independent Newspaper*, 21 August 1945.

and Fofo Vassiliou. All of them were deprived of the right to be elected to a central office by the Congress.

Finally, the Congress decided that much of the responsibility for the great crisis that the Party went through lies with the last C.C. who did not take care in time to inform the members of the Party and in time to resolve the personal disputes.

From the Presidium of the 4th Congress of AKEL

LETTERS FROM THE CONGRESS

To the Prime Minister of Great Britain, Mr. Attlee

Under the 4th Congress of AKEL, the following telegram was also sent to the Prime Minister of Great Britain, Mr. Attlee:⁵⁰

The Fourth Congress of the Progressive Party of the Working People (AKEL) demands that

— in accordance with the declarations of the allied leaders—the Cypriot people be allowed to freely express their will for the national future of their country—the Union of Cyprus with Greece.

Meanwhile, the working Cypriot people demand the immediate abolition of all unfree laws and decrees that impede the freedom of speech, press, assembly and organisation. Working people also demand the withdrawal of the criminal prosecution against the members of the Pancyprian Trade Union Committee, who are accused of being an illegal organisation.

FIFIS IOANNOU,
General Secretary

AKEL AND OUR NATIONAL FUTURE

The following memorandum was sent yesterday by the SA under the Progressive Party of the Working People to the governor:⁵¹

Your Excellency,

By order of the Fourth Pancyprian Congress of the Progressive Party of the Working People, I have the honour to submit to the Honourable Minister of the Colonies, the following decisions:

⁵⁰ *Independent Newspaper* , August 24, 1945.

⁵¹ *ibid.*

1. The working Cypriot people who wholeheartedly participated in the victorious war for world freedom demand—according to the declarations of the allied leaders in the Atlantic, Tehran, Crimea and Potsdam—that Cypriot people be allowed to express their free will for the future of their country.

2. In the meantime, the Working People of Cyprus demand:

(a) The abolition of all laws and decrees that impede freedom of speech, the type of assembly and more specifically:

I. Illegal Publications Law of 1921-1944.

II. Articles 49-52, 57-69, and 88 of the Cyprus Penal Code.

III. Law on gatherings, assemblies and parades Law of 1932.

IV. The Crime Restriction Act of 1935

V. The Defence Regulations 1940-1944, with the exception of the articles cited in financial control.

(b) Withdraw the criminal prosecution against the members of the Pancyprian Trade Union Committee who are accused of being an illegal organisation and publishing insurgent documents.

The most confident therapist,

Mandate of the 4th Congress of AKEL

FIFIS IOANNOU

General Secretary

THE FIFTH CONGRESS OF AKEL, September 13-15, 1947

THE DECISIONS AND PRESENTATIONS OF THE CONGRESS

Decisions on the Activity Report⁵²

The Congress adopted the following decision on the action reports of C.C. and K.E.E.

The 5th Pancyprrian Congress on the Action Report of the C.C and C.CE. decides:

1. Approves the Action report and considers the action of the C.C. as satisfactory, and especially in the following matters.

(a) The C. C. throughout its tenure, it regularly supplied the Party with correct, clear line. It well supported our ideological Front and succeeded to give a broad enlightenment of our national and political issues. (Democrat edition and generally further development of the left press).

(b) Despite the extremely difficult, objective and subjective conditions, for the creation of the national-liberation organisation, the C.C. succeeded, by uniting in joint action the consistent National Liberation elements of the country to successfully conduct serious People's, National struggles, which turned the Party to its first and decisive political factor of the island. These struggles are: the success of demobilisation, after the end of the war, the results of the municipal elections of 1946, the mission of the National Embassy Abroad, the National Mobilisations with the Rallies of 1st December of 46, of the 22nd December 46 and of the 16th of February in 1947, the release of the 18, the results of the Archdiocese and Episcopal elections.

⁵² Independent Newspaper, September 16, 1947.

(c) Despite the great complications presented by our entire National Question (betrayal of the British Labour Government by Attlee–Bevin and failure to fulfill promises, Anglo-Saxon imperialist imposition in Greece, with the help of Greek monarcho-fascism and the persecution of the Democratic Movement, a complete turn of the Cypriot Right towards the unilateral Greek-British friendship), the C.C. managed to bring out the People's National Liberation Movement out of any complication, to rid it of any chauvinist imperialist deviation and to secure the conditions for a platform of our movement in a fierce struggle against the united right front.

(d) The C.C. to connect our Labour and Political Movement with the international Labour and Political Movement, so that our National cause can be channelled in the World Progressive Movement (live connection of our Trade Unions with the PSO, participation in the Pan-Colonial Congress, participation of AON in World Youth Festival in Prague, extensive and active work on behalf of the Cyprus Committee of London, the Pancyprian Committee New York, the Steering Committee of Athens).

(e) The C.C. worked for the creation of the Cyprus Farmers' Union, thus laying the organisational foundations for the liberation of our Agricultural movement from reactionary and destructive influence of foreigners in the real interests of agricultural organisations.

(f) Although the Central Committee did not succeed in dividing the work among its members, it made good use of the decisions of the Pancyprian Congress on organizational reconstruction, which to some extent brought our Party group closer to the problems of the people, led us out of the crisis we were facing during the Fourth Congress and ensured unity in the Party Leadership.

2. However, the Congress emphasises that the C.C.:

(a) failed to prepare in time to receive in the ranks of the Party all the enormous valuable material that demobilisation gave us, but neither as a whole did we manage to fully channel the enthusiasm of the retirees into cooperative working methods and especially cooperative cultivation of the land.

(b) It did not exercise a continuous and deliberate control over the entire Government economic policy. Our struggle for the fall of the Index of Life does not accompanied by full daily control over all its details of government action. We did not raise the economic struggles to the level of the political struggles and above all we did not organise the struggle for the fall of the Index, but neither can

we say that we carefully studied and placed the economic problems of the country.

(c) The C.C. did not succeed, to contain the large outflow of Party members that emerged not only as a result of objective circumstances, but mainly as a result of our organisational weaknesses.

(d) The C.C. did not succeed to connect Pancyprrian Municipal issues of Cyprus and to provide guidance to an intensive, continuous struggle of the people and the Municipal Councils for all the Municipal problems without exception. The Government policy combined with the tactics of the right to interfere in every Municipal action, we succeeded today while we did not succeed in any mobilisation against the Government reaction.

(e) The C.C. also failed to see in depth the post-war problems of middle-sized toilers and the adjustment of financial and organisational paths. In the same way it must be said that there is a serious delay in the study of core labour issues (social security, labour productivity, etc.).

(f) No attention has been given by the C.C. to the issues of youth, women and minorities.

3. With regard to the organisational problems should be emphasized:

(a) The extremely little attention to that C.C. has given to the Educational (we did not even try to take advantage of the experience and methods of K.K.E.)

(b) The abnormal operation of the Party within the Mass Professional and Cultural organisations.

(c) The non-systematic work for the creation and mainly, for the education of new executives.

(d) The non-systematic guidance and monitoring of the work of Prometheus and the abandonment of all efforts for the spiritual education of the masses.

(e) The non-systematic control and artistic education on the work of the various Central Offices, which if one excludes the relevant work of the Financial Office, no other Office (educational, training) offered specific work.)

(f) Praise, however, must be given to the Financial Office that with its excellent work over the last 8-10 months he managed to spoil the C.C. from the unbearable debt of Prometheus and put a system in the finances of the Party. However, it must be noted that the E.C. did not meet their financial obligations to C.C., but it

should be noted that there are still pending accounts that should be considered by the Economic Committee.

4. The Fifth Pancyprrian Congress is not satisfied with its action K.E.E. and it should be emphasized that the K.E.E. did not perform satisfactorily the most serious of its statutory duties.

5. The Fifth Pancyprrian Congress notes with satisfaction its progress Nicosia Provincial Organisation, the complete reconstruction of its Department Limassol, while with great sadness it notes that the other pioneer department of Famagusta has not only been extremely late in carrying out its duties, but also presents signs of intra-party crisis.

6. The 5th Pancyprrian Congress hopes that the new C.C. will take advantage of the all good work and the excellent experience of the old C.C., while based on the general and some decisions of the Congress will correct all mistakes, will pay all the shortcomings and gaps so that we maintain the leadership in the popular struggles and enter new steps of ascent to serve our people on the path of National and social Freedom, to brighten our Party.

The 5th Pancyprrian Congress of AKEL for the forthcoming Archbishopric Election⁵³

The upcoming Archbishopric election is for the Cypriot people an especially the broad working masses a struggle that goes beyond the framework of a simple election for the election of the Leader of the Cypriot Church. It's a struggle for the whole of National Politics whose outcome of which will play an important role in the historical course of the Greek Cypriot people.

After the death of the late Leontius, the local reactionary right is currently using all legal and illegal means, from eternal slanders, to the most arbitrary falsifications of the electoral lists in order to distort the expression of the real will of the Greek Cypriot people, in order to achieve such results during the Archbishopric Election, that allow it to regain its lost political and party territory. To such an end, the local reactionary right is currently

⁵³ Independent Newspaper, September 14, 1947.

supporting a candidacy that provides all the opportunities for behind-the-scenes action and the transformation of the Ethnarchical institution into an instrument of class and party adventurism.

The reaction is being met today by all means, a barbaric, awful and catastrophic challenge for the Cypriot people. However, we warn of the reaction that we are strong enough and that, based on sound democratic foundations, we will thwart any challenge.

In stark contrast to such goals of the patriots, stands the Pancyprian People's Front, which supports the rugged, non-partisan and conciliatory candidacy of Agios Derkon, continuing the fresh militant traditions of the Pancyprian People's Front for National Unity, for cooperation, for an Ethnarchy that stands above Parties, a conciliator of the People and not a factional torchbearer.

The 5th Pancyprian Congress of AKEL calls on the entire organised and disorganised Greek people of Cyprus to climb the ramparts once again. It calls on all the people to frustrate, with all their might, every manoeuvring of the local reaction, to claim and secure with all the means at its disposal the inalienable and sacred right of his vote, not allowing anyone to plot the expression of his true will.

The 5th Pancyprian Congress of AKEL invites the entire people of Cyprus to the pioneering, militant struggle for the complete and certain supremacy of the Popular National candidacy of Agios Derkon.

All the people are ahead, for the conquest of Niki! Forward to change all together on the 5th of October into a day of popular triumph that is brighter than that of May 4th.

FOR A FREE AND HAPPY LIFE⁵⁴ , CYPRUS, 1947

(Editorial note: the following text is the content of a special edition of the C. C. by AKEL)

This book contains all the contributions and key decisions of the 1st Pancyprian Congress of AKEL held in Nicosia on 13 and 14 September 1947. Their publication in a separate volume was a unanimous order of the Congress to the new Central Committee of the Party. They are intended for partisan and conciliatory information, because they undoubtedly form the basis of the movement and struggles of the workers and the working people of Cyprus to promote the economic and social recovery of the country and to further intensify the struggle for the fulfillment of the historical unifying destinies of our people.

THE POLITICAL RECOMMENDATION FOR A FREE AND HAPPY LIFE (Rapporteur is the General Secretary of AKEL F. Ioannou)

We meet in the midst of serious and critical moments in human history. We live in the heart of the unceasing movement and struggle for the rising historical development of society and its institutions. We are on the verge of a real one global alarm, aiming for the new socialist life of the future for all the people.

When the first teachers of Marxism wrote, in 1848, their famous Manifesto, they considered it necessary to preface it with these words: A spectre is haunting Europe—the spectre of communism. All the powers of old Europe have entered into a holy alliance to exorcise this spectre.

One hundred years after these words, on the verge of 1948, the flame lit by Marx and Engels in their Manifesto, spread far beyond the limits of the old Epirus—and to the last corner of our

⁵⁴ Publications C.C. AKEL, *For a Free and Happy Life*, 1947.

old planet. In turn, the black imperialist powers around the world are trying to unite even now, in a new sacred alliance to stifle it.

But nothing was enough then to fight the ghost. Very less today nothing can be seen enough to brake decisively the heroic course of all the peoples of the earth towards the conquest of new life, nothing can be seen enough to finally prevent its final death obsolete and useless regime of capitalism and imperialism violence, since it became incompatible with the material demands of the world, since became completely incompatible with human nature.

But where are we today? What a great historical stage the air we breathe, what are the main goals of this stage, what forces move relentlessly towards these goals, and what is the correlation of our movement's movement towards such forces?

Regardless of what new conditions and what new methods, regardless of whether elsewhere peacefully—according to the will of the peoples and elsewhere, out of necessity, revolutionary—the will and desire of the progressive world—today we are at an advanced stage, in an acme of cosmogenic struggle for universal supremacy of freedom and independence, for peace, for democratic development, for social progress, for the preparation of the road that leads to complete victory of Socialism throughout the world.

Examining the situation not from a local, but from a global perspective, today we can no longer say that we are living in the narrow stage of the struggle for one or the other bourgeois-democratic change, in one or more countries of the world. Examining the situation with the same world eye, today we cannot even say that we are still in the stage of struggle for the supremacy and stabilisation of socialism in a country of the world. Historical development has left far behind the second of these narrow and limited goals. Today the perspective is wider and the goal is global. Today we live in the struggle for world freedom, world peace, democracy for all the peoples of the earth, the supremacy of socialism for all people.

More practically, and as it comes out of the post-war reality, today we live the struggle of the United Nations, with all the new progressives its characteristics. The struggle of the organised workers' union all over the world, as reflected in the World Trade Union Confederation. The struggle of the united youth of all countries, gathered around the World Organisation of the Democratic Youth. Today we live the struggle of the united women

of the whole earth, who are also encircled under the anti-fascist flag of their world organisation.

Through this superficial multilateralism, but in the depths of the common and unified universality of the voluntary union of free people, nothing else is reflected, except this universality of the historical stage we are going through. Only the blind cannot see that these new global organisational forms did not spring up by chance in the post-war climate, but are equally the mirror material of the moving universal mass, which no longer places narrow and limited tasks in front of it, but very broadly, universal perspectives, which still knows how to put the narrow and limited tasks in harmonious service of international requirements.

Here, friends, at what stage we live. Here's the air of the global alarm that we breathe. The victorious end of the anti-fascist war, and the predominance of socialist forces beyond the borders of a country, which is the most historic feature of this new one period, has entered us in a new context.

But the question has been asked before: What is the specific goal of progressive forces around the world in this new era? The global democratic phalanx of all the peoples of the earth is moving today to complete the isolation of all those elements and factors of each country, which opportunistically support the policy of betrayal of peoples. Entering on the road to despotism from the consistent struggle of socialist domination, which compatible with the global imperialist reaction, which they try to revive fascism after old or new clothes, and sowing seed of a new world war. At the same time the phalanx of democratic peoples around the world continue to be vigilant, thus preparing it decisive blow to the eventual defeat of the black imperialists, pro-war and cosmopolitan forces of the world.

But we must not forget that this goal cannot be achieved, nor the crushing of the global reaction to take place, if not supported and if it does not provide a proper strategy, if it is not based on an unbreakable plan alliance between the world proletariat and the anti-imperialist, the national liberation movements of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples this goal cannot be achieved unless close allied ties are strengthened among all the driving forces of this stage—between the great Soviet Union, the young people's democracies of the east and central Europe, among the proletarian movements of all its developed countries as well as among their useful and necessary reserve forces: The semi-proletarians and the

poor and middle peasants of the developed countries on the one hand, and the sparking national liberation movements of the colonial and dependent peoples around the world, on the other. Because we must not forget that in the current period, when the crisis of imperialism culminates, the huge colonial and semi-colonial areas have ceased to be reserves and inexhaustible sources of power for imperialism. Now, the colonies and the dependent countries, changed to what Lenin foretold. In immediate reserves and a source of power for the final supremacy of the world cause of the proletariat.

Only if we look at this, only in the light of today's global strategy, if we look at things, we will be able to illuminate the real importance of the colonial movements. Thus only reformers and opportunists, and ultimately servants of imperialism, can see the colonial problem, as an isolated and independent problem, only reformers and opportunists lacking in global reaction can see the colonial problem as a problem unrelated to the more general prospect of the overthrow of capitalism and imperialism, only reformist and opportunist traitors of the peoples, can see the colonial problem, as a problem foreign and unrelated to the more general, socialist hypothesis of the international proletariat, as a problem foreign and unrelated to the world alarm for the universal supremacy of Socialism.

Our Marxist position is that the colonial problem is integral organic—and largely organisational—part of the struggle for the universal supremacy of the socialist idea, and is at present closely linked to the global struggle for peace, freedom and democracy. The independence of the colonies peoples is also a stage fully intertwined with the further economic, social and cultural development, and paving the way to socialism—and this, not only for the colonial peoples, but also for the peoples of the Metropolises themselves.

Through such an attitude the colonial problem, and the role of our movement is automatically determined: A role that is uncompromisingly national liberation movement, a role of direct backup in the world struggle of the international proletariat, a role of consistent and unbreakable alliance and moral support among all the progressive powers of the world, against the international belligerent reaction of the monopoly imperialist capital now that the world is in turmoil. Our movement would not stand on its feet with proletarian consistency, our movement would be reformist

and opportunistic, if we did not have the strength to place it within it in the context of its moral and material connection, with the general, international struggle of all peoples of the earth, for peace, for freedom, for democracy, for economic reconstruction and social progress.

CRISIS—FASCISM—WAR

But we will bury ourselves completely one-sided and we would only pursue pious desires, if we limited the investigation of international situations to one part—that of progressive forces. Such an inquiry would create illusions, and would therefore be a misguided action, if it did not extend to the other side—that of the imperialist reaction and its lackeys, and to the extent that can still play their part in determining the international economic, political and social movement.

Undoubtedly, in parallel with face-to-face march of the peoples of the earth, as we describe it above, capitalism and imperialism are currently going through a very acute economic, political and social crisis. We must expect that this crisis, which began at the end of the last war and intensified with the end of the last universal bloodshed, will continue to expand and culminate even more.

The time is far from us today, when the first crises of capitalism could find a way out and a form of more or less permanent cure, in the discovery of new countries, the exploitation of virgin lands and their violent colonization, under the cunning slogan of civilizing belated peoples. At the stage of the complete conquest and exploitation of the world by the monopoly capital of a handful of capitalist countries, that is, at the stage of imperialism, there are no toilers unknown countries and unspoiled lands toilers left, where capitalism can breathe from its crises. The great crisis of overproduction that dangerously threatens the North American Confederacy cannot find a way out either in toilers New seas for discovery of non-existent places, nor of course on Mars! It follows from this that any crisis of overproduction, which creates unemployment and poverty, if it does not bring up the issue of the path to socialism, which is the only radical cure, will inevitably bring up another issue: the question of the redistribution of colonies on behalf of the capitalist country or the bloc of capitalist countries, which lack colonial lands, to channel their crisis. Direct

consequence: the intra-capitalist antagonisms and the organic fruit of these antagonisms—the war, between the capitalist states. Immediate consequence: The intra-capitalist competitions and their organic fruit of competition—the war between the capitalist states.

However, things are not so simple. Next to the intra-capitalist contradictions, which are so clearly manifested today between the two most main capitalist countries of the world—England and America—there are today the oppositions of capitalism and imperialism, as a whole, against the socialist and progressive forces of the whole world, as a whole. This second axis of contradictions between the two most main trends prevailing today in international affairs can only push the capitalist countries, as much as they can, to an attempt to reduce their own internal antagonisms, to a trend of mutual concessions, an attempt at a multifaceted coalition of their forces, determined by the need to confront the common danger and avoid their common death.

Here the question may be asked: will capitalism be able to mitigate, or even to normalize its own internal contradictions, and—cohesive together with its satellites—to successfully organise and conduct a new world war against the Soviet Union and the progressives movements of all countries of the world? Or these internal contradictions will eventually prove unsolved and an intra-capitalist war will break out, which fatally, however, it will not be able to limit itself again, and it will again complicate the whole world.

History, in the recent past, has shown that capitalism has not been able to escape its internal conflict, neither with the efforts of its internal contradictions, nor with the policy of concessions and concessions to the Axis block, nor, of course, its treacherous attempts to organise the common capitalist front against the common eastern danger, culminating in Munich.

The history of the future will probably prove something much more: that the capitalism is no longer able to organise or conduct any great war. The atomic weapon cannot change this perspective at all, since it cannot change the fact that a key decisive factor for the organisation and successful conduct of a war is the world proletariat and the peoples of the world, not individual weapons. And it is here that we see what infinite breadth and depth encompasses that simple and tiny phrase of Stalin, that the people today do not want war.

But if it is very correct to say that capitalism cannot at the moment organize a new World War, it would be a blind delusion if we did not see that it is doing everything in its power to prepare it. As long as certain capitalist powers breathe imperialistically, and so do England and America, they can only be thrown into the adventurism of a new war, in the midst of which they will be forced to seek the only—from a capitalist point of view—and always temporary, way out of the acute crisis that plagues them.

But again: If it is true—and it certainly is—that people do not want to today more disastrous bloodshed, that in itself means that at the fascism must be at the core of any preparation for a war. Where things are today, and more than ever before, war cannot be understood unless a rather extensive fascist domination is understood first. In other words: The capitalist imperialist need for a new world war, inevitably leads to the other need, for capitalist, imperialist imposition of fascism, on as large a scale as possible throughout the world. Only such a predominance can allow the creation of the necessary economic, political and military coalitions, without which war cannot be organised. And only with such a fascist domination could there be a possibility for the peoples to be forcibly dragged into a new universal bloodshed.

That is why in order to be in favour of world peace, you must first become an anti-fascist. That is why only if you are anti-imperialist can you say that you are a democrat. That is why the pseudo-democracies of the West have nothing to do with true democracy.

But the question arises: Where are the practical manifestations of imperialism for the preparation of a new war, and—therefore—the efforts it makes for an extensive fascist domination? The whole official and backstage, political and military, movement of imperialism, these last two years, is nothing but a series of serious manifestations of these very tendencies. Franco's fascist regime is based only on the moral and material support of the Anglo-Saxon imperialist bloc. The neo-fascism of Greece only in its own military occupation still finds air to breathe and rage at the expense of the people of the country. The world reactionary forces still put their hand where they can, to perpetuate or create fascist situations, with immediate consequence national calamities and popular bloodshed, as in Indonesia and China, as in Japan and Burma, Persia and Palestine, as they try to do in all the other countries of the world—in France and in Italy and everywhere—and even in

America, at the stroke of the labour movement. The same reactionary forces are going even further, and demand to put the whole of the United Nations on the rope of their own imperialist, war-loving stunt, turning this organisation into a pedestal of open support for fascist regimes wherever they land, and of overt war against the Soviet Union, the young people's democracies of Europe and of all the progressive movements in the world.

It is only with the unceasing struggles of the representatives of the great country of Socialism and the democracies of Europe in the various international organisations, only with the constant mobilisation of the world progressives of the new type of organisations, mentioned above, led by the World Trade Union Federation, only with the uninterrupted—elsewhere peaceful and where imposed, revolutionary—struggle of the democratic peoples of the world, only with the flare-up of the independence struggle waged by the colonial and semi-colonial peoples, who managed to this day to thwart the plans of global imperialist reaction. We can say with certainty how, with the continuation and further development of the same struggles, the imperialist plans will eventually crumble and people will be able to enjoy forever the society of peace, democracy and happiness of all people.

THE GREEK SITUATION

But in the meantime we cannot sit still. More as Cypriots, as Greeks, we cannot sit quietly about what is happening today in Greece. In this country the global reaction shows a distinctly fascist interest, because it is meant to create an imperialist antithesis. To balance as much as possible the democratic expansion in all the other Balkan countries states, using the Greek territory as an offensive wedge and a gunpowder depot against the body of the Balkans and the country of Socialism. It is in such an effort that the global reaction finds willing partners the local monarcho-fascists and the pseudo-democratic today of the centre, who proved that they are ready to exchange the appropriation of political power, in which only foreigners still support them, with the sale of national independence, the suppression of national claims, the bloodshed of the people, the total destruction of the country, the indiscriminate exandratomism and the exile of thousands of democratic citizens, among whom are our fellow fighters—like Stringos, one of the most elite executives of the K.K.E. and a member of the C.C. as the

competitor Yannis Katsounotos, lawyer and member of the Coordinating Committee, and the doctor Antonis Kokona, also member of the Coordinating Committee.

However, the pro-war imperialist plans in Greece face the nationwide resistance of the democratic forces of the country, led by their political vanguard—the EAM and the K.K.E. In such a massive, popular self-defence, the national democratic forces use as an armed body of enforcement of the popular will, against external imperialism and the local monarcho-fascist violence, the epic People's Democratic Army, which is already building its popular power in the free areas of Greece, on fully democratic basis—economic, political, social and cultural equality.

Under such conditions, we can be sure that the day is not far away, and may prove to be closer than it seems at first glance, in which the indomitable will of the people of Greece for peace of the country, for conciliation, for a new ecumenical Government with equal participation of the EAM, for new free elections and democratic development of his political life of the country, will be imposed on monarcho-fascism and its foreign supporters, with the strength of democratic weapons, the fighting struggle of the entire Greek people and the solidarity of the progressive movements of the world.

However, whatever happens in Greece, whatever difficulties arise, whatever sacrifices the Greek people need to offer in decisive struggle for self-defence, which was imposed on them immediately after the shaking of the triple fascist occupation, one thing is certain and pre-determined: that in the end, the people of Greece will emerge victorious and imperialism and Greek monarcho-fascism will surely emerge defeated.

But this moral upheaval would only have academic significance, if we did not define here the role of our movement. This role can only be as it is defined—a role of a common national liberation effort from common imperialist enslavement, the role of ethics, but also material mutual support. Because again, our movement was not buried with proletarian national liberation consistency at his feet, our movement would be reformist and opportunistic, our movement would still be essentially utopian, if we did not have the strength to place it within the real framework of ethics and its material connection with the general struggle of the Greek people for freedom, independence and national integration.

THE INTERNAL SITUATION

Let us now take a look also at the internal situation.

We have seen so far what external popular problems and what world prospects are difficult and complicated because of the war-loving imperialist policy of the Anglo-Saxon coalition and its satellites. But it is this same imperialist policy of the same Anglo-Saxon bloc, which is the main cause, which decisively complicates and hinders the solution of the Cypriot national problem. At a time when the reactionary forces of the world are doing everything they can to prepare a new World War, it is natural to expect that imperialism will seek at all costs to maintain and expand, rather than abandon its strategic bases, Cyprus is today the main one, and—who rules it out—perhaps tomorrow their only base in the Eastern Mediterranean.

Despite the law of our people, despite the sacrifices of Cyprus and Greece and despite the allied declarations, British imperialism is not today ready to satisfy the unifying aspirations of Cyprus.

We must also understand this, and above all our people: our struggle is prescribed difficult and long and rough and it is the worst possible service to our people to feed them with illusions, according to which the solution of the Cyprus issue is supposedly immediate or at most a matter of time, even when such views completely clash with overt statements by the main representative of the Athens government, in which it is not, or with those cruelties of Lord Winster's, in which neither was ever before known. neither in the future will a unifying issue be discussed, since—as ironically the ministry's representative clarified the next day—such an issue was never raised by the Greek government. The delusions for an immediate or imminent solution of the Cyprus problem can only come from people, who seek to justify their inaction or betrayal, according to the doctrine that there is no need for action, and especially unified, since immediate or imminent work for us the pain-loving Greek-British frames! And to appeal, perhaps, more to their pain, they are thrown into action against our party, our mass organizations, and our Honest out-of-town rivals.

Outside such organised deception, our people must learn, that our country, as long as the current policy of imperialism continues, instead of being freed nationally, is destined to change—as it has already begun to change—on a warlike, aggressive basis, and it is

an urgent duty of all the Democratic Forces of the world, and especially of our own consistent, national liberation movement, to openly denounce the anti-peace, this war-loving effort of imperialism, to change our country into an organised war base.

So that being the case, the key to the solution of the Cyprus problem, first and foremost, lies in the radical change in the general foreign policy of Great Britain, tied to the chariot of American imperialism and allied with it in preparation for a new war and for global domination, in which England now accepts to play even the role of secondary partner.

It is only when the Labour government, which has hitherto denied the hopes of World progressive opinion, realizes that it is not in its alliance with American imperialism and in the war that there is the permanent cure of the present crisis that plagues it. It is only when the Labour Government of England realizes that the happiness of the British people itself lies in peaceful politics, in sincere cooperation with the democratic regimes of Europe and the Soviet Union, in developing commercial relations with them. to abandon the policy of interference in the interiors of foreign countries, to liberate the colonial peoples, and to establish equal co-operation with them. as well as the decisive socialist internal reconstruction of her country—only then, the most important obstacles will also be removed, in which not only the Cyprus problem, but also many other problems of the world, which are now endangering international peace and security, will be entwined. Besides, it is more than right that England's economic crisis is impossible to solve, by financial loans or by political concessions to America and military alliances with her. This bitter experience will soon be put to the test, when the crisis—which has already begun—will be completed in all its intensity and in these very United States. States of America.

From all this arises the need for us and our people to know that solution to the Cyprus problem is firmly linked to a radical, democratic shift in the general foreign policy of Great Britain, and it is for this common cause, against common opponents, the British Communist Party is fighting today, and the hard-line and ever-growing section of the Labour Party, and the left wing of the British Trade Union Movement. This struggle, which develops on the real basis of intra-capitalist antagonisms and the inequality in the capitalist development of the main forces of the Anglo-Saxon bloc, can only bring about—and despite the opposite phenomena of the

moment—radical progressive developments and changes in the internal and, in particular, the foreign policy of Great Britain, with a new Labour Government, free from Bevin and its other reactionary elements.

There is no doubt that, outside these conditions the Cyprus problem was complicated and continues to be complicated by the existing fake monarcho-fascist regime of Greece, and its satisfactory solution, to a large extent, depends also on the forthcoming political developments in this country—developments that allow the securing of an official, state-level platform of Cyprus claim.

However, we must realize that outside of the above objective, external terms, the solution of the Cyprus problem, before all and above all will all depend on the extent, above all, that we and our outside party competitors will be able to mobilise the Cypriot people, as a unified whole, to resolutely assert its unifying claim, from the extent that we will fulfill the promise we all gave to the people and will establish our Pancyprian Unification organisation, from the extent that we will expand the international, and especially the English, sympathy, solidarity and support for our Cypriot unifying cause, in the form of regular and systematic enlightenment, sending delegations abroad, and to the extent that they will not miss an opportunity to place the case for the national rehabilitation of our people before the international public opinion and the relevant international organisations. The struggle of the Union, however depends on external conditions, lies primarily in our hands and that of our people as a whole.

However difficult and long this struggle may be, however rough it may prove to be, we must not and will not give up for a moment the struggle for the National Restoration of our people, for the union of Cyprus with Greece. On the contrary, we will systematise, intensify, and massify this struggle as much as we can, giving it the fastest and the necessary chest of its organised expression: **the democratically and equally organised Pancyprian Popular National Liberation Front.**

But let us be careful, friends. At the same time as the incessantly continuing and relentlessly developing union struggle, we have a supreme duty, not to give up for a moment and the necessary systematic struggle for economic interests of our country and our people. We will not be carried away for a moment by the hollow big-minded and chauvinistic slogans of the local reaction,

which basically preaches that our national restoration cannot supposedly be achieved, unless it is connected with the hunger and impoverishment of the workers, peasants and other workers of our country. Such slogans only aim to handcuff our people and deliver them defenceless to the mercy of foreign imperialist and local megalostatic exploitation, enshrining the necessity of the hunger of the popular masses with pseudo-unifying purposes.

For us, the key to the massification of the movement, the key to a single professional and national front, the key to advancing and resolving our unification, it is not found in hollow demagogic slogans, but in its absolute correlation mass popular struggle for national restoration and for its economic recovery our country and our people.

We would be more than reformists and opportunists, we would be traitors to the people and these national interests, we would be servants of imperialism and the class exploitative moods of the local bigots, if in the current conditions we saw the problem of our national rehabilitation as a problem isolated and independent from the economic interests of the working masses, as a problem unrelated to the material prosperity of, and we will be people who consciously fall asleep pseudo-ethnically the people, in order to strengthen and expand at the expense of, local and foreign, their economic exploitation.

Our task is to appreciate our struggle in all its multilateralism. And it is only a matter of tactics from this multiplicity of multiples struggles of our people, we will always try to raise it to the level national liberation struggle. It is only a matter of tactics of a movement that puts our national restoration at the forefront, if any unilateral economic or political struggle, we will change it, in its evolution, into anti-imperialist wedge, and national liberation claim.

Our task is to fully combine the relentless struggle for national freedom, with the struggle to uproot feudal remnants from the economic, political, social and cultural life of our country, with the struggle for the solution of the daily problems of the people, based on the unbreakable alliance of workers, peasants and all workers of our country. The main blow must be made in the direction of complete isolation of the local big bourgeois reaction, which at the moment, is trying to lure the peasants of our country to its side and throw them against our genuine national liberation movement, allied with foreign domination.

Our plan lies in the development of steel fraternal ties between the workers, the peasants, and poor middle-class toilers, between all the working people and our party, among the entire Greek population of the island and the united front of National Cooperation.

But let's see now how foreign and local reaction work. Faced with its own acute crisis, and the parallel mass development of a genuine anti-imperialist, of the national liberation movement, imperialism sought to find its own way out: the constitutional reforms and the ten-year plan of prosperity of the country, with the obvious aim of mitigating the national liberation struggle and shifting the people's commitment to reformist channels within the colonial framework. These moods of imperialism, the local reaction asked to translate them into our betrayal! The nationalist right would be more consistent if it said that our people would fall into the trap of imperialist sentiments, if the constitutional freedoms were to operate on the will and betrayal of the great bourgeoisie of our country. We would indeed fall into the trap of imperialist sentiments if we are carried away by the slogan of bourgeois abstinence. Ours slogans for complete guaranteed abstinence, based on united organisation and action.

Or— in case of rejection of this line—for popular participation in political freedoms, did not coincide with any imperialist sentiments, as their own slogans coincide.

On the contrary, our own slogans, their unique content and purpose, were the defence of the people from imperialist manoeuvres, and the transformation of imperialist weapons, into our own popular weapons of national liberation and economic claim. The question for us is, with what opposites, with what anti-imperialist liberation moods, would the people use these concessions. The question for us is, with which opposites exactly, with which anti-imperialist national liberators moods, the people would use these concessions. And we are proud to believe that—since the complete uselessness of constitutional reforms it was made impossible by the patriots by rejecting the patent abstention, and one that the plans were in any case to enter into implementation,—only our movement could ensure a real one popular, national liberation use of political concessions. If do not perform this supreme task of popular self-defence, the only divorce what would remain was this: The constitution to operate with their sole axis any traitors and the dispositions of the foreign sovereign

power, and with the sole aim of dissolving our labour and political movement, the demise of our national forces and the national liberation struggle, the black medieval dictatorship of our country. and the perpetuation of the economic drainage of our people. All these risks only a complete and secured abstention, shielded by relentlessly organised action and militant fight, could prevent them. And this kind of abstention does not it was thwarted by others, despite the leaders of the Cypriot right. Quite simply, why our line left no room for their treacherous policy to breathe. And they stood in the simple, unsecured false abstinence! Why, that was the only way, to close the door on the people. to enter through their window Unblemished their own lackeys.

But let us not deceive ourselves, friends. Our fight—we said it right from the beginning, we repeat it now—it is rough and difficult, and in its course it is not excluded out that we will face a possible hard test. Our country at the moment is not only of local importance. Imperialism around us, in Middle Eastern sector, is playing a big, aggressive, adventurous game. It is doubtful how long the British will remain in Egypt or Palestine. And the plans of American imperialism in the Near and Middle East, and especially in Greece, are obvious. It must be understood, it must be clearly seen, that our country at this moment assumes an entirely distinct, international significance.

Under such conditions, the violent enforcement against the popular movement cannot rather than being a necessity for imperialism, to untie its hands, and to drag our country undisturbed to the Mediterranean bloc that it is going to establish, and which is a regional expression of the general world imperialist plan for preparation for a new war and for world domination. Among other things, behind the need for a violent enforcement against our people movement, hides the dangerous plan for an undisturbed change of our country on a war basis, to serve the same pro-war, anti-popular purposes.

We must expect that this effort of imperialism will be combined with further efforts to mobilize local reaction forces, which is not unlikely to take the form of a single organisation and a single leadership, with foreign backstage protection and monarcho-fascist assistance. In such reactionary rearrangements that may occur in the near future in our country, openly fascist should not be ruled out either their formation and their fascist ideological direction, but not a single one their pseudo-social-democratic

adjustment—or, more likely, both together. In such rearrangements, we can still expect to find them opportunity for political excursion and leadership adventure, and its elements of old-fashioned partisanship of our place, which to this day have been forced, for many reasons, to be cautious. However, we must not forget that imperialism has two trump cards: The first is the divisive use of Turkish minority. Everywhere and always the world reaction and imperialism used minorities for the purpose of splitting the national liberators movements and to secure the enslavement of the colonial peoples, and would truly strange, now losing themselves, not to do the same to Cyprus.

The other—the last—reserve weapon of imperialism, is the open, unprovoked and unbridled attack, and the unbridled dictatorship of our country. We have already seen their clear insinuations in the English and native English speaker press. It is not excluded, indeed, that we have to accept this attack from combined forces of the Anglo-Saxon bloc, since it became the train, where the British find it dark, for the Americans to intervene, to remove the coals from the fire. Nor is it excluded, under certain other conditions, that this attack is from the monarcho-fascist forces of Greece, and we must realize that the rumoured plans for his condominium of our place—more likely now Greek-American than English-Greek— tend to give the opportunity to the Hittite dossier to extend to our place the Greek orgy, which foreigners would like not to apply first hand.

HOW TO DEAL WITH THE SITUATION

For all this—even for this ultimate possibility of a hard ordeal—there is a popular, effective anti-drug. It is offered to us by dialectical thought, it is offered to us by scientific theory, on which our party rests. It is through this thought that our own duties are projected. It will depend on the right attitude, and also on the proper performance of these tasks, whether we will pass through all the dangers and dangers, bringing the movement and our people to the end free and happy victors. This, we can confidently expect, is enough—as we have said—to place first correctly and then to perform, equally and more correctly, our current tasks. Such a thing, we can expect it with certainty, is enough—as we said—to place first correctly and then execute, equally and more right, our current tasks.

But what are these tasks? Of course, they are neither few, nor easy:

1. Our primary and supreme task is to systematise, intensify, and as soon as possible organise our national liberation our struggle with the invariable slogan: Union, always Union! This fight we can and must support on a real basis of substantial liberation, which means: to leave the foreign imperialists from both Cyprus and Greece. To end colonial monopolies. To denounce by all means the use of our country as a military base. To disarm and neutralize our country under the protection of the United Nations. To hand over power, in a free and democratic way, to the hands of the people, within the framework of the free Greek state.

2. We have a duty to give the enormous importance that should be given to the study, placement and solution of the daily practical and general budgetary problems of our country and the last village, and the last place of work. The daily problem of work must be studied and the struggle must be organised for its solution. We do not bury Akelists, as an organised whole, and each of us individually, if we are not ready to embrace and if we do not strive to solve the problems that arise in the environment in which we live, but it would be still impossible for us to tackle the solution of the more general economic problems of our country, if we did not equip the Party and the movement with a specific reconstruction plan, and it is fortunate that the Congress will address this issue separately.

3. We have a duty to see that in the back of the party, and the united national liberation struggle, was the most effective antidote for a militant self-defence of its national-political and economic interests of the people. We must not leave any village without party expansion. We must not leave not a single village, in which there are conditions, without labour, the professional, or youth organisation. Above all, not a single village should be left without its agricultural organisation. We must not rest for a moment, we were able to convince our non-partisan competitors that we have already lost a lot of valuable time, and that another one must not be lost, in order to establish our Pancyprian National Liberation Organisation, and we must not spare any effort to set up the match in the last corner of Cyprus the militant branch of our united People's National Liberation Front.

4. We have a duty to keep a close eye on any Organisational matters or ideological pseudo-adjustments of the reaction, and

with the respective imposed tactics, to thwart any attempt at insidious intrigue against of popular interests and any attempt at anti-popular domination.

5. We have a duty to vigilantly due importance to the divisive movements of foreign domination based on minorities and to activate to the maximum our enlightening and organisational work, especially within the Turkish minority. We must, once again, fully clarify the absolutely equal position of the minorities in the context of a free Cyprus, united with Greece. To assist the establishment of Turkish progressive organisations, capable of cooperating with us in our economic, political and national demands and for our own good, and for their own good: For freedom, for equality and for the happiness of all of us, as Greeks and as Turks, who live and will live together, in the same country, as friends, as equals, as competitors.

6. We have a duty, to enrich even more, the ideological arsenal of the Party and the movement, thus preventing the opponent from creating with noise and slander, reactionary wedge between our Party and the broad masses, between the popular leaders and their members, and between the situations that make up the National Cooperation faction. From this point of view, the fanatical development of circulation of the left-wing press in general, and our Party newspaper in particular, takes not narrow economic, but very broad and serious political character. In addition, we must further develop the ideological front of the popular struggle, with daily live enlightenment, with speeches, lectures and gatherings, but also in the form of even more publications, books, brochures and more enlightening material.

7. In the field of grassroots organisations, we have a supreme duty to guard like the apple of an eye and to further strengthen our mass—trade union, professional and cultural—movement. In particular, we must put in the first line of our interest and activity the staffing and development of EAK (e.g. Union of Farmers of Cyprus), the staffing and manipulation of the AON (e.g. Progressive Youth Organisation), and the establishment of a new Pancyprian women's organisation. In addition to all this, the labour movement must pay particular attention to the organisation of the miners.

8. In the field of internal reconstruction they also have very serious and urgent tasks:

We have an obligation to safeguard as much as possible the prestige and prestige of our Party and mass leadership. With the

comprehensive, wholehearted and unreserved support of organised and democratically elected leaders, our trade union, professional and political movement, to develop the concept of bottom-up discipline and creative bottom-up control.

In addition, we must as soon as possible complete the preparations of the Party and the movement, to deal effectively with every possible and every possible test, to guard against provocations, and to set up the organisation of vigilance and control within our organisations and Party, into which the opponent is seeking to penetrate and treacherously build.

9. We must beware, and certainly prevent and prevent a serious danger that has already begun to suffer—the danger, that is, of changing our Party into a mere parliamentary body, into a mere electoral machine. However great the importance of occupying parliamentary posts for the promotion of popular interests, our Party can never forget, that above all it must be an organized machine of daily popular struggles, based on the mobilization of the same interested workers and working masses of our country.

10. It is our duty to see that it is only in unity of will and unity of action that we arm the Party with iron discipline, and it is only by such discipline that we make the Party capable of performing the serious and difficult tasks that lie before it. At this point we must know that, although we have been spared many disadvantages and mistakes, the general political line of the old Party, yet it is high time to see that it is worth restoring at least several organizational advantages of that time: accuracy, order, discipline, greater appetite for work, loyalty to the line, fanaticism in the execution of decisions, and the wonderful guarding of the prestige of executives and guidance.

11. The equal division of work, depending on the abilities and position of each executive, the systematic personal control in the performance of this work, and the systematic information of the Party group for a fair distribution of responsibilities, must be new features of the functioning of our party organization. On the basis of the above principle, and the Central Committee to submit to the members, regular quarterly reports, in which, among other things to mirror the work of each central executive separately. For, only thus, friends, shall we beat down any tendency to aristocracy in the Party, any round-seat to our old reputation, and any one-sided and burdensome laying of work upon the executives.

12. As a Congress, we also have a duty to fully appreciate the importance of the fact that, above all, at this moment we must supply the Party with the most capable, the most tried, the most dynamic leadership—the leadership which reflect complete unity of will, complete unity of discipline, but also complete unity of action. In turn, such a competent leadership, must solve in the most appropriate way, not excluding—if necessary—even general reshuffles and transfers of executives, the problem of Party leadership as a whole, from the provincial leadership, down to the secretary and last Party group. The educational issue, as well as the problem of creating new executives, both of which we are facing a real crisis today—must be considered as the most basic and urgent organisational tasks of the new central leadership.

Finally, it is time to take the decision to dissolve the Party Section of London. Whatever the purpose of its establishment, whatever services our Party friends in England have actually offered us, the London branch is at its core something unnatural and can neither stand nor be understood, nor practically, nor theoretically. The London class struggle has nothing to do with the social classes of Cyprus, and the Party friends of London can find their true place only in the brother British Party, Trade unions, British Cypriots must also find their place in the British Trade Union movement. Instead of a partisan branch of AKEL in the British capital, it is the duty of all expatriates in England, regardless of party or political views, to establish as soon as possible a broad national liberation organisation which is linked and by the National Liberation Front of Cyprus, and will be a platform for a unifying claim in the heart of imperialism.

Our 5th Pancyprian Congress opens the prospects of a struggle. We will spare no effort and sacrifice to bring this struggle to a happy end, we will work as hard as we can, we will change the two years that come to us into years of uninterrupted, systematic action to promote and solve all popular problems, we will stand in the way of any imperialist manoeuvre, we will denounce, and as far as we can, we will do everything we can to prevent the dangerous plan to change our country into an aggressive military base, we will take our national liberation struggle to new heights, we will work tirelessly for the isolation and final crushing of the local bourgeois reaction, and we will impose with the power of the people the old will for national unity and national cooperation of all Greek patriots of Cyprus, we will transform our Party into a powerful

bulwark of pioneering outings for the bread and freedom of the workers, the peasants and all the toilers of our country, and we will prepare it, under any eventualities.

This is the path of the struggle, in which our 5th Pancyprian Party enters Congress. The more resolutely the more systematic, the more organised we enter this path, as a Party, as a movement and as a people, the more we are sure that in the end, no matter how much effort is needed, no matter how many sacrifices are required, it will not be them, the imperialists and the local bourgeoisie, but we, the workers, the farmers, the toilers and all the honest patriots of Cyprus, who will we come out as free and happy winners. We live and fight for such a victory. To win, that will untie our hands, to go further, towards the prevalence of new and happy life for all peoples, towards the final triumph of world society of peace, freedom, true democracy, cooperation and true equality among all the nations of the world.

OUR ORGANISATIONAL PROBLEMS

(Presentation by E. Papaioannou)

There are many of our organisational problems and many of our organisational weaknesses. This, after all, is a key finding made in the draft decision in the action report of our Central Committee. It became a stereo type when there is something wrong, something defective, when the decisions we make are not implemented, when we do not make progress in one of the many areas of our work to say. “The organisational is to blame”, or “this is a result of our organisational weaknesses”. I accept this finding, of course it says it is correct, but what I have to observe is that we stop many times, in the findings and we remain with the self-satisfaction that we found the mistake without proceeding to correct it. The findings are of course necessary and must be done with the utmost diligence, political maturity, scientific expertise and objectivity. But we will not move a single bit to our destination to solve the popular problems, if, as a result of a correct finding that we make, we do not take those measures that result from it, unless we proceed to correct the bad situation that occurs. It is hollow gossip, then, to generalize about “organisational

weaknesses” if we do not look one by one, these weaknesses and find a way how to overcome them.

What kind of party, what kind of party mechanism, is what we need to fully fulfill our duties as political guidance of our national liberation struggle, as a political guidance for the daily national-political-economic problems of our people?

First of all, we need a party deeply rooted in the popular masses. A party with enormous influence among all strata of the working people of the city and the countryside. A party that enjoys the appreciation and the confidence of the vast majority of our people. A party with basic units in the smallest village of Cyprus. A party staffed from top to bottom with theoretically trained, capable and active executives. With experts for every popular problem. A massive, tight-knit and powerful party with such an intra-party mechanism that can tackle and solve the multiple popular problems in a timely manner.

Can we say that we have such a party today? To a certain extent yes. But not in so far as our supreme duty to the people and their interests requires, in so far as the things and needs of our people require. There are a lot of organisational problems we have to solve to get where we want to go. To create, set up and stabilise the synchronised, that perfected party mechanism, that works flexibly, skillfully, and effectively for the implementation of party decisions and the solution of popular problems.

We said we need a massive, tight, agile and powerful party. We need to explain what we mean by that, because there are friends who claim that it is never possible to have a massive and at the same time tight and agile party, and that if we want one we must therefore sacrifice the other. We cannot eat both together! These friends are making a very serious mistake. When we talk about a mass party we do not mean that we have to get into it just in case. One who gets the party for a club or a professional organisation. Nor does it mean any retreat to the ideological character and the respective line, strategy or tactics of the party. That is to increase, like-as, the numerical power of the members, not caring about who these members are. We do not see the massification of the party only through the lens of quantitative growth but also of quality—and above all of quality. And there is no contradiction in this, we want in our party all those honest, selfless elements of the working people who ideologically agree with us and who show willingness to work to serve the popular interests, the

rise and the advancement of our people and country, our national liberation and social regeneration and justice. There are many such elements and it is them that we want to give the opportunity to join the party, to be educated and educated within the party lines and to gain experience in the popular struggles that we organise. There are other friends who say that before we ask to get new members into the party we must first educate and engage many of those members who are already within the party. Although I agree that in our quest for new members we must not ignore the members we now have and for whom we must certainly ensure that they are developed, I do not agree that we must wait until those we have to develop to look for new ones. Because who can to claim that among the new members we will make we will not find much which will grow faster than the old ones? And why not prefer the co-identification of the two views? While, that is, we make efforts for the development and quality uplift of our members, while we are perfecting our party apparatus and we tidying our house, can we accept the elements that will help us to reach our destination faster will relieve even a little of the burden borne by our old members?

But it is not a lightening, but a loading, some claim. We have to run them away. It's a big fuss. This is sectarianism and narrow-mindedness. It is not the new members' fault if we do not know how to do our job. It is not the fault of the new members if we want to move in a narrow, "family" circle, if we go to look like the shepherd who out of laziness prefers to drag two sheep by the rope rather than a whole flock.

We must pay special attention to the reclining of our party organisation in the countryside. There is no village in Cyprus today where we cannot organise a party group. The Cypriot countryside is thirsty for organisation. In the countryside we will find thousands of pure and honest fighters who they are waiting for us to visit them, talk to them, deal with their problems and organise them.

The problem of massification of the party is closely linked to the following basic organisational problems.

a) the problem of the completion and execution of the plan of organizational reconstruction of the party and its adaptation to the new conditions of our national liberation struggle. We even meet, from time to time, friends who claim that the old organization was better than the new. These friends think of trade unionists professionally, but not partisan ones. For it does not require much

consideration of the question to convince us that an Akelist is interested not only in his narrow professional problems but in the problems of the people in general, in all the problems of his environment. And there is no doubt that the new organisation is exactly that what brings us in direct contact with the people and their problems. It is what gives our members and executives the opportunity to get to know the people and to get to know the people. With the new organisation the main unit of the party, the group, has the role to must play in the political life and movement of our people. The role of political leadership, in the parish, the village or the factory, we must see and evaluate correctly the role of our basic unit because the party building and the party mechanism are based on it. We must patiently turn our attention to the party group, give it a full understanding of its political role, make it a living, active body working with system and perspective. Each meeting to mark a new milestone in the struggle to serve the people interests and the conquest of the masses. And in order to achieve this we must pay great attention to the way each group does its works, in the way it meets and performs its party tasks. To put an end to the long hours of exhausting meetings, which frustrate and lead to the decline in the fighting mood of the members. To bring into the main posts of the party group the best, most developed and active members, members with initiative and ability, members who lead the party and the people and they will not spare sacrifices to turn our main unit, the group in a real company of a pioneering army, which has set as its goal the free and happy life of our people.

The meetings of our groups must be distinguished by the liveliness, the willingness to tackle even the smallest problems of the field in which they work, on their own initiative, without always waiting for what is written by the City Committee or the District Committee. They must also be distinguished by the skill with which they study, decide and perform their duties. No member of the Party should leave the meeting of his group without learning something new, something that will help him in his party work. No member of the Party should leave meeting his team without having learned anything new, something that will help him in his party work. Because the meeting of a party group is also a school of political education, a school that is illuminated by the experience of our members in the old struggles. This is how we should make the basic unit of the Party, the Group.

Related to this direction is the problem of a good division of work, which aims to find and use all those skills and talents that abound within our party forces, but which we have not yet been able to find and place. And in this we must also pay attention to the psychology of each of our members. It is not enough and does not solve any problems, friends, to say that the A or B member is idle, does not execute the decisions. Our task is to find the way, the tactics, which will enable each member to perform according to his experience and abilities. To stimulate his initiative and noble ambition. Praise him where he shows a willingness to work and help him where he shows weaknesses. To strike and eliminate the last trace of sectarianism and bureaucracy in whatever form it appears. This may be in the lack of confidence in a member's abilities to carry out a job. It may be in the bureaucratic way we approach a problem. It may be in this very conduct of ours towards the members. Let us not forget that mistakes in one who works are inevitable and that as Lenin once said "the wisest man is the one who makes the least mistakes". Let our members make mistakes. It is enough to help them to learn from the experience of their mistakes. As long as they make progress in their work. Because if, out of fear of making mistakes, we don't give them the opportunity to develop their own initiative, we'll let them stagnate. Because if, out of fear of making mistakes, we don't give them the opportunity to develop their own initiative, we'll let them stagnate. And this is where we need to stress the great importance of the normal, stable, unbreakable connection of top to bottom and vice versa. The close cooperation and collectivist work of the higher organizations with the lower.

We have made some progress in this area, but not to the extent that we should. How should we look at the connection of the top to bottom and vice versa? In the timely manner in which the central decisions in the District Committees are sent down by in the Groups. The E.E. Nicosia and Famagusta have shown full understanding in this. With the intra-party bulletin prepared for the members, the Central and Provincial decisions descent to the members. Another means of connection, perhaps the most effective, is the "Democrat", who gives daily and uninterruptedly the party line. Unfortunately, however, our members have not yet become accustomed to using the "Democrat" as such an instrument. They often wait for the circular, written by the Central or the District Committee With this I do not want to say that the key

positions and decisions of senior organizations should not be analysed in a special intra-party document, nor that in the "Democrat" we can base all our decisions. But the "Democrat" fastest and more effective means of connecting and channelling our party line, and we must make more use of this means. Suffice it to say that in some villages, where we do not have party groups, our non-party friends make such use of the "Democrat" which is an example for these even our party groups. When I asked a non-party friend in a village, where they get their guidance, he typically replied: "We take the 'Democrat' and do what he tells us."

As much as we must pay attention to the timely lowering of the Central and Provincial positions and decisions at the bottom, we must also pay attention to the opinion of the bottom at these positions, which must also travel upwards at the same rapid pace. The views below on any issue are valuable to our Central guidance.

THE SELECTION AND DEVELOPMENT OF EXECUTIVES

A large part of the draft decision on the organisation is devoted to the selection and development of executives. This was done deliberately, of course. It was done because the success or failure in implementing the party line and party decisions depend on our executives. It is these that decide the fate of party decisions and this existence and operation party mechanism. In short, our executives are the ones who decide everything.

And the problem of executives is today the most serious organisational problem facing our party. What is this problem? We need a lot of executives. We need real executives. We need theoretically qualified and competent executives. We need specialized executives in the various fields of work. We need it firm, solid and tested executives, who can lead the party. To lead the people. To be governed by the spirit of self-sacrifice, of selflessness, of their faith and devotion to the struggles of our people. Executives who put the party, the popular interest above all, who are ready to sacrifice even this, their lives if the need arises, to serve the national-political-economic interests of our people, for a better tomorrow. For a higher, fairer society. Executives who will decide that they will sacrifice their peace and fun and many more that life offers us, to work with courage, self-denial, courage and faith in the people and in their

strength, to give the people happiness and joy. Such executives are what we need.

How do we acquire these executives? The problem is not easy. It is one of the hardest—if not the hardest—problems we face. Executives and in fact as we described them above they do not grow like mushrooms in the plains. They do not grow in short periods of time. It takes effort, persistent and tedious work, and experience to grow. To solve this the most serious problem for our party and movement, we must work out and to implement a correct, well-thought-out, scientific policy of executives. Something that we did not have until today. Something that we faced with rough “solutions”, which were not solutions at all, but which constantly postponed the correct, unique, solution that we could give to this problem.

We highlighted, it is true, certain strains from the intellectual and micro-intelligible element, but we overlooked the emergence of strains from the proletarian element. And those few proletarian executives who emerged with their sword, by their own efforts, were left to rub off on their mistakes their weaknesses because the party was unable to help and guard them. But we were literally overwhelmed with the burden of responsibility that with all the good will and will in the world they could not bear and respond to.

To solve this serious problem, friends, we must reconsider our whole attitude towards our executives. We must learn to appreciate everyone they say capable of benefiting the party and contributing to the struggles of our people. To have the friendly comradeship institution and mutual respect in the relations between our executives and between executives and ordinary members party.

To tidy up the way our party organs work and above all the party base, the Group, because from it all will be created those necessary conditions, that suitable greenhouse for executive development.

To make a studied selection of executives, and to pay special attention to the attitude in the difficult moments of the fight, in the trials we have to endure. Because it is from the millstone of the test that the most stable, the most indomitable, the most capable executives come out. And it is not enough if an executive has something good in his past. This fact alone does not mean that it corresponds to the components of an executive.

The past must always be renewed with the present, with the attitude it maintains today, with the work it offers to the party and with the mental endurance and ethos it demonstrates, the executives we highlight must be people who come out from the school of mass popular struggles, who have a close connection with the people and their problems. They are peoples of the masses, who live the life of the masses and who take part in every popular event. We must always be careful what the people think of our executives. They stand or do not stand high in the popular estimation, they stand or do not stand as popular fighters. The people are the best criterion of who our executives are. For the people never loved and never did will love false people.

We must insist on the emergence of labour leaders. No matter how difficult this project is. Because the Labour executives are difficult to emerge, difficult to climb, but as they grow they are the most stable, the most tested, the most dedicated executives. This is also a Marxist principle based on the fact that a worker has inherent in him the fighting moods. Because he is always fighting for his bread. He constantly fights against the exploitative, oppressive conditions imposed on him by the capitalist regime. It is neither a reproach against intellectual and micro-intelligible elements nor a tendency to disregard the valuable services which these elements render to our movement. It is a political truth that has been proved correct. That doesn't mean there aren't exceptions. It doesn't mean that all the Labour figures can be turned into executives. Nor does it mean that traitors did not emerge from the working class, but these exceptions cannot diminish or alter the correctness of this Marxist principle at We need to organise assistance to our executives. The help you give them give must be systematic and persistent. To put them in jobs that can perform. To constantly study the strengths and weaknesses and help them to acquire the right political orientation and raise their ideological and theoretical level.

We must also organise the control, the friendly but at the same time strict control that we will do to our executives. Both the Central and our District Committees must regularly discuss their executives, monitor their progress and promote them according to the progress they will make.

Practically every Provincial Organisation must have its own plan for the development of executives. To make a choice from the best members it has, to bring to the surface those who deserve and

ascend with their sword, to systematic give help to those executives who will perform, regardless of whether their performance will not die immediately. To instruct one of its best old executives to give political lessons and special education to the new executives under probation and to guide them in their self-education.

We want above all people who lead the party and are governed by the spirit of unlimited self-sacrifice in the struggle to serve the popular interests, we want people who put the party interest above else. And we do not want people who know how to “say it”—many—but people who know how to do what they say.

We must proceed with the specialisation of our executives in the various areas of party work. The popular problems to be solved also need the guidance of science. As an idea, I do not rule out the sending of certain executives for specialization, for university education abroad. This as an idea. In practice, it may prove unrealistic due to our financial difficulties. I have in mind that exquisite effort of the apostates in the Onissia collective. These people work hard to set something up. They are fighting against a volume of obstacles and difficulties. And they do not have a single expert to advise them. I firmly believe that if this effort of the apostates in Onissia, supported by a special agronomist, the results of the toil of these people would be very different from what they are today. We need to understand how the post-war problems of the whole world—and of our country—are such that the lights of science are necessary to solve them. So specialisation in the work of our executives and not only political party specialisation, but also specialisation in the problems of the people. Because we are the ones who have to solve these problems.

Friends,

Our work with the executives is the most difficult, but at the same time the most fruitful and creative work. The living party material needs work to get the executives we need out of it.

If we take boldly, decisively, in the adoption and implementation of these suggestions, I believe we will forge the new executives, the new people, who will be tomorrow the worthy leaders of our party, capable and worthy leaders of our people.

THE CENTRAL AND PROVINCIAL GUIDELINES

Here I want to present to the Congress, as in the future both in Pancyprian and at provincial congresses before delegates are invited to elect their new leadership, they hear a report on the past work of each of the candidates. Whether or not they fulfilled their duties or to what extent they did. Because no matter how good a crisis we have, it is not possible for us all to know the work of each of the candidates. And it is neither democratic nor right to vote intuitively. The election of our Central Committee is one of the most serious tasks of the delegates. The C.C. is the highest authority within the Party after the Congress, we want in our central guidance the most developed, the most theoretically trained, the most capable, the most active, the most daring, the most complete, the most tried, the most conscious elements available to the party, I want to believe that the Congress will approve the proposal says the only way to elect the best possible guidance.

THE DISTRICT ORGANISATIONS

We will not succeed in setting up the party mechanism we want if we do not pay attention to the work of our Provincial organisations, and if not them help overcome their weaknesses in organisational reconstruction of the party. No matter how good decisions we make centrally, no matter how good plans we prepare, they will only remain on paper if our Provincial Mechanism is not able to implement them, if not able to assimilate them and process them in detail, to execute them. And there are many cases that key central decisions were left unfulfilled by those organisations they had to execute them—our District Committees.

I consider it appropriate to refer to each of our Provincial organisations separately and to address in general terms the problems and weaknesses that fallen into my perception.

(a) The Nicosia District Organisation is the organisation that from an organisational point of view stands high in our party organisation and that presents high hopes for further development. Suffice it to say that on four on Sundays from the 3rd to the 24th of August 1947 it organised gatherings in 64 villages of its Province on the Congress and the party seats, with a total of 13,000 listeners. It is the Provincial Organisation that pays its

percentages on time to C.C. and works systematically for the execution of Central decisions. However, it also has its weaknesses, which are essentially weaknesses lack of sufficient staff and a good division of labour.

(b) The Limassol District Organisation, which for a long time was torn apart and faced the issue of separation of its forces, which had almost completely lost contact with the countryside and did not fulfill its tasks which were assigned to it by the C.C., it managed from this year's Provincial Congress to tighten its work, to establish harmonious relations between them Provincial executives and to move forward rapidly, raising the competitive mood and the planned work of its party members of the Province. However, the friends of the Limassol District Organisation should not be complacent with these successes, but to consider them as a good start, the inauguration of a new period in their work. The Limassol District Organisation still has to establish a full connection with the countryside, which it can and must win. It has to organise the factory workers and to win over all those workers who were lured into joining new, employers' unions. It has to develop new executives from the proletarian material of its city and from the rural element.

(c) The Famagusta District Organisation is the organisation that in the past was one of the best, if not the best party organisation. It presents tremendous potential development but at the same time the seeds of a situation separation of its forces. It is with sadness that we must acknowledge that the once pioneering part of Famagusta, has not only been extremely late in the performance of its duties, but also shows signs of intra-party crisis.

What is the remedy for evil? To overcome this situation, the Famagusta District Organisation must quickly restore harmonious relations between its executives and to ensure the mutual execution of decisions, with the higher party spirit that must govern it. To exercise strict control over the work of its executives and to the point of reporting to he below, to party members executives who do not fulfill their duties. To seek the development of new executives from the wonderful proletarian material at its disposal based on the programme we have developed above. To limit the time of its meetings and to organise its finances on basis of the programme established in collaboration with the Central Organisational Secretary and the Central Treasurer.

(d) The Larnaca District Organisation faces many organisational weaknesses. And here the problem is mainly a problem of executives. Transplanting executives from other cities cannot solve the problem. The solution to the problem must be sought from within the proletarian material, which Larnaca has, in fact, in abundance. From inside the factories of the city will we find the elements we ask for to promote executives. In this direction, the C.C. must provide all possible assistance to the Larnaca District Organisation, because I firmly believe that despite all the difficulties we will encounter, as if we manage to solve the problem of executives for Larnaca and in fact in the way we mentioned, in a short period of time, Larnaca will become one of our best Provincial Organisations.

(e) The Paphos District Organisation has a good movement in the countryside, but—due to the objective conditions—a weak movement in the city. The main problem for the Paphos District Organisation is the promotion of executives. From within the peasant element and from this few proletarian element at its disposal, a choice must be made and all possible assistance must be provided by the Central Committee in order to develop the new cadres it needs.

The frequent inspection of the District Organisations by the K.O.G., which will take the form of control in all areas of party work, which will aim at overcoming the weaknesses and difficulties that arise, will help the District Organisation to fulfill their great and difficult tasks.

In general, the District Organisation must show iron persistence in the application party line and party decisions. They have a sense of optimism and confidence in the implementation of decisions. And this feeling will be gained in practice with the personal experience of the District Organisation in the course implementation of the decisions. The District Organisation should develop their organisation, pay attention to all areas of work and at the same time concentrate the interest and the main forces of the organisation in the central task whenever the correct solution and realization of it will depend on the whole course of the organisation. The District Organisation need to concentrate their attention and take steps to improve the work in the teams. Let them develop as much as they can the collectivist spirit of work and guidance, to renew themselves theoretically-politically-organisationally and to know not only to teach the workers, but

also to be taught by them. To be the first to give these, the District Commissioners, the example of criticism and self-criticism and to create an atmosphere of party comradeship, without this hindering strict party control.

Our Party demands from its executives to be the first in sacrifices and struggles, first in the implementation of party decisions, bold and decisive, optimistic and measured, with morals and a superior cultural spirit.

THE HEADQUARTERS

The draft decision proposes the establishment of the following headquarters: (1) Financial (2) Educational (3) Organisational (4) Journalistic (5) Educational (6) Financial.

What do they want the work of these offices? Their work will consist of a thorough study of the problems in their field and the preparation of a proposal for the Politburo and the Central Plenary Session. No serious suggestion in the future on a given problem we face should not be presented to the Politburo or the Plenary Session, if it has not been studied in advance and elaborated in detail by the special office. We also had in old C.C. organise such offices. However, few of them worked, as can be seen in the action report of the C.C. That is why great attention should be paid to the persons who will be called to form these offices. We want people with skills, but above all and with an appetite to work. Because the success or failure of our central guidance will depend on the good or bad operation of these offices. And this is where we need to place our experts. Those we say and those we want to create.

OUR FINANCES

But in order to do all this, financial means are needed. Only a very small percentage of our members and executives have fully understood the importance of party finances in the execution of party decisions. It is time for the whole party to understand that without strong finances, we cannot mobilise, nor can we maintain and improve our party mechanism, and all our work will be limped, delayed and thrown back. We must realise that there is a great deal of indifference, which reaches the limits of irresponsibility among our members and executives regarding the party finances. The result of this bad situation was that our Central

Committee was indebted for a long time and if we did not announce the party fundraiser, I do not know well, well if we will be able to set up this Congress as well. If one excludes the Nicosia and Limassol District Committee the other Provinces have long ceased to give even these percentages, they say, statutory obligations to give to the Central Committee. With the sole exception of the Paphos District Committee, which due to the special conditions prevailing in this Province, the C.C. decided not to collect percentages and to help it even from the Central Fund, the other two District Committees, Famagusta and Larnaca, unjustifiably did not send the percentages of Central Committee provided by the Statute. Of course they do not retain them. They spent them for party purposes. But they had no right to do so at the time who did not have the relevant approval from the Central Committee. This is a substitute for the District Committee and I call on the Congress to express its opinion on this issue, and if the District Committee is allowed to circumvent the statute on this crucial issue, I do not know how the work can be supported. of our Central Committee, perhaps I should give you the example of Limassol. The Limassol District Committee for a long time, not only did not pay interest to the Central Bank, but it was also in debt. As soon as the Provincial Guidance at this year's District Conference changed, and the new Guidance paid attention to finances, so did the old state and District Committee revenues, Limassol rose. Suffice it to note that within 5 months it paid all its percentages to the C.C. until the end of the year and its own District debts.

I also remember the arguments of the old guidance that they could not secure more revenue and change. But things turned out the other way around. Where there is responsible guidance in party finances, where there is the planned work that does not ignore the finances, there is success.

Another brilliant example is the Nicosia District Committee that constantly pays for percentages in C.C.

Friends,

The financial issue for our party is one of the most serious problems that we face. It's as serious as the other key areas of party's work because no line, no decision can get in the way of its execution without money. We must understand that without the necessary financial means, it is not possible to organise and promote popular struggles for national-political-economic problems of the people. The struggles that reopen before us with the

execution of the decisions of our Congress is so great in their extend and content, that they require the financial support of the people, in whose interests these struggles are being waged.

But in order to find the necessary finances we must have the right financial policy. The party's financial problem is not just about those in charge Economic Committees. It is a problem that directly concerns the whole party from the C.C. up to the team. We must understand that the contribution of the members is not enough to set up and operate the party mechanism.

Good economic policy means:

(a) Let us reach out to the people, to all the layers that like our Party to strengthen us. To maintain and expand their network of our regular financial boosters. To organise on a nationwide scale the weekly "worker's gross". To instruct the new Central Committee to announce in due course a new Pancyprrian fundraiser. The people are willing to give the finances that our party and organisations need. This was also proved by the fundraiser. It is enough to find the way to approach it and facilitate it.

(b) Make party finances a matter for the Group. It's an issue of honour and a serious political and financial problem for all members of the Party to pay their subscriptions regularly. Then each member can do serious financial work. To collect even a few groschen a week for the party.

(c) We must have strong financial committees from active comrades, who will study and find ways to find finances and will take the lead in implementing the party's financial policy.

(d) For each of our mobilisations we must ask the question: What financial means do we have and if we do not have at all how will we secure them?

(e) There must be order and tidiness in the management of finances and they must be disposed of according to the political needs of the movement. Strong finances show, among other things, the good functioning of the party organisations and their ability to lead.

OUR WORK IN MASS ORGANISATIONS

With the change of our organisation, many members thought that our work in mass organisations takes on secondary importance, that we can lower the tone of our action in this area. A greater fallacy and misrepresentation of the party line could not be

made. What should be our position and what role should we play within the mass organisations? Our members who belong and who should belong to the mass organisations, should be first among the first in the performance of the work of their mass organisation. They must not forget for a moment their great, their serious political mission as Akelists, as members of the pioneering Working People's Party. Their role within mass organisations is, by their activity, with the correct and politically mature guidance they give, with their self-denial in the performance of duties to serve the interests of members of their organisation, with their unwavering faith in the people and in the forces the people, to stand high in the appreciation of the members of their organisation, real fighters and vigilant guards of its interests.

In this way they will gain the trust of the members of their organisation and will be able to influence their partners politically. Even more work, even more action in the mass organisations. From our mass organisations let us recruit the finest elements for our party.

WORK CONTROL

We must organise the control of our work on the basis of the wonderful dialectical weapon of criticism and self-criticism both at the bottom and top. Control, the systematic, the creative, must become the constituent element of our whole action. To make our members and executives feel in all the breadth and depth, the role that control plays in shaping the people and in implementing the party line. And in order to be able to control we must first get clear and feasible decisions. Every decision must determine how and which people will carry it out. Set deadlines for the implementation of decisions. Avoid what is usually done. That is, to meet and decide a lot of work and leave under the impression that our mission has been accomplished there.

The control of our work must excite and educate. To raise the political level of our members, to sharpen their thinking, to enrich their experience and teach them to better implement decisions. The control should not only not cut the initiative, but instead give way to their liveliness, intelligence, creative abilities and their individuality of party members. The Party control must be strict and friendly. It means that we all within the Party has an obligation to implement decisions.

THE NATIONAL LIBERATION ORGANISATION

In the work that we will have to perform in the coming months will be the organisation of the National Liberation Organisation. The National Liberation Organisation will not be founded by us alone, but in cooperation with the National Cooperation Party. What kind of organisation is it that we will suggest to become? We will suggest that the National Liberation Organisation under establishment recruit an organised popular base. The Organisation to include all honest and sincere patriotic elements of the country who are willing to work organised under the guidance of the Organisation for our National Rehabilitation and the social prosperity of our country. In every village of Cyprus we must establish the branch of this National Liberation Organisation. In the cities we will move on the same basis as Provincial Committees to will be democratically elected and which will guide the whole Province. Centrally there will be the General Pancyprian Council of the National Liberation Organisation, which will be elected by the Pancyprian Congress of the members of the Organisation. The role of our Party in this Organisation will be truly enormous. All our members will join in the Organisation and with the activity they will develop and their contribution in leadership will gain the appreciation and respect of non-party members of the Organisation. Our members will be at the forefront of the struggles that will be decided and will be organised by the National Liberation Organisation, loyal fighters and worthy members of the Party they belong to.

I conclude, my friends, with the wise words of great Lenin: The most precious good of man is life. And since it was given to him to live only once, he must live so that when he dies he feels no one sadness in life but can say that my whole life and all my strength were dedicated to universal freedom."

AKEL PROGRAMME FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF OUR COUNTRY (Presentation by Ch. Nousis)

THE DELAY OF OUR COUNTRY

The Cypriot people still live at a low standard of living and culture. The broad strata of the people are malnourished and tuberculosis and other diseases due to malnutrition are widespread throughout our island.

Half of the women and one fifth of the men in Cyprus aged 7 and over are illiterate, and out of every 100 children enrolled today in the first grade of primary school, only 67 reach the fourth grade, only 38 reach the sixth grade of elementary school, and only 14 go to the first grade of secondary schools.

WHAT ARE CAUSES OF THE DELAY?

What is the reason for this miserable living and cultural situation in the country? Is it a country by nature poor, no country by nature unhealthy, no country too densely populated or are we any people by nature inferior to others?

Of course, our country does not have any of these disadvantages. Our island, no matter how small, has rich land and rich ores. Above all in terms of ores, Cyprus is incomparably richer than most of countries in the world. E.g. Before the war, our island was even outnumbered America, as well as Germany and France in the production of pyrite, which is a metal necessary for the chemical industry. In the production of asbestos Cyprus was at the same level as America, and in the production of copper we were close to Germany and Spain.

So the reason for our delay cannot be the natural poverty of our country.

Of course, no one can blame our climate, because as we know we have one of the healthiest climates in the world. Nevertheless, the health of the people is much worse than most countries with unhealthy climate such as e.g. the England.

This becomes obvious if we compare e.g. infant mortality under the age of one year, which in England is about 40-45 deaths per 1000 babies, while in Cyprus it was in 1945, 81 and in 1946, 71.

As for the density of our population that today is about 125 inhabitants per square mile, it is much thinner e.g. from Belgium which has 700 inhabitants per square mile, Great Britain with 500 inhabitants, Italy with 350 inhabitants, or France with 200 inhabitants every square mile.

So our delay cannot be due to excessive density of our population.

Ultimately, this delay of our country cannot be due to any mental or other physiological inferiority of the Cypriot people. Wherever Cypriots have been given the opportunity to work alongside foreigners, they proved that not only are they not inferior to other peoples—but on the contrary they are much smarter with better gifts than many who are considered more “civilized”.

The conclusion is that the poverty of our people, the backwardness of our economy and the illiteracy of a large proportion of the Cypriot people is not the result of any natural handicap of our country or people. The real cause of the delay of our country is none other than the national and economic enslavement of Cyprus by Great Britain in the last 70 years, which was a continuation of our enslavement by the Turks in the past 300 whole years.

During the seventy years of occupation of Cyprus, England:

(1) Deprived from Cyprus in the form of Subsidy Tax and its Share of debt in Turkish debt about 3 million pounds that had a purchasing power of over 30 million pounds today.

(2) It destroyed our local handcrafts and industries with the competition of its industrial products.

(3) It hindered the development of local industries and kept Cyprus as a market for expensive English industrial products and as a supplier of cheap raw materials.

(4) They did not help our agriculture to develop and left the rural population enslaved to the exploitative hands of usurers and merchants and defenceless against unequal external competition.

(5) It did not protect workers from the exploitation of their employers, nor did it introduce any social security.

(6) It did not enhance the education of the people, but on the contrary, tried to undermining the national feeling of the students.

(7) It has not taken effective measures to protect public health.

So we see that the main cause of the delay of our country is the Colonial Government by the British who are interested in servicing their industrial and banking capital and not in serving the interests of the Cypriot people.

UNION AS A MILESTONE IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF OUR ISLAND

How will this country be able to progress? The answer comes from the above: Let the British leave Cyprus, let us unite with the rest of Greece and work hand in hand with our other Greek brothers for the development of our island. The Union with Greece is not for us an END, in which we will stand to say “now you are your slave, Despot”, (that is, now we no longer care if we die). On the contrary, the Union for us is a MILESTONE for further work and struggle for the development of our country within the framework of a free Greek State.

IMPLEMENTATION OF OUR PROGRAMME UNDER SELF-GOVERNMENT CONSTITUTION

And now the question arises: What should we do in the economic, social and cultural spheres, until our political struggles for Union with Greece bear fruit?

Should we cross our arms in these areas of work in anticipation of the Union? Or should we limit ourselves to sterile criticism of Government's actions, leaving in the meantime the Cypriot people to suffer under the exploitation of foreign and local capital?

Of course not. Our Party, as a Party of the working people, has a duty to fight everywhere and always for the economic, social and cultural development of the people. In fact, political struggles should never be one-sided struggles. They must always be combined with the economic and social struggles of the people. It is precisely for this purpose that our Party is putting forward today in front of the 5th Pancyprrian Congress a programme for the development of our country, which will form the planned basis of our struggles.

Of course, we are aware in advance of the enormous obstacles that we will encounter both from the foreign Government and from the local reaction to these struggles. But this cannot disappoint us

or lead us to fatalistic view that nothing can be done before the blessed day of the Union.

Our struggle will be extremely difficult and mostly fruitless as long as the current authoritarian regime continues, which places an Englishman at the head of each Government Department who is foreign to the country and who has little interest in these problems and who is not accountable to the Cypriot people, despite the fact that their thick salary comes out from the sweat of our people, and does not even take into account our suggestions and pleadings.

Our struggle for the implementation of our programme will become easier and probably more fruitful if with our political struggles we deprive the British Government of the right to manage our people through its elected officials its representatives, all the internal affairs of the island, without this of course meaning that we will not relax the fight for Union at all. Such rights to manage their local affairs have already been won by the struggles several other Colonies, which are at a lower cultural level, and there is no reason why we should not fight for a full self-governing Constitution as long as the British occupation lasts, which will give the opportunity in our Party, if it wins the parliamentary elections, to implement our present Programme of development of the country.

THE INCREASE OF THE NATIONAL INCOME OF THE ISLAND

In order for our country to develop, measures must be taken to increase the national income of Cyprus, that is, to make better use of wealth-producing resources of the country so that the annual income of all Cypriots together grows much higher than the current low level. Unfortunately, there are no statistics on the national income of Cyprus, but with an approximate calculation, we find that before the war this corresponded only to about £12 per capita per year, while the national income e.g. of Great Britain was £120 per capita.

To increase our national income we propose the following measures:

A. THE AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

In order for Cypriot agriculture to develop, the following reforms and improvements must be made:

1. Abolition of feudal remnants in relations of production.

(a) to expropriate the tsiflikia, the Monastic, ecclesiastical and Awqaf estates, as well as the estates that are in the hands of merchants and interest earners or who remain uncultivated for three or more years and to be given over for cultivation to poor or landless farmers.

The compensation should be based on the pre-war estimated value and purchase price by the current owners and to be paid in 15 years with interest of 2%.

(b) to abolish the individual ownership of rivers and running waters, and their control to be carried out by democratically elected irrigation committees for the benefit of growers.

(c) To ban the system of «πομισιάτικων» crops and to become a law to protect tenants of estates from eviction and from increase of rent beyond the pre-war level.

(d) to prohibit the purchase of estates by merchants, usurers and other persons not engaged in agriculture.

2. Improvement of production methods and means

(a) to establish in all agricultural centres of the island experimental and exemplary stations that will be run by expert scientists, and which will deal with the solution of all the technical problems they face our farmers:

Effective and cost-effective control of plant diseases, insects and weeds. Production with crosses and selection of varieties of plants and trees that will have better yield and will withstand diseases, drought, etc. Verification of the suitability of the soil of each area for the production of certain plants and trees. Verification of the type of fertilizer that is necessary and suitable for each species and each area. Replacement of the current set-aside system with advantageous crop rotation system that adapts to the climatic and soil conditions of Cyprus.

(b) To establish, in conjunction with the experimental stations, agricultural schools for the education, free of charge, of rural children. Also to send every year several rural children as fellows for agricultural education in Greece and other Mediterranean countries.

(c) to introduce agricultural machinery and tools (tractors, ploughs, harvesters, threshers, sowing machines, etc.) from the government, kept at regional stations and rented to farmers with low rents.

(d) to make drillings in various parts of the island in search artesian waters, and to make irrigation works next to them on a large scale so that first the water from the rivers is not allowed to go to the sea and second to bring to the surface all groundwater. Also to make anti-corrosion works on a large scale.

(e) to drain swampy areas such as e.g. of Syrianochori and to give for cultivation to poor or landless peasants.

3. State Protection of Agriculture

(a) Protection of local agricultural production from foreign competition,

(b) securing to farmers advantageous prices for their products covering the cost of production;

(c) state assistance in finding foreign markets.

(d) subsidy of fertilizers in order to maintain at least the pre-war proportions between the selling price of the product and the price of fertilizer and increase the imported quantities of fertilizers and medicines suitable for combating plant diseases, insects etc.,

(e) Establishment of an Agricultural Insurance Fund against exceptional disasters and an animal insurance fund, to which a state subsidy is also given.

(f) Reduction of the interest of the Agricultural Bank of Cyprus from the current high level of 7% to 3% and increase of capital from £250,000 that are today, at least at £1,000,000 to help with cheap long-term loans the development of agriculture,

(g) Abolition of the export duty on agricultural products.

(h) Abolition of the tax on agricultural land which is an unjust annual capital tax, and even capital which is sometimes nominal, because the estates are mortgaged. This tax became more unjust from 1942 when income tax and inheritance tax were also imposed on farmers.

4. Development of Cooperation and Establishment of Agricultural Collectives.

(a) The existing Cooperative companies to be put on a democratic basis by amending the relevant Law and the institutions that currently give dictatorial powers to the Superintendent of Cooperative companies.

(b) To assist, especially the small Cooperative Credit companies so that they can give the members cheap short term loans.

(c) To encourage and financially and morally assist the establishment of Cooperatives Companies for group sale of all agricultural products.

(d) To encourage and financially support the establishment of agricultural collectives, which was the only means of overcoming the enormous difficulties faced by Cypriot agriculture with the fragmentation of land that hinders the implementation of scientific methods. Special support must be given to the poor and landless farmers who will inherit land by expropriation etc. mentioned above in order to organise collectivist cultivation.

5. Promotion of Arboriculture.

(a) Free concession to the poor or landless farmers of each region of the Hali government lands of the region for tree planting.

(b) To establish in conjunction with the experimental stations more nurseries and to give the seedlings free of charge to those farmers who undertake to plant and care for them.

(c) Carry out a systematic campaign to control the insects that infect trees—such as the thrush, the Mediterranean fly, the fruit fly, etc. as well as to fight the diseases of the trees.

6. Promotion of livestock farming.

(a) End the current systematic control by the Government of goats and sheep and allow them to graze in bushy forest areas.

(b) In all the experimental stations mentioned above, to have a livestock department in which to breed and select breeds of animals with better milk and meat yield and adaptable to the conditions of our Island. The same should be done with poultry.

- (c) To apply the system here as it was done in many other foreign countries of artificial insemination of animals
- (d) To fight animal diseases more systematically.
- (e) To ensure the import of sufficient cheap and suitable animal feed and at the same time to increase the local production of animal feed with appropriate crop rotation and better packaging of local products such as e.g. of locusts.
- (f) Abolish the excise duty on goats.

B. MINES, BANKS AND INDUSTRIES

1. *Nationalisation of the Mines.*

(a) All the mines of Cyprus to be nationalised for a reasonable compensation to be paid with special government bonds which will be repaid over a period of 25 years. With nationalisation our mines will cease to serve the monopoly interests of foreign brokers and will form the basis for the industrial development of the country.

(b) The management of nationalised mines should be done by Councils that will be held accountable to the Cypriot people.

(c) The mines to be equipped with modern machinery and tools.

(d) To conduct a systematic geological study of our island to determine what other ores exist and in what quantities the reserves of each ore amount.

2. *Nationalisation of Banks.*

(a) All Cypriot Banks as well as branches of foreign Banks to be nationalised in exchange for reasonable compensation to shareholders, which will be paid with special government bonds which will be repaid over a period of 5 years. With the nationalisation of the Banks, the Cypriot funds will be used for the development of the country and not to be limited to usury and trade financing as has been done so far.

(b) To establish a Cypriot publishing bank that will undertake the issuance of the banknote and cover management.

(c) The management of the issuing bank and the other nationalised banks to be done by councils that will be accountable to the Cypriot people.

(d) To demand from the English treasury to return to Cyprus the amounts that were unjustly and despite the protests of the Cypriot people removed from the Cypriot budget from 1878 to 1927 in the form of a tribute tax and a share of Cyprus in the Turkish debt which with interest to 4% per year until today amount to £20 million.

3. Establishment of Industries based on the Cyprus Ores.

(a) To establish industries for the on-site processing of ores e.g. of copper, chrome, gold etc. and shipped abroad as pure metals.

(b) Establishment of industries that will supply local ores for raw materials. E.g. the pyrite is converted to sulfuric acid and this is used for fertilizer production. Also with asbestos to make pipes for water, tiles and other types of construction etc.

(c) To study what other local industries can be established with the raw materials found in our land e.g. there are indications that industries for the manufacture of cements, glassware, porcelain items, etc. could be established.

4. Establishment and development of processing industries for Cypriot products.

(a) Establish industries for canning or fruit juicing; and vegetables.

(b) To be put on a modern scientific basis, the manufacturing industries of oil, match, wine, cheese, etc.

(c) To give to the local industries and mainly to those that are process Cypriot raw materials, tariff support.

(d) To study what other local industries can be established for processing of products locally produced.

(e) To allow the import of machinery and tools from any country which can supply us quickly cheaply and well.

(f) To encourage and financially support the establishment of local industries by Cooperatives of the producers themselves.

5. Establishment of a Pancyprian Power Plant.

To establish a large power plant, mainly with Cypriot funds, that will supply cheap electricity to cities and the countryside for industrial and domestic purposes.

6. Development of Fisheries.

(a) To provide state aid for the systematic development of fisheries in Cyprus by modern means, and to become protective legislation.

(b) Encourage the organisation of fisheries cooperatives.

7. Development of the Cypriot Countryside and Tourism.

(a) To provide state aid for the development of the Cypriot countryside and Tourism.

(b) To build several synchronized hotels and to improve the travel facilities with foreign countries. At the same time, to a real control should be carried out so that the hoteliers do not make dirty profit.

(c) To carry out systematic and good advertising of the countryside and other places of interest of Cyprus abroad.

8. Development of Cross-border Trade

To improve our ports, and to make efforts to use Cyprus as a transit station between East and West.

These are the main measures that we are proposing to increase the Cypriot national income. Of these measures the most radical are:

(1) The expropriation of the tsifliki, the Monasteries and other similar agricultural estates.

(2) The nationalisation of mines, and

(3) The nationalisation of banks.

The expropriation of tsifliki and other similar agricultural estates is necessary in order to eliminate these remnants of the feudal era that hinder the development of Cypriot agriculture. As long as the fields do not belong to their cultivators, neither the landlords nor the tenants care at all for the improvement these fields or the increase of their efficiency. With the expropriation, however, it is not going to be done in a revolutionary way and without compensation, such as e.g. took place in Russia in 1917. Our conditions are very different from those of Russia in 1917 and the expropriation we propose to be made in return for a reasonable compensation to the owners who will paid in 15 years at interest of 2%. As a reasonable basis for compensation we consider pre-war

estimated value of each estate after taking into account the actual market price of the estate by the current owner. However, in no case should the current prices, which are too high due to war inflation, be taken as a basis for compensation, because these prices will far exceed the capitalised net income of the estate in the future when product prices will return to their normal low level.

Peasants who will receive a lot of land from the expropriation must be helped by the state to voluntarily establish agricultural collectives and thus avoid fragmentation of the land which is a very serious obstacle for the application of scientific methods in cultivation.

The nationalisation of the mines will be a serious step towards development not only of the mining works but also of the Cypriot industry and at the same time it will contribute to the prosperity of our country. Today Cyprus is a place mainly agricultural and supplier of raw materials abroad. It is for this reason that our products and our raw materials in peaceful times we are forced to do so, to give them cheap to the industrialized countries and we turn and buy from these countries very expensive products made from our raw materials. To get rid of this exploitation we must create a mixed economy, a combination of Agriculture, Livestock, Mining and Industries. In this way we will be able, among other things, to give work to the inhabitants of the villages who, by the use of mechanical means in agriculture, will not be needed there, and we will effectively prevent the flow of migration abroad.

We propose the nationalisation of the Mines to be done in exchange for reasonable compensation that will be paid with special Government bonds which will be repaid in 25 years, and the management of the nationalised mines will be done by Councils that will be held accountable to the Cypriot people.

Finally, the nationalisation of Banks will enable the representatives of the people to use the Cypriot funds for the development of the country and not limited to usury and trade finance, as has been done so far.

The compensation to the shareholders for the value of the shares will also be done with Government bonds that will be repaid over a period of 25 years with the difference that the amounts of compensation to the shareholders of the Banks will be much smaller from the money managed by the Banks. E.g. while the share capital Bank of Cyprus is only £400,000, the same Bank still

manages £3,000,000 deposits which of course will not be nationalised.

FAIR DISTRIBUTION OF NATIONAL INCOME AND INCREASE OF LIVING AND CULTURAL LEVEL OF THE PEOPLE

In order for our country to prosper, it is not enough to increase the National Income of Cyprus. At the same, time a fair distribution of this Income must be made and part of it must be used to raise the living and cultural level of the people. To this end, we propose the following measures, in addition to the other measures mentioned above for the development of agriculture and which will simultaneously raise the living standards of farmers.

A. PAYMENTS OF SOCIAL INSURANCE AND TAXATION

1. Establishment of a minimum wage:

(a) To set a Pancyprian minimum wage limit for 44 hours weekly work which will be proportional to its actual life index and enough to live without malnutrition a family with at least three persons. The same minimum wage limit should apply to women workers and the principle of equal pay should be established.

2. Fall of the Index:

(a) Increase Government grants for basic necessities to the level that was in 1945.

(b) To limit the Government's profits on controlled items to the level considered legal for private traders,

(c) To transfer from Cyprus the Jewish illegal immigrants (which today are 15 thousand) German prisoners (about 1000) and British soldiers (approximately 15,000).

(d) Improve the law on rent restriction by abolishing the amendments made in June 1946 and with the addition of provisions that would confer the interests of all tenants, old and new.

(e) To establish more cooperative grocery stores as well as one cooperative wholesale company.

3. Securing the position of employees and regular workers.

To make a law that protects employees and regular workers from unjustified dismissal from work, and providing for the payment of gratuities at the end of their service in proportion to the years of service and the salary of each.

4. Establishment of a Social Insurance Fund:

(a) To establish a Social Insurance Fund in accordance with current English system to which workers, employers and the government will contribute and from which to provide:

(1) Sickness benefits and medical expenses.

(2) Unemployment benefits.

(3) Allowances for widows and orphans.

(4) Pensions for the elderly and disabled.

(b) Allowances should also be given to large families by the Government.

5. Factory Laws and Accident Compensation:

(a) To supplement the regulations of professions and industries according to the factory laws of England and put them into effect.

(b) To improve the Labour Compensation Act to give higher compensation, as is the case in England.

6. Taxation:

(a) Reduce indirect taxes on basic necessities.

(b) To increase the income tax-exempt threshold below £150 which is today, at £300 and to compensate to increase progressively the income tax in excess of £500 and to have a better control in verification of everyone's income.

(c) The inheritance tax should be gradually increased and better control should be exercised to verify the inherited property.

B. EDUCATION

1. Education should be led by councils accountable to the people.

(a) The Education of the country, both the lower and the Middle, to be directed by a Central Educational Council that will be accountable to the people.

(b) All schools in each city and village are under control of Municipal Councils and elected Local Authorities.

(c) To appoint a Greek teacher as Director of Education.

2. Improving lower education and eliminating illiteracy:

(a) The lower education to become compulsory for both sexes, at the present time we reached the age of 12 years old and later to be gradually extended to age of 15-16 years.

(b) To be established by the Government for the elderly illiterate men and illiterate women night and Sunday schools in every village and city.

(c) To establish Kindergartens in cities and large villages.

(d) The primary school curriculum should be adapted to the national, social and economic conditions of Cyprus. Primary language should be taught in all classes of Greek schools.

(e) Breakfast and lunch should be provided free of charge to poor children in all schools.

(f) To give children more systematic medical care.

(g) To build more and more healthy and comfortable school buildings.

(h) To improve the position of teachers and to give equal pay to teachers.

3. Promotion of Secondary and Higher Education:

(a) To grant Government scholarships to poor and diligent children for attending secondary schools so that at least one third of primary school graduates to continue their studies.

(b) To establish technical vocational schools as well as agricultural schools as stated in the decision relating to Georgia.

(c) To establish one or more Greek Teaching to give to their students full pedagogical education in replacement of the current Morphou College. In such Teaching the teachers should be sent periodically for further training.

(d) The Primary School language should be used in all Greek Secondary Schools.

(e) To be awarded several state scholarships for higher studies in Universities or other higher schools of Greece. England and other countries.

4. To preserve and revitalize folk art;

(a) To organise a systematic collection of works of Cypriot art and to establish a Museum of Cypriot Folk Art.

(b) To encourage the development of Cypriot Art based on the old folk projects.

C. HEALTH AND HOUSING

1. Increase the number of hospitals and improve their operation;

(a) To increase and grow the Hospitals in the cities and the health centres in the countryside.

(b) To increase the staff of Hospitals and health centres and to enrich everything with the appropriate means for diagnosis and treatment.

(c) Hospitals and Health Centres to be brought under their control Municipal Councils and elected Local Authorities.

(d) To establish Municipal and district maternity hospitals in all centres.

2. Systematic control of tuberculosis and other diseases:

(a) Establish more pneumonia clinics.

(b) To expand the campaign against malaria throughout Cyprus.

(c) To be vaccinated and preventive injections on a large scale of communicable diseases, diphtheria, typhoid, etc.

(d) To make a broad enlightenment of the popular masses on the elementary principles hygiene and how to prevent communicable diseases.

(e) To establish school and community baths in all villages and cities baths in the villages.

3. To build enough healthy houses;

(a) To be built by City Halls with state financial aid and subsidy several modern low-rise apartment buildings that can be rented at low rent.

(b) To provide state subsidy and long-term loans with cheap interest to workers, farmers, employees or poor craftsmen who undertake to build a new home for their family based on an approved plan that will meet the basic rules of hygiene.

(c) In both cities and villages, the construction of houses should be based on modern urban and road planning.

4. Improving water supplies:

Provide sufficient state aid and subsidy to improve the water supply of all cities and villages.

These are the main measures we propose for the increase and the fair distribution of the National Income as well as for the raising of the living and cultural level of the people.

You realise, of course, that we are now defining only the rough lines of our programme for the development of the country. The completion of the details of this Programme will require diligent study of each issue by special Committees, which will be appointed for this purpose by the New Central Committee of our Party.

THE RESOLUTIONS OF THE CONGRESS

The Resolution Against the Franco Regime⁵⁵

The 5th Pancyprian Congress of the Progressive Party of the Working People expresses its admiration and the solidarity of the Cypriot Workers with the heroic struggle that the Spanish Democratic People continues against hated fascist Franco regime.

At the same time, however, the 5th Pancyprian Congress of our Party cannot but express the discomfort and indignation of the Cypriot people for moral and material aid willingly given to the tyrannical regime of Spanish fascism by the dark forces of reaction, the capitalist monopolist circles of England and America. We also express the frustration of the Cypriot people that the United Nations (UN) two years after the end of the war against fascism, has not yet been able to eradicate Spanish fascism with decisive and drastic measures, and not only that, but great UN member forces tolerate from behind the scenes and strengthen oppressors of the Spanish people.

Our party and with us the entire democratic Cypriot people believe that the UN's tolerance of Spanish fascism leaves the victory of the peoples against Hitler's fascism incomplete, endangers the peace, the security of the Republic and the conquests of the peoples.

The Congress authorises its Bureau to forward this resolution to UN Secretary-General together with the assurance of our people that at the forthcoming General Assembly of the Organisation decisions will be taken and measures which will make it impossible for fascism to continue in Spain, will give the Spanish people the democracy and peace and thus pave the way for the disappearance of fascism from the face of the earth and the triumph of democracy and freedom around the world.

⁵⁵ *Democrat newspaper, September 16, 1947.*

The Resolution on the Presence of the Police⁵⁶

The fifth Pancyprian Congress feels the obligation to protest in the most intense manner for the presence, following an official order, of police officers during the conduct of its work and decides the following:

1. It considers the attitude of these police officers and generally the attitude of the Government to be scandalous, an attitude that encapsulates all the elements of a dictatorial behaviour, an attitude that as a whole can only offend the one who adopts and uses such methods. The insistence of the authorities on sending watchers and eavesdroppers to such closed meetings, is no different from the requirement to monitor the movements, discussions and matters in general of a large family, so long as it would exceed the number of five persons.

2. The Congress takes this opportunity to stigmatize also all those cases in which the police intervened and attended the meetings of the elected Special Representatives on issues of the Archdiocese election, reaching the point of insisting to attend the meeting of the seven members of the Limassol-Larnaca Committee, in which they would exchange opinions on the nomination of the Episcopal throne of Kition.

3. The Fifth Pancyprian Congress denounces such an intolerable situation, as well as the whole scandalous system of Government from which this situation arises, not only to the whole Cypriot people, but to the whole civilized world.

4. The Congress assigns to the C.C. to submit his strong protest to the Governor of the island, and carry his complaint to the House of Commons.

The Resolution on the Left-Wing Press⁵⁷

1. The 5th Pancyprian Congress notes with satisfaction the publication of “Democrat”— our Party journalistic organ.

⁵⁶ *ibid.*

⁵⁷ *ibid.*

The party need for contact in the enlightenment sector with the widely organised and unorganised working classes (urban and rural) are satisfied today to a large extent, thanks to the left-wing press and especially the “Democrat”.

2. Our Party as the Political Leader of the working class and working strata, has an immediate duty to maintain a continuous and uninterrupted contact and guide the people to all events (national, political, economic and social) that are directly related to its daily struggle for National Freedom and Economic Development.

Today, when our National Liberation Movement is facing a comprehensive combined attack of local and foreign reaction, the task of the Party in the field of enlightenment of the people is taking on fundamental importance.

3. Under these conditions the further rise of the left press and especially of the “Democrat” must be a daily task of the Party of the whole.

The qualitative improvement of our press, the complete enlightenment of the economic problems of the people, the timely information on all internal and external international issues, ensuring more complete contact with the Cypriot countryside, the most perfect appearance of our newspapers, they are some of the tasks of which the new C.C. must pursue persistently and methodically.

The highest and most imperative duty of the Party as a whole and especially of the Editorial Committee is to guard our ideological organ from dangers wherever they come from.

4. Although today our newspaper occupies the first place in the circulation, nevertheless, a further effort must be made for the further penetration of our press in all strata of the people.

Our motto: Even further development of our left-wing press.

THE DEMOCRAT to reach every workplace and every Cypriot corner.

The Resolution on the Greek Situation⁵⁸

The 5th Pancyprrian Congress of AKEL, after carefully studying the whole Greek problem, as presented today, came to the following decision:

1. It strongly condemns the open interference policy of the Anglo-Saxon imperialist reaction to the domestic issues of Greece. This policy which formally and substantially abolishes the Independence of the nation, which affects the integrity of the country and seriously hinders the peaceful democratic development people to any economic, social and spiritual prosperity, is not unrelated to the general tendency of imperialism to prepare for a new war with the tendency to dream of world domination.

2. It denounces in front of the Cypriot people, the Greek monarcho-fascist right, the Greek centre that betrayed the liberal principles that Venizelism and the foreign regime of medieval violence represented in its genesis, which wreaks havoc among the People, en masse emasculates the genuine mass movement, throws additional oil on the fire of the Civil War and perpetuates the imperialist colonization of the country, transforming it into a warlike, adventurist base.

3. It expresses its boundless admiration, sympathy and solidarity with the heroic and irresistible fraternal Greek people, with political avant-garde, as expressed by the EAM and the KKE, as well as to with its armed militant section—the People's Democratic Army— who are fighting relentlessly for peace, freedom and independence, for democracy development, for economic reconstruction, and for the national integration of the country.

The 5th Pancyprrian Congress of AKEL firmly believes that the day of complete popular domination, of the complete final victory of the Democratic People and Democratic Army in Greece is not far off.

4. It clearly states that the position of our movement is the position of the common national liberation struggle from a common essentially imperialist enslavement, position of material and moral mutual sympathy and support. In this light, the 5th Pancyprrian Congress, which in its study of the whole Greek problem stood

⁵⁸ *Democrat* newspaper, September 14, 1947

especially in the suffering of the deprivations and sufferings suffered by exiled democratic fighters in the “islands of death”, among which include Cypriot patriots, such as competitors Ioannis Katsunoton, Kokonan Antonion and Stringon—gives an explicit order to the new CC.. to immediately organise a Pancyprian fundraiser to help these heroic victims of struggle, which is carried out not only for the genuine interests of the people of Greece, but also for the most urgent interests of the peoples of the world.

THE SIXTH CONGRESS OF AKEL, August 27-28, 1949

THE DECISIONS OF THE CONGRESS⁵⁹

THE DECISION ON THE ACTIVITY REPORT OF THE C.C.

The 6th. Pancyprian Congress of AKEL which met in Limassol on 27 and 28 August, 1949, after studying the action report submitted by the Provisional Central Guidance, and after listening to the suggestion of the General Secretary and the discussion that followed HAS DECIDED AS FOLLOWS:

1. Approves the action report of the C.C., the draft decision on action report, submitted, and all additions and comments submitted by the delegates and accepted by the Congress.

2. The Congress ratifies the criticism of the C.C. of the Party with regard to the mistakes of our political line, and approves all the measures taken to correct the mistake and to put the Party on the right political path.

3. The Congress approves the decision for resignation of the C.C. and ratifies all the decisions and work of the Provisional Central Guidance regarding the organisation of the Sixth Congress, and the guidance of the Party within the intervening period, as mentioned in the action report.

THE POLITICAL DECISION

THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION—STRUGGLE FOR PEACE

The Sixth Congress of AKEL, meets in conditions, international and local, extremely critical.

⁵⁹ *Democrat Magazine, Issue 1, September-October 1949.*

The forces of world reaction that disrupted the peoples' military cooperation against Hitler fascism and the Japanese imperialism the day after the war are actively moving to organise a third world war. International capitalism, crushed by its contradictions and crisis has already begun to knock on its door. It tries to overcome difficulties by putting on the shoulders of the workers of the capitalist countries and the oppressed of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples, the entire weight of the crisis.

They intervene in the interior of foreign countries, organise the civil war for to restore the anti-popular exploitative regimes and say they are willing to sell out their countries in the interests of Anglo-American monopolies.

The Democratic Forces and organisations of their countries, particularly those of the working class, are being hit to prepare for the new carnage. They raise again the flag of Hitler's anti-communism and with the same slogans of fascist propaganda break workers' unity on a local and international scale.

Against the infernal plans of the imperialists, the forces of progressive humanity, led by the Soviet Union, stand resolutely. The peoples, who—as stated by the great teacher of the working class Joseph Stalin—"The evils of the last war are very fresh in their minds, they will not allow a new to be waged." Within these forces of Peace are the young People's Democracies, the millions of the victorious people of China, the revolutionary peoples of the colonial countries, the heroic democratic people of Greece, the powerful labour movements of the capitalist countries, and all the international progressive organisations of workers, youth, women, scientists, and peace fighters.

In these conditions, the duties that come before our Party and the Cypriot working class are as clear as ever:

To connect our struggle for the national restoration of Cyprus and for the solution of our economic problems with the struggle for peace and democracy.

We must gather around our Party, within our progressive organisations, the majority of the people and mobilise it to defend the peace and the democratic rights of our people. To expose every day, by all means of enlightenment propaganda, the war plans of imperialism in our country and on an international scale. to organise Peace Committees where possible as decided by the World Peace Congress in Paris, and bring them in contact with the Permanent World Council of Defenders of Peace.

THE STRUGGLE OF THE GREEK PEOPLE FOR DEMOCRACY AND INDEPENDENCE

Greece is the greatest example of imperialist intervention, organisation of a civil war and enslavement of a foreign country.

The Anglo-American imperialism seeks to turn Greece into a bridgehead of war against the Balkan Democratic Republics and Eastern Europe, and the Soviet Union. With the cooperation of the local collaborators, it has catalysed the independence of the country, and every democratic freedom of the Greek people. With the cooperation of Tito's treacherous clique, it makes more difficult the hard struggle of the Greek people for democracy and independence. Hundreds of democratic citizens have been executed and thousands are groaning in the dungeons of prisons and on the islands.

The country's workers are starving from unemployment and starvation wages. Strikes and work stoppages, despite fascist laws, are an almost daily phenomenon. Civil servants, employees of government agencies, tram runners are at the forefront of the strike.

The Greek Democratic people and their Democratic Government, and the Democratic Army, under the wise guidance of the heroic K.K.E., are resolutely fighting against the plans and interventions of the American-British imperialists. At this moment, in the mountains of the glorious Grammos, the Greek people are once again fighting for the independence and the honour of Greece, cursing and torturing the enemy and moving forward to conquer the decisive turning point of the struggle.

The Sixth Pancyprian Congress of AKEL, which meets at the time when the decisive battle of 1949 is taking place in Greece, greets the heroic fighters of the Hellenic republic, welcomes the heroic Party of the Greek working class which inspires and guides the great struggle of the Greek people. Calls on the new C.C. of the Party to work actively, to strengthen the great struggle of the Greek people. To enlighten the Cypriot people by all means for justice of the cause of the Greek people, to dispel the fog of slander and confusion that the reaction has spread and is spreading.

The new C.C. to strengthen the Soviet Union 's peace effort at the UN on the Greek, for the withdrawal of foreign troops, the release of all imprisoned democrats, the general amnesty, the

democratisation of the country and the holding of free elections under UN supervision.

The performance of these tasks is closely linked to the execution of our duties in the national-liberation struggle of our people, because only a democratic, independent Greece, free from any imperialist dependence, will resolutely put forward the solution of the Cyprus issue and will positively and decisively strengthen our national-liberation struggle.

THE POLITICAL-ECONOMIC SITUATION IN CYPRUS—OUR NATIONAL ISSUE

The political situation in Cyprus is increasingly complicated by the Anglo-American imperialism to turn the country into a bridgehead of war against the forces of socialism, democracy and peace. Methodically imperialism combines the implementation of its war plans with the defeating of our national-liberation movement and the militant vanguard of the working class and our Party. Imperialism camouflages its blows against the living national-liberation forces with an artful and intensive anti-communist propaganda that channels through its local agents and its journalistic instruments. The local bourgeoisie, who has been accustomed to treason for years, gives its full cooperation and support to imperialism by calling on it to exterminate our movement and its leadership, to fascinate the country, to perpetuate the slavery, exploitation and humiliation of the Cypriot people. The local reaction camouflages its betrayal not only under anti-communist slogans borrowed from the enslaved monarcho-fascism, but also with a hysterical, ethno-capitalism, using empty pseudo-patriotic slogans and blue colours without ever showing consistency between words and deeds.

The consequence of the pro-war and exploitative policy of imperialism in our country is the disintegration of our national economy, the sinking of the country in the most terrible economic crisis, the mass extermination of our farmers and the spread of unemployment. And as a continuation the savage and organised attack against the standard of living and the conquests of workers, inspired by imperialism and is organised, on a large scale, by the local bourgeois reaction, vigorous imperialism and local plutocracy began to crumble with violence, with terrorism, with economic blackmail and with savage attacks against the conquests of the

workers, our trade union movement which is the massive militant vanguard in our liberation struggle.

In the face of such unbridled, predatory, fascist and belligerent policy of imperialism and its local agents, a policy that combines the desperate attempt to be framed by pseudo-constitutional exorcisms that to give a basic political way out to imperialism, our Party puts forward to the people the clear line of uncompromising militant and decisive, liberation struggle, for breaking its colonial sieges, for its final liberation from the medicinal imperialist tentacles that surround it. This road is difficult and rough but it is also the only road for people who want to live, to stand up. Thus, our consistent position towards the “constitutional” plans of imperialism are this: Unconditional struggle any constitutional effort of imperialism. Consistently and until to the end, to call the people to the organised political struggle, in order remain, the impasse of imperialism around the political (constitutional) issue of Cyprus. It is a vital need for imperialism to find “constitutional ratification” of its plans. This is a success of our Party, and of the people, if it consciously closes it such a way out. However, on the condition that the people consistently close the constitutional outlets of imperialism, with so much more consistency they will enter and proceed with the appropriate tactics, on the path of uncompromising national-liberation struggle, where all the other colonial peoples proceed, combining the daily struggle, for the survival of workers, the struggle against fascist laws, the struggle against the change of country on a war basis.

THE STRATEGY AND TACTICS OF AKEL

What is the ranking of the political forces in Cyprus, in the economic-political conditions described above?

On the one hand, we have the Party of reaction. This faction, which still influences large masses of the people, the most politically backward popular masses, consists of the political alliance of imperialism, the bourgeoisie, the Ecclesiastical hierarchy and their agents within the working class and the working people. This political alliance of the enemies of the people is morally and politically reinforced by Greek Monarcho-Fascism and American imperialism.

The purpose of this black front of reaction is to castration of the national-liberation struggle of the people, the weakening of the daily popular struggle for the economic problems of the people, the use of Cyprus as an imperialist military base.

Against this bloc stands the popular faction. The faction of the majority of workers, progressive farmers and workers, the progressive Cypriot youth. The PEO (i.e. Pancyprian Workers' Federation), the EAK (i.e. Cyprus Farmers Union), the PEM (Pancyprian Union of Small Shopkeepers), the AON (i.e. Progressive Youth Organisation), the Progressive Women's Unions form the basis of this faction led by the working class Party, AKEL.

The people's Party is fighting for the national restoration of Cyprus, for the bread and prosperity of the people for world peace. The last struggles, economic and political, showed that the popular faction influences the majority of the working people of the big cities and the large popular masses in the countryside.

Between the two major factions, the Cyprus Centre is crushed, "the third state", as they are used to call it, and is struggling to secure its own political space. Its programme is the political compromise with imperialism, the continuation of the policy of self-government.

With this classification of political forces, our strategic goal is:

"The isolation of the reactionary bloc, the concentration of the vast majority of the Cypriot people around the Party, within the mass organisations of the Left, against the plans of imperialism, for our national restoration. The stable organisation and unification of all popular forces within the Pancyprian National-Liberation Front".

What is our tactic in pursuing the above strategy of the Party?

In the conditions described above and bearing in mind the established strategy of the Party, our tactic must be:

Daily, uninterrupted, militant, one-sided struggles for economic problems of the people, workers, farmers, the middle classes for the democratic freedoms and democratic rights of all peoples against the arbitrariness of the Central Government and its local organs (police, mukhtars, administrations, etc.) and combination of the struggle of this with the struggle for National Rehabilitation.

To organise the mass popular self-defence to deal with the Hittite terrorism and the attack of the reactionary forces against the popular organisations and popular conquests.

Massive support of the local industry in combination with the service of popular interests. To condemn the economic war that was and is being waged against the seduced petty professionals and artisans. The economic war to be directed mainly against the dogfish of the oligarchy of wealth and their fanatical thugs and agents.

Daily, uninterrupted exposure of its inconsistencies and betrayal of the Cypriot nationalism as well as the inconsistencies and pro-government character of the third Cyprus situation, intensive enlightenment of the people for the isolation of the right and unification of the popular forces below, in daily struggles. Daily slogans in favour of unity and popular reconciliation, and the application of slogans in practice within daily struggles and in the work for reconstruction.

SOME PROBLEMS OF THE UNITED FRONT

Some problems that arise from our strategy and tactics are problems related to the United Front.

The first is the problem of Party independence and Party leadership on the United Front. No United Front is as valuable as to demand the renunciation of Party independence for the establishment and maintaining such a front. The Party always maintains its independence, its independence and freedom to work on his own programme.

No United Front can achieve its goals without the leadership of the Working Party, the most consistent, the most revolutionary, the most democratic class of modern society, the class that fights not only for its own interests but for the interests of all workers.

We always call on the leadership of the right in unity and cooperation to deal with specific economic, political and national problems, and we always stigmatize any refusal to cooperate and any inconsistency that will occur when, under the pressure of the masses, it is forced to cooperate with us. Only with such a tactic do we get in touch with the seduced and deceived masses of the people, only in this way will we gradually expand our influence and isolate the leadership of the right.

Where we face common problems to promote and implement the tactics of joint action, of united struggle, even if it is not possible to achieve cooperation from above.

In our relations with the progressive democratic elements of the bourgeoisie, whether they belong to the United Front, or cooperate with us, we are not helpless and one-Party. We criticise without compromise any deviation and inconsistency, but we never stumble and cut the rope of cooperation when the masses have not yet digested the need for such an interruption, from the experience of their successive inconsistencies and deviations.

The United Front is always oriented towards the democratic Greek situation. The Party realises that it is not always possible for non-partisan elements to move in this direction as the Party progresses. However, one who belongs to the United Front but declare the need for an end to the civil war, a general amnesty, the democratisation of the country, the departure of foreigners, the need for a government that represents the genuine will of the Greek people.

The formation of the United Front must be such as to guarantee unity of action, ideological and political unity. The federal way of organising, based the central mass organisations, without excluding the admission of ordinary members and personalities, is the best way of organising the Front.

OUR PARTY

(a) Party reconstruction

1. Our most serious Party weaknesses, deviations and mistakes, arose from the petty bourgeoisie and opportunism that prevailed in Party leadership and reflected, to a large extent, the whole Party.

The petty bourgeoisie, even adventurism in Party leadership (e.g. the former General Secretary) contributed to keeping low the level of the Party discipline and militant mood, the theoretical- political level of the members and cadres, the level of control and ideological vigilance.

The Sixth Congress of our Party considers necessary a real turn towards a Bolshevik Party reconstruction, starting with the central leadership, which consists most carefully chosen, the most tried, the most dedicated cadres we have.

2. Under the central leadership to reorganise the Party. The work should start from the Party base, the core and the group. The Party base must widen and take root everywhere among the people, in the parish, in the factory, in the mine, in the

village. Dozens and hundreds of new members, from their workers' armies can and should be recruited carefully and constant preparatory work. The autobiographical note should be used, and carefully considered when members of the Party are recruited.

3. We must give political character to group meetings. Our members must be educated and educated in their group meetings. Our cadres, without exception, they must live the life of the base and to contribute to the quantitative and qualitative development of their work.

4. Pay close attention to the election of the secretaries of the groups. The secretary of a Party group is a popular leader within the parish or village. He must be known to the people of the parish or village for his tireless selfless action for the peoples interests. He must be theoretically trained cadre with integer character.

5. City Committees have proved useless in practice. The guidance of groups can be held in a joint meeting of the secretaries of the groups with District Secretary or the Organisational Secretary.

6. Our Provincial Organisations have the most serious role to play in political life and development of our Party. The Provincial Party mechanism must be staffed with the best, most active and proven provincial cadres. It must be a flexible guiding mechanism in the countryside. It must assimilate and elaborate the key decisions in a timely manner and implement them immediately. He must watch all problems of the people of the province, to study them and give the right guidance.

7. The Party factions in the Mass Organisations must function normally. The role of Party members in mass organisations is a pioneering role, the role of inspirers and leaders of mass organisations. This means that every Party member must be a model of good work in his organisation. He must be first among the first struggles and sacrifices.

8. The institution of activists must be implemented for both the Party and for mass organisations.

9. Another area in the Party reorganisation is the consolidation Party from every element, from every member who does not mean to perceive his serious political duties and who does not show any action. With the consolidation of the Party, we must constantly add new blood to it. Within our mass organisations, among the working people there are hundreds of honest activists who deserve to

become members the Party, fighters tested and distinguished themselves in the struggles of our people. Fighters with courage and self-confidence.

Our Party must be alive, militant, always rooted in the popular masses, always at the forefront of the people's struggles, always at the height of its mission.

(b) Criticism and Self-Criticism

The issue of criticism and self-criticism must become an essential component of our daily work. Fearlessly and courageously to make anatomy of ourselves us, to discover our weaknesses and to proceed to their correction.

To exercise constant control and vigilance over ourselves and to aim as the ideal popular fighter with a proletarian psychosynthesis. Only if we are ready to do self-criticism will we be able to overcome our shortcomings and weaknesses. Only if we are ready to put ourselves under the strict criterion of self-criticism we will be able to make constructive criticism of others.

With self-criticism we constantly draw new forces, we become superior people. Criticism is made to correct mistakes and promote Party work. Sterile and barren criticism should be avoided. The whole Party must go through the stage of criticism and self-criticism. Each member, each cadre must fearlessly ask himself the questions: Is the work I offer to the Party satisfactory? What prevents me from offering more and how do I overcome my weaknesses to make it happen? Criticism and self-criticism should be done at least once a year.

(c) Cadres

Our Party and our movement in general are facing a very acute cadre problem today. Some of the cadres we had were worn out and we were not able to develop new ones. The new C.C. must pay close attention to this very serious problem. The schools of cadres must function. We will not get the kind of cadres as we need. It takes persistent work for cadres. We have to develop the cadres in the struggles. The education is an aid to their development. We must be careful about the sudden rise of cadres to leadership posts. This destroys an evolving strain. The evolving cadres have to live the life of the base for a long time. They must be kneaded

through hard work and education to become stable and able to perform. The evolving cadre must always be placed beside an old cadre, so that he can learn from his experience and develop all the forces that a Party cadre must have. Our cadres need it to go through some test before we assign them a responsible post. Our cadres must be a model for the people in all manifestations of life and struggle. The promotion of the cadres should be done methodically and designed. To follow the plan of the temporary central guidance in the promotion of Party leadership. Take into account Party life and action of each.

(d) Educational

The new C.C. gets an order from the Congress to immediately organise the educational work within the Party. Educational work must be based on educational schools, mass lectures and especially self-education. The “theoretical Democrat” must be put to good use. From the C.C. as the last member must educational courses. Self-education must be organised from the top to down and control must be exercised.

(e) Our Ideological Front

The field of the ideological front is one of its most important areas of our work. The reaction, with slander, deception and lies, manages to dispel the confusion and lure misdirected masses to its side.

With lectures, pamphlets, brochures, our press and theatre, we must dispel the ideological darkness that the reaction stains, with its abundant light of Marxist-Leninist science. Nothing should be left unanswered. With simplicity, clarity and with strong argumentation, we must give the world the truth of life and the laws that govern it. To establish a publishing department responsible for all the publishing work of the Party.

We must also make a great and serious effort in the spiritual movement. Organised efforts must be made to create a vibrant and militant popular intellectual movement. Let’s start with the creation of a group of Party members around the literary page of the “New Democrat”. The members of this group must get rid of other duties. To proceed with the prospect of the appropriate conditions in the creation of a popular intellectual association led

by the Party, which will take over the left intellectual and artistic life. The publication of a left-wing intellectual magazine must also be our perspective.

Our central expressive organs, "New Democrat" and "Independent" and "Theoretical Democrat" must become the bearers of daily struggle and of ideological vigilance. Live, fighting with pulse, must wage a relentless ideological war against the capitalist reaction, the imperialist xenocracy and its organs, and to constantly arm the reading public with all those invincible ideological weapons we need in the struggles.

We must also pay close attention to the development and stabilisation of the circulation of our journalistic organs.

(f) People's Municipal Councils:

To take advantage of our victories in the last Municipal elections and to take care of the unified action of the People's Municipal Councils on the basic Municipal and other national-political problems of the country.

VIGILANCE

The issue of vigilance must be seen in relation to the whole situation of the Party. We need to complete criticism and self-criticism, to consolidate our governing bodies and to our best friends at their head. We must raise the ideological level of members and vigilantes to perform comprehensively their duty. To put the whole Party on alert. Each member to learn to study others and to be vigilant. Our vigilantes must be whole-souled persons who have been tested for their faith and devotion to the Party. They must be theoretically trained because their work is a work of the utmost political importance. Special courses should be given to vigilantes on their work. The new C.C. to clearly define how the vigilance mechanism works based on the experience of other sister parties.

OUR FINANCES

We must see the financial problem of the Party and the movement as a political problem and implement the following measures:

(a) To manage the finances of the Party and to realise the largest possible economies.

(b) Each mass organisation to manage its own finances and develop its own initiative.

(c) To develop to the best of our ability any resource that is left to us or that is presented to us.

(d) To massify the financial support to our Party and movement through regular financial reinforces.

(e) To develop to the highest degree the extraordinary resources from cinematic performances, dances, etc.

(f) To organise the popular solidarity for the victims of the struggle.

(g) to gradually repay the debts created by the struggles in 1948.

The new C.C. must work in such a way as to enable the Party and the movement to overcome its current economic difficulties and to cope satisfactorily with the difficult times that were unfolding before us.

THE DECISION ON OUR TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

Like the vanguard in the struggle of the popular masses, our working class is the main target of the black front. Today, under the conditions of the crisis and unemployment, the fires of reaction are more concentrated, and with greater rage against our working class.

Our Party must pay close attention to the struggles of our working class, for bread and work, for the defence the trade union gains. The trade union Party members and cadres are called to their most serious task of the moment: To organise the daily struggle of the workers, based the united front below, not ignoring even the smallest problems that concern them. Our trade union Party members and cadres are called upon to work hard for the organisational and ideological spread of the PEO among the unorganised working masses for the organisation of basic branches of labour which remain unorganised. They are called to forge the unity of the working class as the guarantee for the effective

defence of its gains, and to strengthen the proletarian base of our popular front. The united front must be forged in practice, in the struggle and not in theory, with the action of Party members in the workplace and in the parish, and with appropriate tactics of union leadership, with its daily outburst treasonous neo-union leadership.

With its consistency and its tireless work, our Party must spread even more its influence among the workers, to take root deeper and wider in it, to draw more power.

THE DECISION ON AGRICULTURE

The rural masses that make up the vast majority of the Cypriot people, are in a miserable economic position. Imperialist policy is hitting hard the key rural productive industries. The immediate prospects are new mass clearings of our poor farmers, new wave of unemployment and impoverishment. Under these conditions, the rural masses can more easily be drawn into the arena of economic struggle for survival, while at the same time playing an increasingly conscious role in our national liberation struggle.

Our Party must intensify its action in the countryside, to contribute decisively to the enlightenment, organisation and militant mobilisation of the peasantry around its problems. To raise and coordinate the struggles of the peasantry with the struggles of workers in cities. To combine economic struggles with the struggle for the expulsion of foreign imperialists, which is the cause of poverty, deprivation, unemployment and impoverishment of all workers.

Our Party is called to pay special attention to the countryside, to strengthen its work in it in all aspects. Our agricultural cadres are called upon to constantly develop the Party and the Eaki work, with the aim of setting up and strengthening the Party and mass organisations in the vast majority of Cypriot villages. The role of our rural Party members and cadres for massification of EAK must be significant.

The struggles of our peasantry must be based on the following demands:

(a) The immediate disposal of agricultural products at reduced prices in order to avoid the immediate bankruptcy of our main

productive sectors. The government is responsible for finding markets, and the need to buy and to sell the agricultural products that remain unsold.

(b) The significant drop in interest rates on cooperative and private loans. Securing long-term loans, which will give some relief to the farmer.

(c) The provision of means and facilities for the synchronisation of cultivation methods, for the increase of production and for the reduction of its costs.

(d) The reduction to the minimum of direct and indirect taxes unbearably born by the villagers.

(e) The expropriation of river waters and private waters to provide water for irrigation of the land.

(f) The abolition of all livestock laws and decrees,

(g) The democratisation of cooperation.

(h) The concession of the tsiflikadiki, of the Monastic and Vakufiki lands to the beneficiary cultivators.

THE DECISION ON PROFESSIONALS AND ARTISANS

The economic crisis is squeezing the middle classes in cities economically. The middle classes will soon move from the current hesitation to the right direction of the struggle (the escalation of the crisis favours such an orientation), as long as daily, tireless organisational and enlightening work is carried out by our Party and the organisations of P.E.M., based on the specific and general their problems.

Our Party is called to develop its influence among the middle classes, to activate its members and cadres working in organisations of PEM. The PEM must grasp the problems of the middle strata for good combining efforts for their solution with the massification of its organised branches.

The Party to work for the enlightenment of the workers in general and workers in particular for the need for close cooperation and mutual understanding between of the middle classes and the working class. Without such cooperation and mutual

understanding, the realisation of the united front is not possible. On the front line remains the struggle:

- (a) for the maintenance of rents and the fall of rents;
- (b) for the rescue of local industry and handicrafts from foreign competition, which is a consequence of imperialist policy on issues of import and export.
- (c) for a fairer tax policy that relieves the poor and middle classes (Income Tax, Capital Gains Tax, etc.), and
- (d) for the development of the cooperative movement (productive, procuring, etc.).

Our Party is called to guide through its responsible cadres the united, professional struggle of workers and middle classes for common problems, against the common enemy which is imperialism and the bourgeoisie of the country.

THE DECISION ON YOUTH

Without any underestimation, the Party must see its duty to the Cypriot Youth. The Party cannot neglect its liveliest part of our people, the part on which the future of our country rests.

The AON must set as its axis the massification of the demands of our youth—economic, political, cultural—by constantly raising its democratic and fighting spirit, leading it to the struggle for national freedom, peace, democracy, for its future. The Party members who work in A.O.N. should be distinguished for their enthusiasm and their competitive spirit. The Party to find a way for A.O.N. has value and competent leadership.

Particular attention should be paid to the student youth, that today is the target of the most reactionary, fascist propaganda.

THE DECISION ON SPORT

The Party to pay due attention to the field of sport and in particular to the physical education of its members.

To work intensively for the creation of conditions such that the opportunity is given to every young person to cultivate and develop

their physical strength with their free participation in various sporting events of our country.

To give every possible help to K.E.P.O. (i.e. Cyprus Amateur Football Federation) and to enlighten the people about the shameful role and the suppression of the idea of sport by the capitalist reaction and its organs.

THE DECISION ON WOMEN

The Party to come out decisively from its conservatism towards women. To appreciate the social power of women, especially the worker. The Party must allocate its responsible cadres who patiently work for the enlightenment and organisation of democratic women, for its militant and spiritual uplift. Many dozens of progressive women must be recruited for the Party in the next few years after the necessary preparation. By Party decision, every Akelist must be obliged, especially the cadre, to set the example, pushing his wife, his sister or other relative to join our women's movement.

The C.C. to place responsible cadres in the women's sector and to control them regularly. Also, to proclaim emulation among the Party organisations as to which will bring the best results to the women's movement.

We must give the woman the opportunity to enter the race that leads to her social redemption, to the final breaking of her bonds. By performing our duty to the woman, we are resolutely strengthening our People's Front, we are strengthening our liberation struggle.

Our Party adopts in its programme of struggles the demands of the Cypriot women, as they are formulated in the political proposal of the Provisional Central Guidance. The Party calls on democratic women to fight for their claims, taking their place in their organisations, in our people's front and in the Party.

THE DECISION ON MINORITIES

The two main minorities in Cyprus, Turkish and Armenian, but especially the Turkish, must be seriously counted by our Party. The

Turkish population, in the vast majority of the poor working population, is almost entirely, under the influence of personal chauvinist parties, which slavishly and openly sided with imperialism. Imperialism finds a great support in the Turkish minority. Among the Armenian minority there are several progressive elements which, however, remain unenlightened and unguided.

It is the task of our Party to find all the organisational and enlightening means to divert thousands of workers of the minorities from the bourgeois and imperialist influence and exploitation, to show them what their future is, to secure, to a certain extent, the alliance and another, their neutrality towards our national liberation struggle.

Basically, our work must start with the working masses of the minorities, with their trade union organisation, enlightenment and action, and expand to serious political activity. The Party to appoint a responsible central cadre for work in minorities.

THE DECLARATION OF THE CONGRESS

The Declaration on Cyprus⁶⁰

To the workers and peasants of Cyprus, professionals and artisans, employees, intellectuals, to the youth and women, to the retired fighters of the great anti-fascist war, to the imprisoned popular fighters, to every Cypriot patriot who loves the people and his country, which cares for a freer, democratic and peaceful life, the Sixth Congress of AKEL addresses a warm competitive greeting.

As the Party of the workers, peasants and all the toilers, the hungry and oppressed, as the militant vanguard in the struggle for bread and freedom of the Cypriot people, in the struggle against fascism and war preparations, AKEL can only proclaim, on the occasion of its Sixth Congress, its absolute devotion to the great cause of the Cypriot people, in breaking its imperialist chains, in its Union with Greece. AKEL has emerged from the bowels of Cypriot poverty, tested in the fire of the people's, the national and anti-fascist struggle, feeling together with the whole world of work the main weight of the colonial slavery and economic exploitation, stands firm, and consistently, on the ramparts of our national liberation struggle, continues its anti-fascist, anti-imperialist traditions, it is ready to make other sacrifices, as many as are needed, in the fight for the coveted freedom of the Cypriot people. AKEL is ready to contribute with its struggle, and depending on its strength, in the struggle of the peoples for the annulment of the belligerent plans of world imperialism, for peace and democracy.

The Sixth Congress of AKEL invites all of you—workers, farmers, professionals and artisans, progressive intellectuals, youth and democratic women, every patriotic Cypriot who fights slavery—to give fraternal hands, to strengthen its phalanxes of the people, organised National Liberation Front. All the people together are called to reconciliation, to unite. He is called upon—the duty to his country calls him—to move forward united and determined in the

⁶⁰ *Democrat Newspaper* , August 30, 1949.

path of hard, uncompromising struggle for our national restoration, for the union with Greece. For a humane and happy life without crises and unemployment, without misery, without foreign masters and local quislings.

The Sixth Congress of AKEL invites all of you who strive to live, all of you who are the target of the foreign, imperialist, and local capitalist exploitation, to join in your professional organisations (in PEO, EAK, PEM, AON, in the organisations of progressive women, etc.) and from there to fight for the daily problems of life. The workers' struggle for bread and wages, for trade union gains, for the reduction of taxes, for the rent, for the democratisation of cooperation, for the farmer's land, for the fate of our agricultural products, for the protection of our craft and industrial production, for the immediate rights of the New Generation and the working woman, the struggle against the fascist laws, whose existence hinders the development of economic and national struggles.

IT IS, THIS DAILY STRUGGLE OF THE WORKERS, A NECESSARY PART OF THE GENERAL DAILY, THE INTRANSIGENT, THE EVER-INTENSIFYING STRUGGLE FOR THE WRECK OF THE PLANS OF IMPERIALISM IN THE PLACE FOR THE ACQUISITION OF OUR FREEDOM.

Only the local lackeys of imperialism do not like this struggle for bread and for the democratic expression of the people. Only the exploiting bourgeoisie do not like the struggle for the life and existence of the people. These modern Pharisee hypocrites who are cut for "Intransigent Union Struggle" are those who hypocritically suck the "Union and only Union" to seduce and ridicule the people, want hunger and misery, the misery and the death of those fighting forces on which the struggle for the Union will be based.

Our Party calls on all sections of the workers not to give up even for a moment the struggle for the immediate problems of life, but instead to combine this struggle with the struggle for our national liberation. So, without inertia condemning itself to starvation and death, the people are struggling to decisively break the colonial frameworks that crush it economically and politically, consciously believing that only a nationally free man will be able to radically solve his problems, to rebuild his house, to organise his life as he wants.

AKEL addresses the working Cypriot people, and once again warns them about the exploitative, fascist and belligerent plans that imperialism has for our country. The people are warned and

called to be constantly vigilant, to fight united and with self-sacrifice, if they do not want the neo-palmerism and its lackeys to reign in country, if he does not want to perpetuate his misery and slavery.

THE PART OF OUR ENSLAVED PEOPLE, AKEL FORGED IN THE STRUGGLE AND IN THE SUBSTANCES FOR ALL THE PEOPLE'S INTERESTS, MAINTAINING INISSOLUBLE BONDS WITH THE PEOPLE. IT REPEATS ITS PROMISE TO CONTINUE ON THE FRONT LINE OF THE STRUGGLES OF THE CYPRIOT PEOPLE, UNTIL THE FINAL VICTORY.

Long live the struggle of the Cypriot people for their union with Greece.

Long live the organised united front of workers, peasants and toilers, an expression of the reconciliation and unity of the patriotic Cypriot people.

Long live AKEL, the proven militant vanguard of the Cypriot working class and all toilers.

THE RESOLUTIONS OF THE CONGRESS

The Resolution on the Political Situation⁶¹

The Sixth Pancyprian Congress of AKEL, held in Limassol on the 27th and 28th August 1949, after discussing the political situation of the country and in particular the unfree Laws, which from time to time were enacted by the Cypriot Government, and restricting freedom of speech, press, assembly and demonstrations, as well as other basic freedoms of the Cypriot people, votes the following:

1. Unreservedly condemns these unfree Laws and demands by the Government their abolition. The British Government has a duty to respect its obligations, arising from UN decisions to ensure peoples' freedom of speech, press, assembly and organisation and to ensure for the Cypriot people these decisions.

2. Strongly protests against the decision of the Governor of Limassol to impose unacceptable terms on the organisation and conduct of our present Congress, such as the condition for the presence of police in it. The insistence of the Commander to impose of the presence of the police officers at our Congress, shows the dictatorial way in which our country is governed.

The Resolution to the Minister of the Colonies⁶²

The Sixth Pancyprian Congress of AKEL, which met in Limassol, on the 27th and 28th August 1949, takes the opportunity to once again put before you and through the British Government the one and unchanging desire of the Greek Cypriot people for national restoration, for its Union with homeland of Greece.

Our Party declares, Your Excellency, that as always it will continue intensively the struggle for the national liberation of our people, and that in its struggle it is ready to make any sacrifice.

⁶¹ *ibid.*

⁶² *ibid.*

We call on the British Government to respect its declarations for the self-determination of the Peoples and to implement them in our country, which means Union with our homeland Greece.

We reject and condemn any plans to convert the country into a military base and call on the British Government to abandon such an effort.

THE SEVENTH CONGRESS OF AKEL, 30 November-2 December 1951

THE DECISIONS OF THE CONGRESS⁶³

THE DECISION OF THE CONGRESS ON THE POLITICAL PRESENTATION

I. ON THE WORK OF THE C.C.

The Seventh Pancyprian Congress of AKEL, which met on 30.11.51 and 1 and 2.12.51 in Nicosia, after listening to and discussing the accountability of the C.C. for its activities in two years from the 6th Pancyprian Congress until today approves the accountability and the activities of the C.C.

The Seventh Congress especially approves the criticism and self-criticism made by the C.C. completed with the reply of the General Secretary, for the tactical mistakes made in these two years regarding the position taken by the Party in the elections of community councils, archbishopric, episcopal and ecclesiastical elections and for the cooperation. The Congress condemns as anti-Party the views that expressed that there is no internal Party democracy within the Party that the C.C. drowns out criticism and self-criticism within the Party. The Congress also considers the characterisations contained in the speech of F. Ploutis Servas as exaggerated and that they are barren and anti-Party criticism.

II. THE POLITICAL SITUATION

1. During the two years that passed between the Sixth and Seventh Congress of our Party serious developments took place in the international political situation.

⁶³ *Publications of the C.C. of AKEL. The 7th Conference of AKEL, 1952.*

(a) Imperialism, pressured by its chronic incurable crisis, exacerbated by the triumph of the Chinese people at the end of 1949, proceeded from the stage of war preparations to an open armed attack.

The world reactionary forces under the command of the American warmongers invaded in June 1950 the territory of the Democratic People's Republic of North Korea, in order to enslave its heroic people and use its territory as a further base of attack against the People's Republic of China and the Soviet Union. Moving along this line the American imperialists and their subordinates organise the various offensive pacts—Atlantic, Mediterranean—constitute the marauding European army with American leadership, equip the former fascist countries of West Germany, Japan and the neo-fascist Tito, are creating new military bases around the People's Democracies and the Soviet Union and are engaged in a colossal armament programme.

As a result of this pro-war policy of imperialism it is the huge profits of the monopolies and the unprecedented tax burden on the broad masses of the people, the rise of the standard of living in capitalist countries and the risk of unleashing a new world war.

However, as long as the imperialists appear united in their pro-war policy against the socialist countries, there are serious contradictions between them, which are manifested both in the problems of European unity and the problems of the Far East. These oppositions of the imperialists reflect their dispute over the acquisition of markets, and the placement of capital.

(b) Contrary to the plans of the warmongering imperialists, all the peoples of the world, led by the mighty country of socialism—the Soviet Union—led by the great Stalin, rise up in a determined struggle to thwart the imperialist war plans.

The people of Korea with the valuable help of Chinese volunteers and support of the world democratic movement, heroically defend their country from the attack of the American imperialists and their subordinates by overthrowing their general war plans in the Far East. The peoples of all countries are united in a fighter unprecedented in history and invincible world movement for the defence of peace, which steadily fights to thwart imperialist plans for a third world war. The inspirer and leader of this movement is the great, peaceful and powerful Soviet Union, having at its side the great people's China and the other People's

Democracies and all the peoples fighting for freedom, peace and democracy.

An indication of the great strength of the world camp for peace, freedom and democracy is the decisive, anti-imperialist uprising of the peoples of the near and Middle East. The struggle of these peoples has so far spoiled the war-mongering plans for the creation of an aggressive Mediterranean bloc, making a decisive contribution to the world peace movement.

A major contribution to the global peace movement is the enormous development of the economic power of the Soviet Union. The European Union and the People's Democracies and the removal from the Soviet Union. The Union of the atomic bomb weapon, which permanently puts an end to the American monopoly on the possession of the weapon.

(c) The ruthless Greek people within these two years after the temporary defeat of the DSE, in which the open betrayal of Tito played a decisive role, steadily rebuilds his forces and fights heroically, with its inspirer and leader the KKE, against the regime of American rule and monarcho-fascism for bread, freedom, peace and democracy. With its heroic of the struggle the Greek people contribute significantly to the ruin of imperialist plans for a third world war and especially for an invasion against the People's Republics of Albania and Bulgaria. The Seventh Congress of our Party, reviewing the international political situation, is undermining the unshakable belief that the world peaceful, democratic camp, incomparably more powerful than the imperialist camp, will finally crush the imperialist plans for a third World War by putting into practice the suggestions of the Great Stalin that "peace can be preserved if the peoples take into their hands the cause of peace and defend it to the end".

2. In the general war plans, Cyprus has taken an important position in the last two years.

Unexpectedly and at an accelerating pace, due to the current situation in the Middle East, our country is turning into a military base.

In connection with this role that the imperialists define for Cyprus, the British rulers intensify and multiply their oppressive measures, with the hope that they will stop the national liberation struggle of our country.

As a consequence of the government policy in Cyprus, the economic crisis is intensifying, the prices is rising, the standard of

living of the masses is being hit and the masses face hunger and misery.

The Pancyprrian Cypriot Front for the Bread, Peace and Freedom, supported wholeheartedly by the struggling Greek people and the progressive forces of all countries. As a result of the rise of the popular movement we have the sharpening of the contradictions within the right wing.

Our Party, by correcting the mistake in its political line, played during these two years a pioneering role and stood the inspirer and guide of the people in its struggle for bread, peace and freedom. Our Party has basically responded to the tasks assigned to it by the Sixth Pancyprrian Congress despite some serious tactical mistakes that it has made in these two years.

III. OUR DUTIES

Based on the specific political, international and domestic situation—aggravation of the general crisis of capitalism, and intensity of aggressive plans, uprising of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples of the East, development of the world peace movement—our Party is taking on very serious tasks.

1. THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE AND DEMILITARISATION OF OUR COUNTRY.

Our Party and the people's movement, facing the concrete plans to transform our island into a military base, fighting in a difficult area of the global anti-imperialist front and in the conditions of intense national-liberation struggle of our neighbouring peoples, must help the world peace movement to:

(a) To intensify as far as possible the struggle for peace and demilitarisation of our country,

(b) To expand and militarise by attracting within its lines every Cypriot who hates war and longs for peace. Greek and Turkish, regardless of their social status and political beliefs.

(c) To further strengthen its ties with the world peace movement and to develop its solidarity especially with the movement of our neighbouring peoples,

(d) To find the appropriate ways to make organisational use of its broad influence among the Cypriot people, expressed in the 90

thousand and 103 thousand signatures in the appeals of Stockholm and Berlin,

(e) To intensify the struggle of our people against the confiscation of land for war aims.

(f) To continuously enlighten the masses about the importance and role of the world peace movement, to expose the belligerent and slanderous propaganda of imperialism channelled to the people by all means and to highlight the consistent, peace-loving policy of the great country of socialism and the People Democracies—educating the people about the colossal programme of peaceful reconstruction.

2. THE STRUGGLE FOR OUR NATIONAL FREEDOM

In the conditions of the transformation of our island into a military base, the unbridled betrayal of the slave monarcho-fascism and the divisive, basically anti-national pro-imperialist policy of the Ethnarchy and the leadership of the bourgeoisie of Cyprus, our Party and the movement are seriously shoulder the tasks in the struggle for our national rehabilitation.

In order to fulfill these serious tasks for the freedom of the people our Party must:

(a) to combine inseparably the struggle for national freedom with the struggle for peace and the demilitarisation of our country, making the Cypriot people aware that national freedom is incompatible with the use of Cyprus as a military base.

(b) To unwaveringly combine our struggle for freedom with his struggle of the Greek people against American rule and monarcho-fascism for peace, freedom and democracy in Greece. The Party must become aware of broad masses of the Cypriot people that the struggle for the Union is part of the common struggle of the Greek and Cypriot people against those who hold enslaved the people of Greece and Cyprus, and against monarcho-fascism, which sells to foreigners the whole of Greece and Cyprus together.

(c) The basis of the struggle for national freedom must be the massive, militant—economic-political struggles of the Cypriot people in combination with the struggles of the Greek people. In connection with these struggles, every possible opportunity must be used to promote our cause in international organisations and to enlighten the world progressive public opinion. Sending delegations

abroad to be used for the development of the popular movement and the united popular struggle.

(d) Our Party clarifies what the motives are at the given stage the driving forces in our national liberation struggle, as well as the issues of the United Front and our tactics against the Ethnarchy and the Right. Such forces are basically the working class, the peasantry, the poor and middle classes of the city and honest intellectuals—all workers in general of Greeks, Turks and Armenians, men and women. It is on the basis of these forces that our Pancyprrian, United, National-Liberation Front should be formed, where all consistent, patriotic elements from the bourgeoisie have their place and can be included. The pioneer and leading force of this pan-Cypriot, United National-Liberation Front is the working class with its Party at the head.

The EAS (i.e., the National Liberation Coalition) cannot and will not be united, national-liberation front, but it expresses coordinated action of the left-wing popular organisations and fights for the creation of a united, national liberation front. All the progressive elements from the intellectuals and the scientists must find their place in the EAS.

The effort to create such a front must be based on the common, daily struggles of the masses for their problems, forging popular unity at the bottom, by developing and combining the struggle for bread with the struggle for the democratic rights of the masses, for peace and freedom.

Our Party must continue its pressure on the Ethnarchy and leadership of the Right, calling them to joint action on specific economic and political problems and for liberation, and exposing among the masses any negative divisive attitude.

(e) Fighting for the Union, our Party stands firmly in its line, exposes every pseudo-constitutional manoeuvre. However, in fighting and exposing the constitutional plans, the Party must make a clear distinction between its fixed and unchanging line and his flexible tactics, thus where there is no confusion.

Our Party, in the face of any electoral struggle, determines its tactics based on the Bolshevik experience and the teachings of the international proletarian movement in conjunction with the specific political conditions, always aiming to serve our national liberation struggle.

The Congress clarifies that the tactic of abstaining from electoral campaigns is in principle wrong and negative, and only in exceptional cases can it have positive results and can be applied.

3. THE STRUGGLE AGAINST GOVERNMENT POLICY

The foreign government is intensifying its oppressive, unfree anti-democratic-dictatorial measures against the struggle that of our people are waging for bread, peace and freedom.

At the same time, the foreign ruler, serving the interests of the English monopolies, imposes heavy, unbearable taxation on the masses which is to the detriment of its standard of living. The Party in front of this situation has a duty to organise a relentless mass struggle of the people against the illiberal laws, to defend and extend the civil liberties of the people our Party also has a duty to organise and guide the workers and the working people in the daily and intense fight for its economic problems, for the fall of the prices, for cheap bread, for the exemption of the people from the anti-popular taxation, for better working conditions, generally for a better life for all workers, striving with these partial struggles serving the general interests of the Cypriot people.

4. OUR WORK IN THE MINORITIES

The Seventh Congress finds a serious underestimation on the part of the Party as a whole on the role of minorities, and in particular the Turkish minority, which is a significant percentage of the Cypriot population. This underestimation leads the Party to indifference in the face of problems of the minorities, with the result in thousands of workers and toilers from the minorities to stay away from our Party and movement, are under the political influence of the Turkish reaction and are a reserve against the struggles of our people and especially against our struggle for our national rehabilitation.

Our Party must make a real and all-round shift in its work on minorities, on their political enlightenment, on their organisation within our mass organisations, on the recruitment of the most sophisticated elements within the Party. Based on the teachings of Marxism-Leninism it must be clarified within the Party and the progressive Turks, that it cannot and is not right to have separate class organisations, political or trade unions for Turkish workers

and toilers. The Seventh Congress puts as a prospect for the Party to work for the unification of the separate Turks trade unions, where they exist, with their respective organisations of the Greek workers.

5. MASS ORGANISATIONS

Our Party must pay attention, monitor and give more assistance to all mass organisations. Specifically:

(a) Trade unions: To give exceptional attention and importance to the organisation of disorganised workers and employees (private and government). Based on the problems faced by the disorganised workers (miners, industrial workers, dock workers, transport workers, employees) in our daily work by studying, stirring up these problems to bring these workers to us within our trade unions to draw up a specific work program for the organisation of the disorganised and for the struggle for the defence of freedom for the organisation of workers.

The basis of our work in the agitation of labour problems is the labour unit, which we must build in every workplace, where new union workers work, Turks or disorganised. To systematically expose the striking leadership of the new trade unions (e.g. SEK).

(b) EAK: To help the Eikite organisations play their real role in the villages. To plan their work. Dealing with the multifaceted problems of the countryside. To shake more vividly, more broadly the problem of the expropriation of the tsiflikadiki, monastic, of Hali and forest land with the motto: "The land to its cultivators, to those who work it, without compensation". To pay attention to the cooperative movement as a key factor in the economic life of the countryside. Organise and to generalise peasants' struggles to ensure safety prices for their products.

With the daily struggles for the agricultural problems to combine the work for the organisation of the broad disorganised rural masses, to enlighten the wandering farmers and build unity with the members of PEK, the Turks and the disorganised peasants. The reactionary leadership PEK to be uncovered convincingly, based on its divisive role in every rural struggle.

In general, the Party must complete the turn to the countryside, by giving the importance that must be given to the agricultural sector.

(c) Professionals—Artisans: the Party has shown some underestimation for the movement of professionals- artisans. The problems of artisans-professionals must be studied, planned and shaken. The Party should provide all possible assistance to the organisations of the artisans to shake up these problems. Pay special attention to the serious problem of the rental space. It is in these struggles that the organisations of artisans will stabilise and grow by recruiting every disorganised professional. We must combine the struggles of artisans and coordinate them with the struggles of other workers, labourers and peasants.

(d) Women: To give great importance by our Party to women. To decisively strike any underestimation of the role of women. To educate the cadres and members of the Party for the serious role of women in the multifaceted struggles of our people for peace, freedom and survival. Our Party to deal above all with the special problems faced by the woman, to shake and promote their problems of the worker, the peasant woman, all the working women.

To recruit a significant number of women in the Party. To strengthen and develop democratic women's associations.

In general, the Party, from the C.C. as the Party group, must put in place a work programme for women.

(e) Youth: To strike the underestimation that is observed today in the Party for Youth. To help the youth to deal with the economic, cultural and other problems they face. Pay special attention to the student youth. The Party to help massify the youth movement. To recruit hundreds of young workers, peasants, employees, apprentices, students and schoolgirls on the lines of AON. To help the youth to play its pioneering role in all the struggles of our people for peace, freedom and survival.

6. THE PARTY

The basic condition for the Party to be able to fulfill its multiple and difficult tasks of organising and guiding the people's struggles for bread, civil liberties, peace and freedom, is to further strengthen the Party itself. Specifically:

(a) with a planned job to recruit within its ranks the most worthy and dialectal elements of the working class and the working people, raising its numerical power to a degree commensurate with its political influence within the masses,

(b) to raise the ideological, theoretical and political level of the members and of its cadres,

(c) to make life and practice in its daily work creative and fruitful criticism and self-criticism, both in its governing bodies and in grassroots organisations. Especially to encourage the criticism and self-criticism of the lower to the upper,

(d) to sharpen the ideological vigilance of the Party as a whole for the protection of the Party,

(e) to develop the initiative of grassroots Party organisations by giving them the opportunity to express their views on serious issues before making decisions, unless circumstances permit,

(f) to strengthen the spirit of discipline within the Party;

(g) to do planned work for the education and self-education of members and its cadres.

7. OUR IDEOLOGICAL FRONT

The Party, in parallel with the above, must pay close attention to the problems of the ideological field, to the problems of ideological orientation of the masses.

In the ideological field the Party must:

(a) To enlighten comprehensively the national struggle waged by our people and to defend it against any ideological distortion that stems from the propaganda of imperialism and channelled into the popular movement, to enlighten the Turkish minority on our national struggle to detach them from the influence of the government and the Turkish reaction.

(b) To clarify the character of the peace movement, to enlighten constantly the people against the pro-war imperialist plans and for its role of the Soviet Union and People's Democracies in the building of Socialism and the defence of peace.

(c) To strengthen the propaganda of Party decisions and in general the action of the Party in the broad popular strata by strengthening their trust in the Party.

(d) Serious attention to be given by the Party to our press, daily and magazine. Our press today has several shortcomings and does not fully meet the serious duties. Our press must deal more vividly with the problems of the masses, economic and political struggles, the world peace movement, the struggle for our national rehabilitation.

(e) To establish an Office of Mass Agitation and Propaganda.

(f) To develop the artistic, intellectual, sports and cultural work.

8. OUR FINANCES

Regarding finances, the Seventh Congress emphasises the political significance the development of the Party's financial resources. The success of all the work and action of our Party depends to a large extent on the solution of the financial problem for the Party. The development of the Party's finances must become a matter for all Party members and the popular, mass movement.

The members of the Party to be informed with a balance sheet for the Central Fund with based on the regular meetings of the C.C.

9. GENERAL DECISIONS

(a) The C.C. to study and make a complete programme of the Party, which covers all points and includes the Turkish minority.

(b) The C.C. to study the establishment of a Pancyprrian Victims Solidarity Fund.

(c) The Party to study our educational issue and prepare its educational programme.

(d) To study and shake up the problem of public health.

THE CONGRESS DECISION ON THE PROBLEMS OF THE ORGANISATIONAL WORK OF THE PARTY

The decision of the Seventh Congress on the 2nd issue, the Organisational—incorporates the relevant part of the organisational presentation of Savvas Ioannou.

1. For *better formation* of the Party *base* and its connection with the masses

(a) To establish the Party base in factories, workshops, mines etc. in every workplace, where a certain minimum of workers constantly working and where we will have recruited at least three

members, we immediately proceed to its formation as a basic unit of the Party. Where the nucleus grows (large factories or mines, which have sections) we divide it into corresponding sections that will not constitute basic Party units. In a complex of small workshops of the same profession we organise nucleus, as long as we cannot make separate nuclei in these workshops. Above the workshop nuclei of the same profession we have the Party assembly that elects the bureau of the nuclei. This Bureau guides the nuclei and is associated with the immediately superior Party post.

(b) To organise the Party base in the villages, parishes, etc. according to the principles set by this proposal and after studying the special conditions. According to what the suggestion, we are organising the base in the middle layers of the city. From a joint assembly of the nuclei of the middle layers we elect a bureau.

(c) We should not confuse the grassroots organisations with the factions, nor the leadership of the factions with the leadership of grassroots organisations. We organise stable factions within the leadership of every mass organisation. We organise extraordinary factions in conferences, congresses, assemblies etc. of mass organisations, when deemed necessary. Each faction is led by the respective Party organisation (of the provincial mass organisation by the district committee of the capacitive mass organisation by the Party group of the village, of the central by the C.C. and so on). The faction has a separate role from the role of each respective Party organisation. The task of the faction is to implement the Party line in the mass organisation. The faction, for example, has no right to recruit members.

(d) In general, to ensure proper internal work of the Party base in such a way to ensure it a pioneering leading role within the masses. The base should be guided live and where needed the role of leader from a higher position should be ensured. The Secretaries and leaders of the base must be living elements, carefully selected, their main task is Party work, to set the example of activity and of partisanship. This will ensure a lively connection of the base, with the leadership and the masses, conditions of wider division of labour and promotion of cadres, safer securing the Party in the difficult conditions.

2. For the stable creation and promotion of cadres, for their good use.

As Stalin teaches us, “without cadres who consciously fight, it is impossible to apply a correct line. The cadres decide everything”. Whatever the Congress decides today that its implementation will depend on the cadres. Stalin gives classic suggestions for a proper cadres policy, the essence of which we must take here:

(a) Stalin puts as a first condition the “appreciation of the cadres, the care of the cadres like the golden stock of the Party”. This first condition of Stalin is a direct consequence of the assumption that “without cadres who consciously fight, it is impossible to apply a correct line”. Our Party must realise the above Stalinist condition. The correct assessment of cadres, like the levers of Party action, is what will make us to avoid casual work in the treatment of cadres, as it is careless movements, heavy loads, early promotions, the destructive criticism, destructive criticism in front of the personal scourges of cadres.

(b) Provided proper assessment of cadres, Stalin points out the need “to know the cadres, to study carefully the virtues and the shortcomings of each cadre, to know in what position they can be developed easier the skills of the cadre”. Stalin also suggests that it should give patient help individually to each strain that develops, in order to accelerate its growth. It is timely and courageous for the young cadres to emerge, without being left, in their old positions and mouldy”. Stalin also suggested that attention should be paid to the placement of cadres so that they “feel themselves in their place”. This means taking into account the capacity and the inclination in relation to the position where the cadre is intended.

(c) Starting from the beginning that the organisational work must be responsive to the demands of the Party’s political line, Stalin suggests that “the general direction of the work for the distribution of the cadres must fully meet the requirements of the political line for implementation of which this distribution takes place”. Stalin clarifies the great importance of the composition of old and new cadres which is the best orientation of the Party in the use of cadres.

What should we do according to Stalin?

(a) To establish a strong central organisational office that will put under the leadership of a single cadre policy. The KOG will be

able to study all the central areas of work in relation to the central cadres that we have each time and that emerge. He will always keep in mind the requirements of work, arising from the Party line, the impending struggles, the areas where work is delayed or progressing. The KOG will be able to make suggestions to the C.C. for any necessary transfers, promotions or demotions of cadres.

(b) But the job should not stay here. With the direction that the KOG will give, such work must be developed at provincial, even local level. In this way we will put an end to what Stalin calls the “fragmentation” of the work to study the emergence and distribution of cadres, in what characterises our work so far. Only in this way do we give meaning to the work of the KOG and the leaders in general and pave the right path for cadre policy. Each leader from above to the bottom must learn to work—with patience, to be “educated”—as Stalin says—for the promotion of cadres, it is our duty to promotion of cadres from the minorities, from the women, from the countryside in general, which while it has the largest percentage of members does not have the necessary cadres.

(c) To look more daring in the emergence of new cadres. This does not mean taking a number of members by chance and filling the posts of the Party mechanism. Courage in the emergence of new cadres means first of all a blow to our sectarianism, a blow to the bureaucracy that keeps the Party’s forces alive. Relief of those in charge who with their bad work stifle the initiative and stand in the way of the progress of young people. The courage in the emergence of new cadres must be combined with the patient study of young people and the distinction of the evolving, those who emerge in the struggles, those that gather some practical skills and at the same time a political criterion, a special disposition for work. Courage in the promotion of cadres also means to trust the cadre with a responsible job, such as to suit his abilities and inclinations. To combine the collectivist work with the personal responsibility of the cadre, with the constant personal control over it. G. Dimitrov teaches us that “it is not a Bolshevik who does not want to take the initiative, who thinks: I will only do what they tell me.” Dimitrov says “the cadres grow and grow when they come across the need to solve the specific problems of the struggle on their own, and feel all the responsibility for it”.

With a directed job, then, on a single line, we must constantly study, monitor, single out active members and put them in responsible jobs, depending on their qualifications and inclinations. Let's put the new next to the old cadres, to try them and re-study them accordingly with the results of their work, to promote or demote them again with the results of their work.

Special importance should be given to the work of the active, in the role it has to play the active both for the execution of Party decisions and for the contribution of the Party base in shaping serious Party decisions. The Party active—central provincial, regional—must be used in every case where a serious Party decision needs to find its practical success in the Party base and in the masses, as in every case a serious problem needs to be solved with the contribution of the lower Party cadres and the Party base.

The active—says a decision of the C.C. of the Bolshevik Party (i.e. referred to the KKSE)—“they must have their own special, political significance in life of the Party “to be given all the air in the discussion and understanding of Party decisions, without turning them into mere bureaucratic components of the organisations that convene them.

3. For the live connection of the Party mechanism and its defeating of bureaucracy.

(a) The Party must ensure a live internal connection of the mechanism from the central leadership to the base. Strong connection of the Party mechanism does not mean, just many inspections and fewer circulars. A strong connection mainly presupposes such an approach to the work of guidance in the work of the base that leaves no room for bureaucratic work. It means daily mutual control. It means good use of the weapon of criticism and self-criticism. These measures will give the opportunity to the base not only to develop its practical and leadership work, but also to contributes lively to the formation of the respective Party line. These measures will develop the real internal Party democracy, the conscious iron Party discipline, the initiative of Akelists, which is rare today, in work of the Party base.

(b) Separately for self-criticism we must see how Stalin raises the issue:

“Self-criticism is an inalienable and constantly active weapon, in the arsenal Bolshevism, inextricably linked to this nature of Bolshevism, with his revolutionary spirit”. So we must also make self-criticism inalienable and constantly in action a weapon”, a weapon that we will not leave and catch at intervals. More self-criticism should reveal the pros and cons of daily work and on the basis of these to educate the Party, rather than dealing too much with the past as it used to be in our Party. Of course, this does not mean that we will not judge Akelists from his past. The point is not to judge him only by his past. The point is to judge him mainly on the basis of his presence, mainly based on the results of his work, with all the current pros and without of course ignoring his past.

Criticising the mainly method of control and criticism from above, which was done on the basis of the “biographical” examination, F. Zachariadis (i.e. General Secretary of C.C. K.K.E.) says:

“We forget that things and situations change, people change, and that the basic method for controlling cadres should be the test in practice, in life from below, continuous and strict. So not only will we be able to have a lively, fresh perception of their course and evolution of our cadres, but also to help them, and to protect them from twists and turns, our cadres will be glad that not only can they always find help and support, but that from above and below they are controlled, openly and critically, vigilantly”.

Let criticism and self-criticism become “an ingredient of our daily work” as decided by the Sixth Congress. The work for the development of self-criticism in the Party must start from the top with the example set by teachers’ organisations, the central and provincial cadres. In the work of the base, again, the cadre must set a good example, educate and encourage junior cadres and ordinary members in seeing themselves in judging their work correctly from its practical results.

4. On the recruitment of new members

The issue of the recruitment of members in the Party as well as the issue of liquidation of the scare must be handled better. In close relation to the line and the Party strategy and in the conditions of action that we have today we must follow such a line in the recruitment of members, that while it will steadily expand and strengthen the Party, at the same time it will ensure it from

the risk of overflow, from the danger of confusing the Party with the masses. We still have to direct the work in such a way as to ensure the normal development of the Party, in terms of its composition, which means a decisive domination of the proletarian element, but also a proportion of the other working classes, as the line demands and our strategy. In short, the recruitment of new members must be planned, calculated.

Our sectarianism must be defeated decisively. It does not even do the necessary work to prepare them. To defeat the mechanical division of labour at the base, which leads to unreasonable demands from young and candidate members. Regarding the method of selecting new members, the current one is basically good. The individual choice is the only Bolshevik method. Party doors should never be remain frothy. "We must not forget," says Stalin, "that the Party is fortress and its doors open only to the tried". The trial stage to be maintained with some flexibility over time, for those probationary members that while they still do not satisfy us, they give us the hope to develop.

The test should be done under the control of the base Party organisation, the one that recruits probationary members. So, under the base organisation, a group of probationary members is formed, led by one of the best cadres of the base organisation. In this way the organisation that prepares and recruits the probationary member continues to help him, to give him practical work, to try him in struggles. Completing the work of recruiting new members, the Party base will have the opportunity to do its self-criticism every now and then, will be able to test its original criterion in practice.

At the same time, from their daily test in practical work, the probationary Akelists have to pass a series of simple Party lessons. This is how the political criterion of the probationers is tested, it is judged to what extent it works their minds, they are given some basic knowledge that helps them to better respond to their duties when as regular members they will cross the Party lines.

As for the liquidation by the Party and in general for the imposition of penalties, Pancyprian Organisational Meeting helped to correct several mistakes. Based on the assessment of the members, the comprehensive study of the pros and cons, we must show patience and perseverance in correcting them when it comes to minor defects and weaknesses. It is only when we have exhausted all the means of education and persuasion should we

reach the expulsion of a member, when it comes to minor defects, and after going through all the stages of the sentences. Tolerance and patience do not mean disregard for Party discipline. It is the right methods of dealing with defects, (education, paradigm, creative control and help), that strengthen and consolidate the Party discipline. And just to avoid confusion, we must keep in mind that the Party discipline to be iron must be conscious. It must be based on intra-Party democracy and not on prohibitive decisions (like those gambling). We must keep in mind that strictness in criticism and control does not exclude but presupposes creative work, patient help to the Akelists.

“Only on the basis of internal Party democracy can the Bolshevik self-criticism be developed and forged the Party discipline that must be conscious and not mechanical” (A. Kosoi, Organisational Principles of Bolshevism and Statue of the C.P.S.U. (B) p. 120). We delete immediately when it comes to minor defects and weaknesses when we have in front of us one based on the anti-Party element.

5. Providing strong theoretical provision

We must be sure that if we continue to underestimate the theory we will continue to stumble, we will make serious mistakes, we will fall from one deviation to another, we will make and break and if we tangibly fall on the right solution it will not last for long, as long as it is not illuminated from theoretical knowledge. Mechanism and dogmatism sometimes destroy even the most well-structured mechanism, make it powerless to perform, often destroy the most correct decisions. The low theoretical level of our central cadres made it difficult—we must admit—the work of our Central Committee. There are many issues that were tangibly researched, they ate more time than they should. Many times central cadres were unprepared because they were lagging behind in theory, because theory was not compatible with their practical experience so that they could more easily find the solution to the problem. The low theoretical level of our provincial cadres is the main reason that makes the E.E. to be closed mainly in practical, cadre work and rarely address issues of a political nature on their own initiative concerning their province or who can help the C.C.

Here is what Stalin says about the paramount importance of Marxist education of Party members and cadres:

“One can satisfactorily organise the regulation of the Party and the approach of the guiding bodies to the work of the base. He can competently organise the work for the promotion of cadres, their selection and distribution. If, however, for any reason our Party propaganda begins to limp (meaning the propaganda work within the Party) if the Marxist-Leninist education of our cadres begins to weaken, if it weakens our work to raise the theoretical and political level of cadres and the cadres themselves cease for this reason to be interested in prospects of movement forward, if they cease to understand its law of our case and turn into hopeless narrow-minded practitioners who blindly and mechanically execute the instructions from above, then all our state and Party work must be weakened the more likely is the collapse and fray of the executives themselves in meticulous narrow-minded practitioners, the more likely is their degeneration”. (Problems of Leninism issues. 785).

We must also to realise that the class (economic and political struggle) is at the same time an ideological struggle of the proletariat, that the ideological struggle of the Party with the enemy is a serious form of all its daily struggle. If the cadre and the member are not properly armed with faith in the cause for which he is fighting, it means that instead of waging an aggressive ideological struggle against the enemy, he is exposed to the effects of the bourgeois ideology and opportunism. If the Party cadre and member are not armed theoretically and politically, they do not even find the strength he needs to cope with difficulties. He is in danger of falling not only into mistakes but also into defeatism. He is in danger of abandoning the fight, of falling into the arms of enemy. Many of the evils of our Party work can be eliminated if our cadres and members are constantly and daily equipped with the theory of Marxism, Leninism.

Bureaucracy, one-sided and blind practicalism, instability in views, the lack of Bolshevik enthusiasm, the weaknesses in matters of political vigilance, all in general mistakes and shortcomings at work can be mitigated, defeated, overcome in the light of the Marxist theory whose power has been repeatedly tested.

That is why we must:

(a) To combine the work of our theoretical training with the practical action. To evaluate the theoretical knowledge according to the degree to which we have assimilated, depending on whether it illuminate and make the practical work better. When we

associate the conquest of theory with the ability to give a better solution to the practical problems plaque the Party and us, only then can we be sure we are doing our job well, that our efforts to master the theory find useful practical expression.” I conquer Marxist theory,” says Stalin, “he will say that I own the essence of this theory, and I am learning to use this theory in the solution of practical issues ... in the various conditions of the class struggle of the proletariat”.

(b) From the point of view of organisational work it is essential to give primary importance to the method of self-education. J. Stalin says that “the method of individual study of the basis Marxism-Leninism by the members of the Party”. Self-education, as a method, brings greater initiative to the Akelists on the question of conquering theory, puts the task of conquering theory in closer relation to practical work, secures a more complete unity of theory, and practice, more direct control of our theoretical knowledge than practice, by its results. But self-education must be organised, placed strict Party control on the basis of the statute. It must be made mandatory for every Akelist. Self-education must be organised and brought under control not only from the point of view of making sure that all members simply study and regularly. Guided and controlled self-education means not leaving the initiative stray. As in other tasks, so here too, the initiative must be combined with guidance and control because serious mistakes can be made here too, there can be delays.

What it means to guide and control the work of self-education. It means that the Party leader must monitor not only the interest of Akelists in studying, but also how he studies, what he studies, how he works in practice, because good study must be expressed in good Party action. In order to do a good job with self-education, it must to be controlled in a group discussion in the Party sessions, assemblies, through the place, to be controlled above all through practical work.

Self-education, as the main method of conquering the foundations of Marxism-Leninism does not, of course, preclude the operation of Party schools which it may significantly complement the whole effort, schools especially for systematic training of Party officials. It is enough for the Party schools to operate on the basis of the creative conquest of theory, on the basis of the principle of the unity of theory with practice. Here is what G. Dimitrov says about mission of the Party schools:

“The main problem of our Party schools seems to me to be teach the Party members of the Party who are in them, the implementation of the Marxist-Leninist theory in the specific situation of the given country, in the given conditions, in the struggle not against the enemy “in general” “but against the given specific enemy”. (Presentation at the Seventh Congress Communist International, p. 122).

(c) In order to ensure the above conditions and to get the job of theoretical training on the right track should be set a good example by cadres, the central and the provincial leadership of the Party. The development of intra-Party educational work must be fully consistent with the development of extra-Party mass political work, which will constantly raise the political criterion of the masses, will strengthen its ideological front movement in the fight against demagoguery and slander, fired from the side of the enemy camp. This means to improve our press, to intensify the enlightening lectures in the mass organisations and to the people in general, to systemise the Party publications. This also means coordinating all work under a responsible Party office for education and mass political work.

6. For the Development of Vigilance

Our Party needs to understand the true meaning of vigilance. It is called upon to develop vigilance at the level of real political vigilance, in a strong weapon of defence and protection from all kinds of blows of the enemy. Our Party has before it a rich own and foreign experience as to the disastrous consequences that political carelessness, the political blindness, can bring in the face of the underworld plans of the class enemy. The KKE lost the revolution because of overconfidence in Xiado and the other known press, the latter who were last unmasked and expelled by Party. The Party and the people of Yugoslavia lost power and are now living under the regime of the blackest fascist terrorism due to the Party's inability to detect espionage spiral of imperialism in time.

AKEL went through successive internal crises and was derailed from time to time due to undisturbed action of some opportunistic elements (unconscious or even conscious) due to lack of political insight, political vigilance. The problem of political vigilance is not a simple problem, it cannot be solved mechanically and with the appointment of special service organisations. Political vigilance,

Zachariadis says, is "a fundamental principle of Bolshevism, a basic and inviolable law of the Party." It must be based on the *mass* of Party members and non-partisan *workers* and toilers".

Political vigilance should not focus only on entrances and exits of the Party fortress. He should not only examine who enters and who leaves the Party doors (which, of course, is also very important). The eye of political vigilance (of the whole Party and the non-partisan pioneer fighters), needs to be so agile and far-sighted that it can certainly guard the Party line from any violations that in most cases can be deliberately committed by the enemy agents. Political Party vigilance must be able to guard the Party from any factional or other opportunistic actions that, as the experience of other parties has shown, rarely come from the enemy and his agents. In this kind of vigilance is the possibility to reveal in time the really dangerous agent, inside the Party. The real enemy says Stalin "must from time to time show success in his work, because this is the only way to remain as an enemy, to gain confidence and to continue his hostile action".

In order for our Party to develop its vigilance (as the vigilance of the mass of its cadres and even the non-Party mass), and without risking on the other hand to turn vigilance into profligacy thereby causing damage on the other hand, it needs to develop the theoretical-political criterion of its cadres. Without theoretical-political equipment, the Party cadres are not able to distinguish the ideological smuggling and ideological confusion that the enemy enters into the Party. Without theoretical political equipment of Party cadres, the skilful enemy manages to fool the Party. The really skilful agent of the enemy always goes about "big business" in the Party. He's betting heavily on the Party line, on the Party's organisational principles. It is trying to twist everything right. It takes advantage of every operative and fickle element. It shows a preference for creating factions and crises within the Party and tries to bring about a split. This does not mean that the Party can underestimate anyone even "small" agent, any mole. The enemy tries to achieve something, always preferring the greatest. It combines small subversive operations with the complete blowing up of the partisan fortress. In this respect the Party should pay special attention to its guiding posts, its central and its provincial committees. It here mainly tries to nest the class enemy so that he can do its job better. Here and in the other serious posts of the movement the enemy tries to put in its most skilful strains, like

Siando in the case of the Communist Party, like Kostov and Tito. Here the enemy can, with the fewest of forces, do the greatest destruction if the partisan vigilance is weakened.

“To win a battle in war,” says Stalin, “may require some Red Soldier corps.” But to ditch this gain at the front, *that’s why some spies get somewhere in the army staff, or even to the division staff, who can steal the business plan and give it to the opponent—to build a railway bridge, thousands of workers needed. It takes some people to blow it up.*” (Excerpt taken from the book by N. Zachariadis” TEN YEARS OF STRUGGLING”, p. 104).

The best way to develop vigilance is to learn from our own experience and the experience of other parties. We must make this valuable experience our property, the property of every Akelist, the property of the wider mass. Therefore, we have to teach and work here too.

Our Party, especially the cadres and all the Akelists, are called to focus on these problems of organisational work on which the solution of many other problems depends. With Bolshevik courage to do our self-criticism. To make the most correct decisions and to work to make them happen. To work persistently, but also without the mechanical violence that he thinks will do everything in the end. To study and to work and at the same time to control our action, to study and work with all the Bolshevik stability and composure. Worrying about our shortcomings can and should be a major motivation at work. But anxiety should not turn into panic. For the radical improvement of organisational and Party work in general, we need many years of struggle, we need hard work. One Party, though, whose historical mission is the enslavement of the working class and the people has nothing to fear of difficulties. AKEL is the Party of the daily struggle for the interests of all workers. It guides the struggle against the difficulties of workers’ lives you will find strength to fight against any internal difficulties.

The path for the development of our Party is the path of struggle that leads to his triumph, to the triumph of all Cypriot workers.

THE CONGRESS DECLARATION⁶⁴

THE DECLARATION OF THE SIXTH CONGRESS TO THE CYPRIOT PEOPLE

To all workers, employees and peasants, professionals and artisans, progressive intellectuals and scientists, the working woman and student youth, and women, Greeks, Turks and Armenians, to all patriotic Cypriot people, the Seventh AKEL Congress addresses a warm greeting.

In critical moments for all mankind, now that the world imperialist circles intensify war hysteria to the highest degree, extending their war plans to the Middle East region, in the centre of which our enslaved island, the Seventh Congress of AKEL met and dealt with all the problems that torment the entire Cypriot people today.

Today our place, despite the strong opposition of its peaceful people, has been transformed into an Anglo-American military base in the centre of the Middle East invading block and, most recently, is being used as a military base for neighbouring Arab countries. The Seventh Congress of AKEL calls on all Cypriot people to feel in all its magnitude the danger that threatens it because of the role that imperialist circles give to our island. The Seventh Congress invites every Cypriot who loves peace and life, regardless of its social class and ideology, to join the pan-Cypriot united front of the defenders of peace is part of the mighty world peace camp, which gathers in its ranks many hundreds of millions of people.

Today the liberation cause of Cyprus, thanks to the unceasing struggles of our people and the heroic Greek people, became known in wide circles of world public opinion. Our people and the indomitable brother Greek people, despite the blatant betrayal of the foreign monarcho-fascist governments and despite the disruptive attitude of the reactionary leadership of the Cypriot right, they are resolutely fighting to take the case of Cyprus out of the enslaved Greek-British framework of friendship, in order to squeeze more closely the sovereign who keeps Cyprus enslaved.

⁶⁴ *ibid.*

The Seventh Congress of AKEL firmly believes that the key to our liberation cause lies in the combined mass, unstoppable, militant struggles of the Cypriot and Greek people, against the common rulers, those who hold Cyprus and Greece as slaves.

The Seventh Congress believes that in order to make the mass struggles for the national restoration of Cyprus more effective and fruitful, it is necessary, especially in the current critical circumstances, the unity of the Cypriot people in a powerful united patriotic anti-imperialist front, which may include not only the working class, the peasantry and all the working classes in general, Greeks and Turks who are oppressed, but also every honest patriot element from the bourgeoisie.

Even the Seventh Congress of AKEL believes that in order for our struggles for freedom to become more effective and finally bear fruit, it is necessary to isolate from the people themselves all the divisive and essentially pro-imperialist elements who with their well-known tactics stand in the way of the unification of the patriotic forces of the country.

Today, when the standard of living of the broad masses of the Cypriot people is constantly being defeated, due to the devastating impact of the arms policy and exacerbated by the unpopular colonial economic policy of the Cypriot government, the 7th Congress of AKEL calls on the working class and all working people in a single determined struggle for survival. All the workers, Greeks and Turks, all the poor peasants, all professionals, artisans, all working women and young workers are invited to ramparts of the struggle drawn up by the Pancyprian Congress of October, so that the government can take measures to reduce and stabilize the standards of living. The heavy beacons that fall on the masses to be cut. To give land to landless peasants and to protect agricultural production. To maintain and improve the rent, reduce high rents, and to build new workers' houses in the cities. To introduce social security legislation immediately for all workers and employees. To protect working women and young people from the brutal exploitation of the bourgeoisie. To protect the health of the people and the child. To ensure the right of education to the child and youth.

For the better organisation and development of the financial struggles of workers and further for the development of the anti-war and liberation struggle, the Seventh Congress of AKEL calls on all the workers to thicken the lines of the mass professional

organisations and further strengthen even more the EAS that expresses their coordinated action of all workers and employees, Greeks, Turks and Armenians in the unions, all professionals and artisans in their professional organisations, All young men and women in the lines of AON, All progressive women in their organisations for a mighty Pancyprian Democratic Women's Organisation.

The Seventh Congress of AKEL invites the Akelists and all the pioneering popular fighters in the front line of the struggle for the enlightenment, mobilisation and proper guidance of the popular masses on the most serious problems and the struggles they face today.

All Akelists are called to active and positive work to bring to life the decisions of the Seventh Congress, to guide our people on the path of the struggle for peace, freedom and life, to further strengthen their Party, the Party of the working Cypriot people, to recruit hundreds of young honest fighters within the ranks of AKEL.

Long live the united Struggle of the Cypriot people for Peace-Freedom.

Long live the united patriotic anti-imperialist front of the Cypriot people.

THE EIGHTH CONGRESS OF AKEL, March 5-7, 1954

THE DECISIONS OF THE CONGRESS⁶⁵

THE DECISION OF THE SEVENTH CONGRESS OF AKEL ON THE POLITICAL WORK AND THE DUTIES OF THE PARTY

The Eighth Congress of AKEL that met in Nicosia on March 5, 6 and 7, 1954 after discussing the political report and suggestion of the C.C., submitted by the General Secretary, Papaioannou, unanimously approves the activities of C.C. for the period from the Seventh to the Eighth Congress and voted on the following decision:

I. THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

The main features of the international situation can be summarised as follows: In the economic sector, the uninterrupted and accelerating growth of the peaceful economy of the USSR and the People's Democracies. The ever-increasing material and cultural needs of the peoples of these countries ensure their maximum satisfaction, thanks to the development of socialism economics and technical progress.

In contrast to what is happening in the countries of Socialism and People's Democracies, the militarised economy of the capitalist countries is in a constant crisis, which is constantly growing and deepening. And as the crisis develops, the standard of living of workers falls, and the exploitation of workers intensifies. While in the countries of Socialism and People's Democracies, the popular needs are constantly and increasingly

⁶⁵ Publications K.E. AKEL, *Forward for a Free and Peaceful Life*, 1954.

satisfied, on the contrary in the countries of capitalism everything is regulated by the mania of securing it maximum possible capitalist profit.

The general crisis of capitalism is deepening, due to the division of the single world market and the creation of two parallel markets, the market of the Socialist and People's Democracies, and the market of the capitalist world. This disintegration of the world market, the unemployment and the decline in the standards of living of millions of people in the capitalist market, the restriction of trade and East-West economic relations imposed by the monopoly circles of the USA, all together, narrow the margins of action of the capitalist market and give birth to the crisis of overproduction and new impoverishment and decline of the standards of living of the people.

The crisis within the world capitalist market is exacerbated by internal capitalist economic contradictions, in particular, because of the policy of expansion pursued by American monopoly capital, which tends to seize and dominate all areas of the world capitalist market, displacing its rivals in England, France and other major capitalist countries.

In the countries of Socialism and the People's Democracies the opposite happens. The global democratic market is constantly expanding. As production increases industrial and agricultural products, as consumption expands and grows, so high is the standard of living of the peoples of these countries.

The world democratic market knows no internal contradictions. On the contrary, what characterizes it is the friendly cooperation between the countries that make it up, mutual assistance and respect for national independence and interests of all countries. The USSR, as the most pioneering and prosperous country of the democratic market, provides valuable financial, technical and scientific assistance to all other countries.

The future of the capitalist market is bleak. The crisis is imminent to break out, and the standards of living of workers will be hit hard again.

The future of the democratic market is bright. It is a future of progress and a new steady rise in the standards of living.

In the political sphere, the main feature of the international situation today is some relaxation in international tension. This relaxation is due to the peaceful policy of the USSR, the People's

Republic of China and other People's Democracies, and the growing power of the peaceful democratic camp.

The cessation of hostilities in Korea is the result of heroic resistance of the Korean people and the active peaceful policy of the Soviet Union and the millions of peaceful people around the world, is a victory for the forces of peace.

The quadripartite Berlin Conference, convened on the initiative of the USSR, proved once again that the Great Country of Socialism is the more consistent defender of world peace.

The proposals of the Soviet Union for a Peace Pact between the five big powers and the development of cultural relations between all countries, the proposals for the unification of Germany, for a collective security pact of the countries of Europe, for the disarmament and prohibition of atomic and other weapons of mass destruction express the will of hundreds of millions of people all over the world and expose the adventurous policies of the imperialists.

The quadripartite decision to convene a Conference in Geneva on Korean issue and to end the war in Indochina, is a victory for the forces of peace, and contributes to the extreme easing of the international tension.

The great initiative of the Soviet Union, and the People's Republic of China for the development of trade with all countries, trade agreements signed during this period, they also make a great contribution to the cause of peace and friendship between peoples.

During the two years we are reviewing, the national liberation movement of the colonial peoples strengthened and developed. The colonial peoples rose up against the imperialists, claiming their national independence, strengthening the world democratic and peaceful movement, and weakening the world imperialist camp.

The imperialist powers are continuing their efforts to prepare of a new war, for world domination. The belligerent actions intensify as they see their belligerent plans wrecked as a result of the growing struggle of peoples for peace, democracy, and independence.

Aggressive imperialist circles, fearing the outbreak of the economic crisis that threatens them, they react angrily to the easing of international tension, because such a relaxation does not help their cosmopolitan plans and diminishes their profits from armaments.

That is why American imperialists seek to sabotage the final peaceful settlement of the Korean question in every possible ways. It is for the same reasons that they sought to cancel the Berlin Conference. That is why they have huge sums of money for the recruitment of agents and the financing of provocateurs for subversive work in the countries of Socialism and the People's Democracies.

This is how the two lines of development are projected in the international political situation today. It is on the one hand the peace camp led by the Soviet Union, which is doing everything it can to promote world peace, and on the other the camp of the warlords led by American imperialists, who are doing what they can for international tension. The camp of peace and democracy is getting stronger and stronger, it becomes invincible, because it is based on the desire and will for peace of hundreds of millions of peoples.

The camp of the imperialists is constantly weakening because its policy is politically contrary to the interests and feelings of the peoples, because it is a camp with internal contradictions that aims to serve them interests of the monopolies.

The conclusion to be drawn from the international political situation is that world peace camp can thwart the war that the imperialists are preparing. Malegoff says in his presentation that "the current correlation of forces between the camp of imperialism and war and the camp of democracy and peace makes this perspective entirely feasible." (Malenkov report, p. 22, Cyprus Edition).

THE GREEK SITUATION

In Greece, after Papagos came to power, monarcho-fascism completes the sale of the country to the American-British exploitative capital.

The foreign slave regime brings the country closer to the war organised on behalf of American wealth tycoons. The recent agreement of the Papagos government with the Americans, turns Greece substantially and formally into an American colony and military base. The "Balkan Pact" with Tito's Yugoslavia and Turkey is another step towards the adventurist war that the Americans are preparing in the Balkans.

The alarming monarcho-fascism together with the sale of the whole country betrays the most just national claim, the Union of Cyprus with Greece. It betrays it as all previous monarcho-fascist governments of the right and the so-called Centre betrayed it.

With the policy of war and national enslavement followed by Papagos monarcho-fascism, it throws the country's economy deeper and deeper into crisis. The economic policy of emergency, with the devaluation of the drachma, the terms of foreign capital investment, the merger of Banks, etc. has led and is leading the prices to new heights, increasing unemployment and lowering the standard of living of workers. Papagos's policy is a policy of serving the plans of USA in the Balkans, the financial interests of a handful of local and foreign capitalists.

The Emergency government in power completed the abolition of all democratic freedoms in Greece. Thousands of democrats, trade unionists, honest patriots are dying late in prisons and on the islands. Elected by the people Municipal Councillors elected are arbitrarily dismissed. The only legal Democratic Political Organisation of the country, the E.D.A., is threatened with dissolution and the complete silencing of the press is being prepared. The execution of the hero of the Greek people Nikos Belogiannis, was followed by other executions of popular activists and patriots.

In the face of the danger of Greece being dragged into the American adventurous war adventure in the Balkans, in the face of poverty, impoverishment, terrorism and the violation of democratic freedoms and rights, the Greek people are rallying and fighting for their liberation from the clutches of the American rule, for national independence, amnesty, and democracy.

In Greece, the conditions for big mass struggles are maturing today, in which the large masses of workers, peasant workers, professionals and artisans, regardless of policies and other differences. Under the guidance of the heroic K.K.E. and its tried and tested leadership, in the daily struggles of the people the Pan-Democratic Front of Struggle is forged, which will liberate Greece and put it on the path of peace, national independence, democracy and social progress.

II. THE ECONOMIC-POLITICAL SITUATION IN CYPRUS

In the last two years, the economic and political oppression of the people by the foreign ruler intensified and the transformation of our island into a military base accelerated. In order to serve the interests of the British monopoly capital, the foreign ruler follows an utterly anti-popular economic policy.

1. The most striking manifestations of this anti-popular policy of foreign colonists in the economic sphere are:

(a) The serious deficit which constantly presents itself in our trade balance, and which sends millions of pounds abroad, mainly to England and the countries of the British Empire.

(b) The heavy taxation imposed mainly on the popular strata, which in 1952 amounted to 16 pounds per head, is allocated not for productive or other beneficial projects for the country but mainly for the maintenance of an expensive bureaucratic mechanism.

(c) The bankruptcy of our rural economy, which takes place with the destruction much of our agricultural production, with the heavy exploitation of the peasants by the banker and private usury capital, with the semi-feudal bonds that suppress the development of the rural economy and other anti-agricultural measures. Such an anti-agrarian policy of the foreign government results in the liquidation of a large portion of our rural population and is the main cause of its plague of immigration that plagues our country.

(d) The penetration of foreign capital encouraged by the foreign government. The foreign capital, and especially the English capital, began to penetrate into Cyprus, to exploit the wealth and the people of our country, to reap enormous profits. Our mineral wealth is the object of the wildest exploitation by foreign capital. The electrification plan is the most modern penetration plan of English capital in Cyprus, while the banking capital, (through Barclays and Agriculture Bank) competes with the private interest-bearing capital on the holding of the Cypriot peasant.

In implementing this unpopular economic policy, the foreign government has its ally and close collaborator of the bourgeoisie and tsiflikades, who connected their financial interests with the interests of the English capital.

The consequence of this anti-popular economic policy pursued by the foreign government is, on the one hand, ensuring the maximum possible profit for the British monopolies, in general for foreign and large local capital, and on the other hand poverty,

impoverishment and decline the standards of living of the working classes of the people.

There is no doubt that such consequences of government policy will increase as long as the colonial occupation of Cyprus continues.

2. In the political sphere, the foreign government pursues the same anti-popular policy, serving the interests of British imperialism.

What characterizes and determines the anti-popular and reactionary character of the policy of foreign colonists in Cyprus is intensively accelerating transformation of our island into a military base of the imperialists, its intensity political oppression by constantly enacting new unfree laws, which they are going to enslave our national education, to eliminate the most elementary human rights and suppress his national liberation struggle of the Cypriot people.

And as the militarisation of the country progresses and the oppression of the people intensifies, while the economic crisis intensifies, the foreign government intensifies propaganda for the prosperity of the colony. At the same time, the granting of a "constitution" is being propagated by the Government and its institutions as the only solution to the popular problems, as the only way to free our people from economic misery and political oppression.

3. Under these conditions of colonial and national enslavement the Cypriot people are intensively fighting for their lives and survival, against the transformation of our country into a military base, against the oppressors, free measures of the foreign ruler, and above all for national freedom-union of Cyprus with Greece.

The Congress welcomes the unity of struggle that developed over the last two years, in the conduct of a series of economic struggles of the workers, of peasants and other working classes. Our people are constantly convinced, through their own experience, that unity in the common struggle against the colonial policy of the foreign government is the only right way out of economic misery, political, social and national oppression.

4. In the conditions of the rise of the world progressive movement for peace, democracy and national independence, our people in Cyprus and Greece continued the struggle for our national freedom.

It is precisely as a result of the intensity of our national liberation struggle that all the enemies of our cause are greatly

concerned and intensify their efforts to strike, distort and degenerate the national struggle of the Cypriot people. Apart from British imperialism, there is still a serious obstacle to the development of our national struggle, the Greek plutocracy and the monarcho-fascism that enslave and sell out Greece to foreign governments cannot support our national liberation struggle. The Papagos government betrays the cause of the freedom of the Cypriot people, as did all its predecessors, the monarcho-fascist governments.

The Papagos government has essentially torpedoed the position of our issue before the UN and agony in her attempt to close the Cyprus issue again within the frayed enslaving Greek-British context, with the so-called bilateral negotiations. What essentially interests monarcho-fascism is to subordinate the Cyprus issue to the interests of foreign imperialists, mainly of the Americans, and to assist British imperialism in their implementation of its constitutional plans in Cyprus.

Monarcho-fascism and the Papagos government are trying to cover up the betrayal of the Cyprus problem with an unprecedented demagoguery, to put the people, to sleep of Greece and Cyprus, thus degenerating the unifying struggle of the Cypriot of the people.

Another basic support of imperialism in the implementation of its suggestive policy against the Cyprus problem is the policy of the Ethnarchy and the great bourgeoisie that it represents.

The divisive policy they follow, their refusal to carry out a real national liberation struggle, their appeals to the foreign ruler intensify the oppression against the popular movement, their refusal to resolutely condemn the construction of military bases in our country, the alignment to the Greek monarcho-fascism, from whose achievements the Ethnarchy and the Asto-Tsiflika leadership practically did not deviate, all these make them the best ally of imperialism.

The compromising and in essence anti-unifying policy of the Ethnarchy and the leadership of Asto-tsiflika is determined by their economic and social position. The Cypriot church, occupying about 1/10 of the Cypriot land, is the largest landowner—tsiflikas, and from this position it cannot be interested in and conduct a genuine national liberation struggle.

The Ethnarchy, fearing its isolation from the people, is obliged to democratise more than monarcho-fascism to the detriment of

the cause of our people. And the more our national liberation movement rises, the more they are forced to raise the tone of their demagoguery.

The support of the foreign sovereign is also the portion of the bourgeoisie that was drawn up with the sovereign, in the service of his constitutional plans.

The main effort of the leadership of the constitutionalist faction is to derail our people from the only right path, the path of the united struggle for the national restoration without conditions, without bargaining, without concessions to any foreign power.

The betrayal of monarcho-fascism, the divisive compromise policy of the Ethnarchy and the leadership of the bourgeoisie (Asto-Tsiflik) and the constitutionalist propaganda our people can fight effectively against it, only with the unity of the popular forces, the unity in the struggle for survival, the basic democratic rights of the people, peace and for the Union of Cyprus with Greece.

In order to successfully carry out both the daily struggles of the Cypriot people and our national liberation struggle, we must be united and take part in the struggle of the overwhelming majority of the Cypriot people. Workers, peasants, urban poor, honest intellectuals and all the patriotic elements from the clergy and the bourgeoisie, let us all unite in a united front of liberation struggle.

This front can and must embrace all people regardless of ideological or other differences. It can and must embrace all the honest citizens, members and all patriotic cadres of KEK, PEK, New trade unions, religious organisations, all working Greeks, Turks and Armenians. Xenocracy oppresses all the people, including the Greeks and the Turks and the Armenians and the Eakites and the Pekists and new and old unions. In the imperialist doctrine "divides and rule" let our people oppose the valuable cooperation and unity of all, the removal from any idea of political, ideological or racial aphorism.

The main link for the realisation of the united liberation front is the struggle for the daily problems of the people. Our experience shows that people are already united and fighting for their bread, for their life, for their standard of living.

Labour unity is the solid foundation, the necessary condition for workers' and peasants' alliance and for the popular unity, the gathering of all patriotic elements of the people.

The Seventh Congress of AKEL approves the minimum program of the Party that proposed by the Central Committee, as well as

the minimum program for the formation of the united liberation front of struggle.

Armed with these two programs, the Akelists are effectively defeating all forms of sectarianism in their work, being vigilant and avoiding every deviation, right or left, can and must develop their action based on the daily problems of the people, in order to speed up its formation the widest possible patriotic front of struggle.

III. OUR DUTIES

The Seventh Congress of AKEL, taking into account all the findings and the assessment of the situation puts before the whole Party the following tasks:

1. Intensify the struggle for peace

We must intensify our work and struggle for the cause of peace. Fighting for the cause of peace we are in complete harmony with the real feelings of our people who as a whole love peace, half the war. Fighting for peace we are carrying out a key internationalist task.

Fighting for the cause of peace we serve our national cause. Because, war policy means base in Cyprus and base in Cyprus means cementing of the colonial regime.

As such, the peace movement can expand and embrace the whole the Cypriot people. But to broaden and develop the peace movement it also needs our help. Our Party must give every help to the movement of peace. When we expose the pro-war imperialist propaganda that is channelled through the press, radio, cinema, that is assistance to the peace movement. When we make known to the people the peaceful policy of USSR and the People's Democracies, this is helping the movement. When we strengthen our peasants' struggle against the confiscation of their land and its use for military purposes, this is an aid to the peace movement. When with the initiative and help of Peace committees are set up in parishes, villages, factories, in the workplace, this is an important aid to the peace movement.

The struggle for peace must not be cut off from the struggle for Union and for the daily problems of the people. To show our people that the policy of military armaments in Cyprus has raised and is raising the prices. To show that the politics of war

exacerbates the housing problem. To show that the policy of Cold War prevents our agricultural products from entering in Eastern European markets. Finally, let us show that the politics of war removes the solution of our national problem.

2. To raise and massify our national liberation struggle more

Based on the line of the unity and the programme for the formation of the United Patriotic Front of struggle, we must raise and massify our national liberation struggle, exposing and isolating the divisive and generally the supporters of xenocracy. To improve political work among the masses of the people and to develop the militancy of the national liberation our movement by striking every sectarian, every legalist tendency in our work.

3. To fight for democratic freedoms and the rights of the people

To unite the forces of the people in the struggle against all the illiberal laws and decrees, which oppress the national education of the country, which suppress the democratic freedoms and the rights of the people. Let's fight for freedom of assembly and demonstration, for freedom of the press and speech, for the secrecy of correspondence, for the trade union freedoms of workers, for the independence of our national education.

4. To take firmly the economic problems of the people

Even stronger to catch the economic problems of the people and to organise the united struggle for their solution.

The problem of protecting and improving the standards of living of all workers especially workers and peasants the problems of the land, substantial reduction of taxation, the sale of agricultural products, free trade with all countries, the rehabilitation of earthquake victims, the rental problems, the problems of artisans in general, teachers and of employees, motorists, for Social Security and protection of public health, for cheap electricity and any problems that concern and interests the people. We must take all this firmly and show to the people the path of struggle.

We must show the people the common root of all these problems, that is, the colonial occupation of our island and the anti-popular economic and fiscal policy of the foreign government.

5. To strengthen our labour movement

To make our labour movement even stronger. Strong labour movement, with a strong ally the peasant movement. It is the strongest base of the United Patriotic Front of Struggle, the best guarantee for the strengthening and development of our national liberation movement.

Work to help organise key sections of the working class that remain unorganised, such as miners, transport workers, industrial workers, agricultural workers, and civil servants. All the difficulties that exist, must be overcome.

The massification and strengthening of the labour movement must go hand in hand with the political education and training of workers. That is why it is our duty to see how the political enlightenment will be organised among the workers, which today is almost non-existent.

To promote and consolidate the idea of unity and united action among the ranks of the working class. Unity is a powerful weapon in the hands of the working class. Unity is a factor in securing victory in the struggles of the working class. At the same time, the unity of the working class is the basis of popular unity in the struggle for our National Freedom.

The unity of the working class has been significantly promoted in the daily struggles of the workers. But much more work is required to be able to say that the unity of the working class is complete and stable. Let us eradicate here too the sectarianism which is the greatest obstacle for the realisation of the unity of the working class.

6. To strengthen our agrarian movement

We must also strengthen the agrarian movement in our country. The agrarian movement, in alliance with the working class, will be a key force in the struggle for the solution of our national question.

In order to strengthen the agrarian movement, we must complete our shift to the countryside, tackling the agrarian

problems even more decisively. We must eliminate any manifestation of sectarianism from our work. We must fight for the democratisation of cooperation. Finally, we must work out our agrarian programme as a Party.

We must not forget what Stalin teaches us, that “without the peasant army there can be no strong national movement.” “It is also indisputable,” says Stalin, “that the basis of the national question, its internal essence, is always the question of peasantry. This explains the fact that the peasantry is the main army of the national movement, that without the army of the peasants does not exist and there can be no strong national movement.”

7. To build and strengthen the labour-agrarian alliance

In the struggles for the people's problems with perseverance and attention to build and to consolidate the workers' and peasants' alliance. In the struggle of the Cypriot peasantry for its vital problems, to organise and guide the solidarity of the working class and all other working people. The working class, which is the leading force in all the struggles of our people, must lead the way in this area as well.

8. To strengthen the youth movement

To pay special attention to issues and problems of the youth, especially for its protection from the wild exploitation, for its education, technical and vocational training. To strike at the sectarianism that exists in our work regarding the organisation and problems of the youth. To help organise the thousands of young people, to educate them in the best fighting traditions of the Greek youth and to enter our National Liberation struggle en masse.

The Cypriot youth is a valuable force, necessary in the national struggle. To make the most of this militant, lively life and pulse of youth power, in all its future events and struggles of the Cypriot people.

To develop the cultural, artistic and sports activity of the youth. To help educate the youth on healthy, democratic, national liberation principles. Protect it from the corruption and degeneration channelled through American gangster films, and pornography. Healthy mind, healthy physique, healthy democratic

perceptions, healthy patriotism, militancy and self-sacrifice, these are the characteristics of our youth.

9. To strengthen the women's movement

To catch the issues and problems of the women of the country, the workers, the employees, the peasant women, of housewives, as well as the problems of the employed teachers. To help create a broad democratic women's movement, which will draw in its ranks the majority of women of Cyprus, and will put them in the struggle for women's rights, in the struggle for popular problems, peace and in our national liberation struggle.

To eradicate every petty bourgeois derogatory and sectarian perception of woman. To see women as a fighting force, as an important force in our National Struggle.

10. Turning to our work for minorities

Our Party must make a comprehensive shift in its work for minorities. The Turkish minority, which constitutes about 1/5 of the population of Cyprus, is still under the chauvinist influence of the Turkish tsiflikades and the bourgeoisie. The work we have done to detach the Turkish workers from this influence is minimal. Thus, the Turkish minority is used today from imperialism like a wedge in our national liberation struggle.

"AKEL," say the three comrades of the K.K.E. in their article on Cyprus, it will not be able to become the leading militant Party of the Cypriot people if it fails to influence and conquer politically and organisationally and the working Turkish minority. The Turks distrust the Greeks and the Akelists because they do not have confidence in Greater Helladic chauvinism. "And the ignorance or devaluation of the Turkish minority by the leading Party, is but a clear manifestation of this chauvinism."

In the struggle for the daily problems of the people to strengthen our contact with the Turkish and Armenian minorities, in the common struggles for the problems of workers, Greeks, Turks and Armenians, to forge unity with minorities, dissolving mistrusts and misunderstandings and developing friendship and fellowship.

Experience has shown that this is the only right and effective way. This is the only road that certainly leads to the stable unity of

Greeks-Turks and Armenians. The labour, the rural, the youth movement, in every mobilisation for popular problems not to forget the interests and views of minorities and to ensure a unified mobilisation of all the workers.

To help the Turks of our country to know the programme of our Party, publishing it in Turkish. To help the Turkish minority in particular, to understand our national issue. To elaborate and to popularise the National Policy of AKEL towards the Turkish minority. To study the particular problems of the Turkish minority and to acquaint our Turkish compatriots with the position that our Party takes for each of their problems. Stop the devaluation of work within the Turkish minority. The mass of the Turkish people to be drawn together with the rest of the people in the anti-colonial national-liberation struggle.

11. To organise and strengthen our ideological front

To study carefully all the shortcomings and weaknesses of our ideological front, to organise and strengthen this front. To illuminate constantly all the problems related to our national struggle. To protect our national struggle from any kind of ideological distortion.

Let us face ideologically the anti-Soviet, anti-communist and pro-war propaganda of international imperialism and its local lackeys both among the Greeks and among the Turks and Armenians. To defend everywhere and always Party principles, Party decisions, and to popularise the action of our Party for the people.

In order to succeed in our work of the ideological front we must overcome all the weaknesses presented by the organ of our Party, the New Democrat. To develop journalistic cadres fully committed to the Party and affair of the people, cadres with a high ideological and political level, capable of serving the people in the best and most effective way. The editors and the staff of the newspaper in general to master the art of journalism that convinces and mobilises the people.

The newspaper's editorial to systematically fight and eliminate mistakes, political, syntactic, spelling, typographic. To eradicate sectarianism that contained in articles, notebooks and news. With a pulse to popularise the Party line and decisions.

The newspaper of our Party is the most serious and biggest ideological weapon we have. It is the bearer of the Party line and tactics, the daily vigilant guard for the interests of the people. It is the means that educates, excites, mobilises, organises the people. That's why our responsibility to improve this instrument is great towards the people. The "New Democrat" must become the militant expressive instrument of the national-liberation struggle, beloved by the broad strata of the people. The "New Democrat" must enter the house of every Cypriot patriot.

To develop a movement of friends and readers of the "New Democrat", a movement for the dissemination of our newspaper. To improve the theoretical instrument of our Party, the "New Democrat". To ensure better cooperation, regular studies on various problems, articles of wider interest.

To systematise its version, so that there is no delay. To organise and consolidate the publications of brochures, books, short stories. To set up a complete publishing mechanism. To organise the Office of mass agitation and propaganda, in conjunction with its work of the Educational Office, for the daily enlightening work among the people, with leaflets, posters, speeches and lectures. To raise the level of propaganda and our slogans. To specialise speakers and propagandists.

We must pay special attention to how to organise political propaganda and enlightenment among workers, peasants, youth and women. To encourage progressive intellectual, literary and artistic movement and the publication of a progressive literary magazine. To encourage the emergence of Cypriot writers, who express with their work the life and the struggle of our people.

In general, in the ideological field we must sharpen our ideological vigilance in all directions, anticipating in timely manner and relentlessly fighting the ideology of the enemy.

12. Developing our political vigilance

Inside and outside our Party, we must develop our political vigilance. We must teach every cadre, every member, to be vigilant. To be vigilant to safeguard the principles and political line of the Party, for the observance of discipline and intra-Party democracy, for guarding of the unity of our Party.

The enemy, as long as it exists, can only do his job. The fight with the enemy did not end with the liquidation of the

opportunists-factionalists and their agents through the Party. Let us not rest on our laurels that the enemies of the Party have not left their people behind or even if they have not left that cannot create others. That is not to say that we should see enemy idiots and agents everywhere. What we are saying is that we must increasingly use the tried and tested weapons to find the enemy organs within the Party lines and clear them.

13. The further massification of the Party is necessary

In order to carry out all these tasks, it is necessary to mass the Party with thousands of new members, to get rid of any remnants of sectarianism, the correct use of the powerful weapon of criticism and self-criticism, the creation of new cadres, the persistent work to raise the theoretical and political level of AKEL cadres and members.

These are the tasks that come before us. These are serious, very serious tasks. But the mission of our Party is even more serious historic. Our Party's mission is to change the world. We are the volunteers, the pioneers, the fighters, who undertook this historic mission. So we cannot be intimidated by the tasks that come before us no matter how serious and difficult they are.

With faith and conviction, with optimism and pulse, with inexhaustible fighting spirit and vigour, with all our soul. With all our strength let us proceed to the struggle, the new struggle that illuminates the Eight Congress of our Party, we are sure that we will overcome all the difficulties, no matter how many trials we encounter on the way, we will lead our people to victory, the happy and joyful life. This is the best satisfaction for us. The best reward for our efforts and sacrifices.

THE DECISION OF THE CONGRESS OF AKEL ON THE ORGANISATIONAL WORK AND THE TASKS OF THE PARTY

The 8th Congress of AKEL that took place in Nicosia on March 5, 6 and 7, 1954 after discussing the Organising report and suggestion of C.C. submitted by the Organising Secretary of K.P. Georgiou, unanimously approves the report and votes on the following decision:

1. The organisational work of the Party in the last two years and the positive results

The 8th Congress of the Party notes with satisfaction that in the period that passed since the 7th Congress until today, the Party has significantly improved its organisational work. Based on its correct political line the Party mobilised its forces to a large extend and led the masses in their struggle, giving in several cases a united frontal direction in the struggle of the people.

The successful struggle of our Party against opportunism-factionalism was a great event in the life of our Party. The liquidation of the opportunists-factionalists by the Party removed from the path of the Party a serious obstacle for its organisational development and consolidation. The exposing and clearing the faction not only ensured the purity of the Party line and its correct militant orientation but also ensured the unity of the lines, paved the way for the implementation of a proper organisational policy. Our Party is today more intransigent in defending its principles, developing its lines the spirit of partisanship and discipline and sharpening the weapon of criticism and self-criticism.

In recent years, the Party has opened a front against sectarianism in general and against sectarianism in organisational work in particular. By implementing and developing a broad flexible tactic of a united front in the struggles of the people, the Party was forced to scrutinise its organisational structure and work, to expose and fight sectarian errors and weaknesses. The tactics of the united front in the fight for their economic problems facilitated

the organisational development of the Party as well as the mass organisations of the workers. The results of the last organisational Party campaign in honour of the 8th Congress express a big step in the Party's struggle against sectarianism. This campaign shows how deep it is and how much the people's appreciation for our Party is growing. In the last two years and especially in the last period, hundreds of young fighters from the city and the village, men and women, have joined the lines of AKEL.

Mass organisations, especially workers' organisations, have recently been joined by several thousand young, formerly disorganised workers.

The Party succeeded in developing its base by expanding its groups and creating several new groups. Dozens of new regular or probationary groups have been formed, especially in the countryside, in the last three months.

Our Party also raised the internal Party work, its quality, and developed new cadres. The reconstruction of the Party base according to Leninist-Stalinist principles took our organisational work off the path of reformism where the opportunists turned the Party. The new broad net junior leadership organisations formed after the 7th Congress helped draw new forces into the Party's leadership work.

In the field of the ideological front, our Party has taken more action than before, despite the terrible shortcomings and weaknesses we still have in this field.

With the harsh criticism made by the Party there was some improvement in the situation of our Party press. Also, with the provision of several works of Marxism-Leninism and other progressive literature, several of our members and cadres began to engage—though not systematically yet—in the study of their self-education.

2. The shortcomings, weaknesses and mistakes of the organisational work

In addition to the positive results of our organisational work, which are important, the Congress also notes a number of serious weaknesses and shortcomings that need to be addressed and overcome.

Our main weakness is that our organisational work is even lower in relation to the political line of the Party and its demands,

is not commensurate with the broad influence of the Party and does not adequately respond to the problems of the struggle of the people, that project daily in front of us. While every day more and more serious problems of the people demand from the Party serious, immediate treatment, study, line struggle and guiding practical work—while conditions of a broader united front are maturing every day, our Party, due to weaknesses, cannot proceed to the end in the practical execution of all its decisions. There are some cases when important decisions of the Party did not become a matter and action of the Party as a whole and the people, because it lagged behind and was almost lacked any organisational work to promote them.

Sectarianism in organisational work, which has only recently been severely defeated, has resulted the Party remaining narrow, with few forces in its ranks compared to its political influence and with a lacking, weak and incompetent mechanism to make a wide division of tasks and to develop several new cadres. Also, as a result of sectarianism in organisational work, the Party did not develop its base enough to cover basically all the industrial and rural areas of the island. Villages and places of work where the Party has significant influence are still without Party organisation. This weakness makes it more difficult to mobilise a considerable section of the people in their struggles.

Another evil that still exists in the organisational work of the Party is bureaucratic methods of guiding the base, the consequence of which is the sluggishness and routine in its work. The bureaucratic, non-live connection and guidance of the base by the immediately superior organisations is difficult for the base to develop, to develop live work and close ties with masses and become a real school for the creation of new cadres.

Our Party still has significant weaknesses in issues such as criticism and self-criticism and political vigilance. Work among minorities, youth and democratic women is also a major weakness. And after the last campaign, we have very few members in the Party from the minorities and women, mainly because we neglected in previous years political work in these sections of the workers. We have very few cadres from minorities and women.

The causes of these weaknesses of the Party are basically at a low theoretical-political level of our members and cadres in the sectarian spirit which to a large extent existed and still exists in the work of the cadres, in the few cadres and inadequate control.

The devaluation of the theory by our cadres continued even after the 7th Congress. The relevant work is done, with a few cycles of self-education and individual study is far from expressing a real turn of the Party, for the conquest of the bases of the theory by our cadres.

And the 8th Congress finds that the main source of our weaknesses is low theoretical-political level of cadres the underestimation of the theory, which if continue to make serious mistakes and shortcomings will inevitably continue in the future.

3. Our basic organisational tasks

Based on the above findings, for our positive work and shortcomings and weaknesses that we present, the following basic organisational tasks come before our Party:

(a) To continue the recruitment at an even more intensive and systematic pace new members of the Party, using for this and enriching the experience we gained from the pre-Congress organising campaign. Pursuit of Party organisation should be the establishment of a Party organisation in each village, in every factory and workshop, in workplaces etc. Special attention should be paid to setting up Party organisations in the areas of the mines where our weaknesses are huge while at the same time our tasks are extremely large.

The mass recruitment of new party members by working women, minorities and progressive intellectual circles must be especially sought after.

The work for the recruitment of new members in the Party should be systematised so that the recruitment should not depend on the periodic campaigns that will take place, but to be considered a permanent political duty of Party members and to be related with the uninterrupted organisational and ideological work, the work that is connected with the struggles of the workers and makes many mature normally new forces for the Party.

Our Party, recruiting in its ranks hundreds and thousands of new fighters, must at the same time take care of their quality upgrade, to help them to assimilate as well as possible the political line and the tactics of the Party and to become active Akelists, popular fighters. The 8th Congress of our Party considers it necessary that with an organised systematic work to double the members of the Party, we have reached at the 9th Congress.

(b) To make a real shift in our work for the Marxist-Leninist education and training, with the aim of raising the general level of theoretical-political level of our cadres and members.

For this purpose the KMG (Central Educational Office), with the guidance and the help of the C.C., to elaborate a complex educational system of work that embraces the whole Party, from the C.C. to the Party Groups, and to use all means that contribute to this purpose, such as schools (central, provincial and regional), lectures, self-education courses, individual study etc.

Also the K.M.G with the guidance of C.C. to elaborate a long-term plan of publications from the works of Marxism-Leninism of progressive literature and brochures on local issues which will illuminate the path for the struggle of the Cypriot people and to determine the material that compulsorily all central and provincial Party cadres must study systematically in self-education cycles using the most creative living study system.

(c) To be developed in the whole Party by the C.C. to the Party Groups the collectivist work. With a good division of labour among all the members of each organisation, with the live participation in the discussion of each issue political, ideological and organisational nature, to strengthen the initiative of cadres, a sense of personal responsibility and their contribution to Party that must constantly improve in quality and quantity.

The plenary sessions of the C.C., the EU, the OP and P.E. must meet more regularly, and require all members of these organisations to take active part at work with written opinions.

(d) To strengthen and systematise the control in the whole Party mechanism, by C.C., E.U., P.E. and by the governing bodies, below and vice versa. To develop more the internal Party democracy in the whole Party. At the same time, criticism and self-criticism should become an integral part of the daily work of the Party, of all its organisations.

Live creative control, combined with daily harsh but constructive criticism, protects the Party from the disease of routine, bureaucracy, family-building within the Party and other similar harmful events while at the same time it is the powerful and proven weapon for discovering the mistakes, these causes of mistakes, and to correct them. Practicing criticism and self-criticism we must strike every anti-Party manifestation against criticism and to encourage criticism from below.

(e) The institution of activism must be used widely (by all our Party organisations). It must be set up and operate active cadres under the C.C., the E.U., the P.E. and O.P.

Activity should be considered as a great school for educating new cadres, developing criticism and self-criticism, collective work, and connecting leadership closely with the Party base.

(f) The C.C. to elaborate comprehensively, in the shortest period of time, a policy of cadres for the creation, promotion of new cadres and the improvement of the old cadres.

To defeat the sectarianism, that manifests itself when new cadres are to emerge and be promoted, new forces are decisively drawn, from the most active members for the reinforcement and manning of all of the posts of the Party mechanism. The collectivist work that must be developed in all the posts of the Party mechanism, by the C.C. to Groups, self-criticism and criticism, strict creative control, the development of a sense of responsibility, systematic study, the widespread use of activism, are some of the measures that will help our work to highlight and promote new cadres.

(g) A special task that is urgently put in front of the C.C. and the lower governing bodies of the Party are the multifaceted development of the organisational and ideological work among the working masses of minorities and of the women. Next to C.C. and the E.U. there is a need to organise Offices, for the development of Party work among the Turks, for the political education of Turkish Party and non-Party workers in their own language, for the promotion and development of cadres by the Turks, who according to their development are promoted to leadership work of the Party and the movement. From the Turkish workers and toilers to prepare and constantly bring new forces to the Party.

Also from the women, most of whom are democratic both in the city and in village, the Party is called to prepare many new members and to nominate cadres. From now on, give the best Party women elements every opportunity to take part in the leadership positions of the base, and to be able later, according to their abilities, to go higher.

(h) Regarding the financial needs and resources of the Party, to apply the unique, sound principle that the Party relies on the broad, comprehensive support of the people. The Party conducts daily struggles for the interests of the people, leads the people, who gives in this struggle every sacrifice, can only strengthen his

Party financially. It is enough for the people to be enlightened about the financial demands of their struggle. First the Party members and next to them thousands of other workers must give their regular membership or contribution to the Party every month. Still, the Party must not let the Party work to be delayed due to lack of finances, as it has been the case in the past.

The 8th Congress of the Party invites all its cadres and members, invites the leading organisations of the Party to a decisive, planned and systematic work for the execution of all the above tasks.

THE PROGRAMME OF THE CONGRESS⁶⁶

THE MINIMUM PROGRAM OF AKEL UNDER COLONIAL CONDITIONS OF SLAVERY!

As long as our country remains nationally enslaved, our Party fights on the basis of its own minimum programme below, without this being confused with minimum conditions for national cooperation and common struggle of all parties and local political actors of the country.

1. Union of Cyprus with Greece, without conditions, without exchanges

Our case is clear. Cyprus is an integral part of Greece. Ethnologically the vast majority of the Cypriot people are Greeks. Our history testifies to that our traditions, our culture. This is evidenced by this very reality. The historic referendum of January 15, 1950 and the long struggle of the Cypriot people is an ostensible response to the slanderers regarding the real desires of our people. If the foreign ruler still doubts about it, then a referendum organised by him will confirm even more solemnly his unwavering will of our people to unite with Greece.

Union with Greece without conditions, without exchanges is our national demand. We are fighting every point of view, no matter where it comes from, that gives way to the Great Britain, America or any other foreign power the right to maintain military bases in our country as incompatible with the national liberation of Cyprus as something that cements the position of international imperialism in our country.

For a free Greece free from all imperialist enslavement and dependence. Neither the British, nor the Americans, nor any other imperialists in Cyprus or Greece. Complete national independence

⁶⁶ Publications C.C. AKEL. Towards the 8th Congress of AKEL—Presentations of C.C. and the Party Programme, 1954.

and integrity. But this does not mean that we ask for the union only with a democratic Greece. The socio-political status in Greece is an issue that concerns the Greek and Cypriot people. They will solve it dominantly, away from foreign interventions, but we want and fight for the full national independence of Greece in combined with the struggle of the Greek people.

We have different ideological principles from other parties. Today, however, we are not faced with the dilemma: Socialism or capitalist Cyprus. The dilemma facing us today is: Union or English occupation? To this question we answer: All the people united for the union. We set aside—this is logical and this is how we do—our maximum political demand that stems from our communist programme in order to achieve the unity of all who want union—unconditional freedom. Without exchange and they6 are willing to fight for it.

Line of struggle: Intensive, combative, coordinated and uninterrupted struggle inside according to the objective conditions and in complete harmony with the struggle of the Greek people.

Sending Embassies abroad representing the entire people authorised to seek action in all directions to place the Cyprus issue on the UN agenda and equipped with appropriate propaganda material, in various languages, to enlighten the world public opinion. Establishment of a permanent office in Cyprus in various countries for regular, systematic enlightenment and action.

Proper exploitation of internal-imperialist contradictions for promotion of our national freedom on the basis of our correct national liberation orientations and not to become instruments of American imperialism as the Ethnarchy does.

A single demand from the Greek government to place the Cyprus issue at the UN as a Greek national claim. The refusal of the Greek government until today to put the Cyprus issue was the biggest obstacle in the struggle for the Union.

2. Peace and demilitarisation of our country

The Cypriot people, whatever their political affiliation, want peace. It has nothing to gain from a war. Conversely, it has a lot to lose. The transformation of Cyprus into a military base means a natural extermination for the people, in a world war. Peace and demilitarization of our country, is the lifeline and helpful line for our national cause. No land for military purposes. Cyprus is far from

war pacts. No Cypriots in war camps abroad. The military bases are cementing the British in Cyprus. They postpone the union. The colonists, since they will make their bases find it difficult to leave them. For example the other colonial and semi-colonial countries. An example is neighbouring Egypt. That is why we strongly oppose the construction of military bases in our country. We are against any solution of our union question related to providing the imperialists with exchanges (bases, etc.) because we consider it incompatible with our national independence.

3. Abolition of all illiberal laws and decrees

Dictatorship laws and decrees pose a serious obstacle to free expression of the aspirations of our people through rallies, demonstrations and media. The foreign ruler, restricting our freedom, tries unhindered to keep our country and to perpetuate our national enslavement. The struggle for the abolition of illiberal laws is an integral part of the struggle for union. Specifically, we call for the repeal of the laws on rallies, the laws on the press, the dictatorial laws enacted in February 1951, the latest laws that violate the secrecy of correspondence and any law that restricts the freedom of the individual.

4. We oppose any “Constitutional” solution to the Cypriot national question

The Cypriot people are claiming their union with Greece. Nothing less than union. Constitution, of any form under colonial rule is the other side of the coin of our national designation. This has been proven by our experience. This was proven by the experience of all other colonial peoples.

We reject any constitutional offer of the foreign ruler. What we ask for, what we love and for which we strive is our union with Greece. We denounce its “constitutional” manoeuvres of the foreign ruler and all those who move behind the scenes and insidiously to provide a constitution.

We declare that only with the unity of the people will we fight effectively the “constitutional” plans of xenocracy. Only with unity and the struggle will we pave the way for our national restoration.

5. Parity for all minorities

We recognize equal political rights in Turkey and other minorities. We guarantee respect, appreciation and full equal freedom to the Turkish and the other minorities who live in our country and we strive for the development of close friendly fraternal relations with minorities. Freedom of religion, the democratic way of electing the Mufti and its management of Evkaf's property are immediate problems of the Turkish minority.

The British ruler oppresses minorities in the same way it oppresses the Greek majority. Both the Turks and the Armenians have their place in the liberation struggle. We do not fall victim to the imperialist doctrine of "divide and rule". The prize for the liberation of Cyprus will be for the Turkish brothers, as for the other minorities, paving the way for a new life without oppression or racial discrimination.

6. Fight for the economic problems of the people

We are fighting for the fall and stabilization of the price index. To reduce the price of bread. To reduce indirect and direct taxation. For the complete abolition of the property tax. For higher taxation on profits of foreign mining companies. For houses to the people. For increases in daily wages and salaries generally according to the price index. For benefits to the unemployed. For free medical care and old age benefits. To ensure index prices on peasants' products. For real irrigation projects. For landless cultivators to acquire land. To protect producers from natural disasters, plant diseases and adverse weather conditions. To maintain and improve the rental space. For complete and satisfactory rehabilitation of earthquake victims.

For the provision of grants to the Municipalities from the government funds. For support and protection of local industry. For cheap electricity and cheap phone charges. Free trade with all countries of the world and abolition of the system of preferential tariffs.

The economic problems of the people and the struggle for their solution are integral part of the struggle for our national freedom. Based on these problems, broad sections of the people

can mobilise against the policy of deprivation, hunger and our national oppression.

We are fighting for the return to Cyprus of the amount of £2,557,049 collected in the form of servitude tax, even with its legal interest, for its use for public benefit projects in the country. This amount rightfully belongs to the Cypriot people, who should not have been burdened with obligations which are not their own, but of the central British government that took them over and then absurdly loaded them on the backs of the Cypriot people.

7. Let our education be free

We are fighting for the freedom of our education—Greek, Turkish and other minorities—lower and middle, for the abolition of all government measures that tend to erode our country, against any attempt to degenerate its national feelings of the people. Our education in both lower and upper schools should be based on national culture for both Greeks and Turks and other minorities. To be subsidise secondary schools without any commitment. Abolish the appointed ephorates and take their place both in the city and in the villages elected bodies of the whole people.

8. Political emancipation of women

We are fighting for the political emancipation of women. For equal pay for equal work with the man. To stop all discrimination against women, which enslaves politically and economically and hinders cultural, educational and social development.

9. Life and future for our youth

We fight for the life and the future of our youth. The Cypriot youth, who are the most militant part of our people in their liberation struggle, must be supported in its struggle for education, entertainment, technical training, work on satisfactory terms and democratic cultural development.

This is the minimum programme of our Party in the conditions of colonial enslavement. We believe that by implementing this programme we are preparing the ground for the United Liberation Front. This is how we should see our program. One helps the other. It is not a contradiction.

THE MINIMUM PROGRAMME FOR THE FORMATION OF THE UNITED LIBERATION FRONT OF STRUGGLE

For the United Liberation Front of Struggle we propose the following programme which is expressed with three key points: **UNION-PEACE-SURVIVAL.**

1. Union of Cyprus with Greece without conditions, without exchanges, without concession of bases to any foreign power.

A united liberation struggle at home and abroad and a united demand from the Greek government to place the Cyprus issue at the UN, as a Greek national claim.

2. Peace and demilitarisation of our country. No land for military purposes. Cyprus is far from war pacts. The military bases cementing the international imperialists in Cyprus. They postpone the union. They are incompatible with our national independence. The use of Cyprus as a military base means physical extermination for the people in a new world war.

3. Fight for the financial problems of the people. The United Liberation Front is interested in and fighting for those economic problems of the people on which there is a common agreement and especially against the anti-popular, economic policy of the government and foreign exploitation companies. But it never breaks down due to differences that may arise within it in the discussion of economic problems.

We propose these three key points for discussion as a minimum programme for the formation of the United Liberation Front of Struggle, putting this programme in front of the Cypriot people we declare that we are ready to cooperate with any Party, organisation or individuals who agree with it. A basic condition for the success of this programme is the formation of the United Liberation Front.

At the centre of our programme is the national. We accept and seek united mobilisations at home and abroad. The parties, the organisations and individuals participating in the Front can express and proclaim freely their views on international issues outside the Front.

We clarify that each Party, organisation or individual participating in the United Liberation Front of Struggle maintains its full independence.

No Party or organisation can monopolise the national liberation struggle of our people. The struggle for union is a struggle of the whole people and only under the banner of the United Liberation Front will be carried out successfully.

We appeal to the entire Cypriot people, Greeks, Turks and Armenians, men and women, workers and peasants, professionals, scientists, intellectuals, merchants and industrialists, regardless of ideological, religious or other differences. We appeal to all parties and organisations, to the clergy and everyone who loves his country. It is time to put an end to the disintegration of the popular forces and the people united to proceed in a intense, coordinated and planned struggle for the unity. If the unity of the people in the economic struggles is, as it turned out, necessary and feasible, it is even more urgent for our national struggle.

The British ruler is preparing to settle down in our country forever. The views that the union will be reached soon or that we can expect the union through bilateral or other negotiations are both ridiculous and misleading. To get rid of the colonial siege will require a tough, decisive and strategically placed struggle.

This is a fight programme. Armed with this programme, effectively defeating every form and manifestation of sectarianism in our work, being vigilant and avoiding both right-wing and left-wing deviations, we must develop our action based on the daily problems of the people.

The key that we must always keep in mind and that must guide our daily work and action is the conquest of the masses, the conquest of the overwhelming majority of the people on the basis of this programme. And for the success of this goal nothing is a dogma.

THE DECLARATION OF THE CONGRESS

THE INVITATION TO THE 8TH CONGRESS OF AKEL TO THE WHOLE CYPRIOT PEOPLE⁶⁷

Under the banner of unity forward all the struggle for freedom, life and peace.

Cypriot workers and peasants, artisans, toilers, democratic intellectuals and scientists, young men and women who look forward to progress and happy future, patriots from all walks of life. To all of you—men, women. Greeks, Turks, Armenians—the 7th Congress of AKEL addresses the most sincere competitive greeting.

All Cypriots, regardless of ideological, class or racial difference, all those who want an hour faster to get rid of their homeland from foreign dependence are called to set aside every secondary difference, every obstacle that separates the forces and weakens the front of the struggle for national freedom.

From your daily life and experience, of course, you have learned that a people who has become entangled in the nets of colonial rule will never be able to stand up on its own two feet and provoke unless it acquires its national freedom through its struggle. History has taught you that hundreds of millions of people who lived under the colonial regime lived for centuries a life of backwardness, an utterly ungrateful life of misery and impoverishment. Nothing is more horrible than enslavement. And yet, the Cypriot people, like other peoples, are still forced to live under the conditions of colonisation.

All patriotic Cypriots must be aware of this situation.

Today the situation for the Cypriot people is becoming daily and more critical. Therefore, the need for the Cypriot people to unite, to rise to the occasion and fight more decisively for life and the future becomes more urgent.

In the economic sphere, the policy of the foreign ruler is not only not the usual colonial policy of exploitation and service of

⁶⁷ *Democrat newspaper, March 11, 1954.*

foreign monopoly interests, but it puts the broad masses of the workers of our country in an increasingly difficult situation. New taxes are constantly being imposed. Tens of thousands of toilers are threatened with being thrown out of their homes or shops, for the sake of a large landowner dragon who with the help of government policy is seeking high rents. At the same time, hundreds of families are still sleeping in the slums, inns, under bridges and in caves without the slightest practical government measure to escape this miserable life. Foreign monopoly capital non-stop raid on our country. The monopolies of electricity and telephones demand very high prices from consumers while the municipalities are faced with the dilemma: to impose new taxes for basic services of the citizens, or to limit themselves to a formal discharge of duties which again are under the control and absolute veto of the local governors. One after another, all agricultural productive sectors are facing a crisis of markets for their products and all peasants the nightmare of the auction to sell of their mortgaged land. The miners have the worst living conditions under the worst working conditions. The trade union rights are violated with the tolerance of the foreign government while foreign shareholders of mining companies are going through a “golden age” with the huge profits they make. Thousands of families—all working people in general—are suffering from a lack of basic social security and protection.

The feverish militarisation of the country by the British and the American imperialists contributes—among other things—to the constant rise of the standards of living. While the land problem is very acute and the tsiflikades, along with the church, the Evkaf and the government, hold vast tracts of productive land, foreign colonists are increasingly demanding from the peasants for airports, barracks and war gymnasiums.

The above are of course very little of what the report of C.C. mentions in detail of AKEL to the 8th Congress.

What needs to be done? Our people, of course, are fighting and will continue to fight unceasingly for their freedom, but knowing that no substantial improvement can be expected under the regime of enslavement. But this does not mean that the people remain or may remain apathetic in the future in the face of immediate problems of their daily lives. The people—all parts of it—are already putting up a growing resistance to the policy of deprivation and extermination. All that is needed is for the people not to relax

their struggle, but to develop it more. With even greater unity than that which has been shown lately all the people are called to struggle in future for its survival, guided by its experience of recent years and applying its contempt to every divisor. The wider, the more our unity in the economic struggles that we continue and in those that will follow. Let the coordination of their struggle be greater of the workers, peasants and other working classes. Let us be more majestic to develop popular solidarity in the struggle against colonial policy.

The foreign ruler continues with persistent efforts its attack against the national liberation struggle of the Cypriot people in the hope of weakening it, breaking the people's commitment to the struggle for self-determination and to turn them to the illusions of colonial, so-called "constitutional development" and "progress". The foreign colonists show a particularly vivid interest in this period when the idea of the united patriotic front for the struggle for freedom is conquered, thanks to tireless work of AKEL, the widest masses of the Cypriot people. Seeing our movement erupt in both in Cyprus and in Greece, the enormous growth is taking despite the uncharacteristic attitude of the Papagos government and the divisive politics of Ethnarchic circles, does what it can to react with pompous phrases, such as in the House of Lords, for "constitutional progress" etc. which has the obvious purpose of creating confusion and rifts at the very base of our national liberation front. How much they pretend when they express their "sadness" for the Cypriots' narrow-mindedness to cooperate for the supposed progress within the empire, comes from the fact that at the same time, the Conservative and the pseudo-Labour MPs and lords were not constantly moved by the new anti-democratic measures and the illiberal laws, which undermine Charter of the United Nations on basic human rights.

What should be the attitude of our people in the face of this situation? More our people are resolutely called to fight for their freedom, showing a steadfast attitude of contempt in the calls for constitutional negotiations equivalent to subscribing to slavery. AKEL calls on every Cypriot Greek, Turk and Armenian to take their place in a united truly patriotic front of struggle that, in conjunction with the struggle of the people of Greece for their and our liberation and with support of world democratic forces, will ensure the national freedom and peace in our country.

It is easy for every patriot and every political figure from the bourgeoisie and the petty-bourgeoisie to decide today which line to follow. Even those who want to underestimate the intelligence of the people, in order to move divisively alongside next to enslavement circles of Athens, essentially alongside the foreign ruler, are obliged now, or very soon, to clarify their position.

Patriots, Cypriots of every class who long for freedom, Greeks, Turks, men and women. The line of struggle repeatedly proposed by AKEL is pure as crystal: **FREEDOM WITHOUT CONDITIONS, WITHOUT BARGAINING, DIVIDE AN INCH OF LAND IN ANY FOREIGN POWER, DIVIDE THE ACCOMPLICES OF DEATH IN OUR CAMPSITES AND MOUNTAINS AND DIVIDE AMONG THE ANGLO-AMERICAN OR OTHER FOREIGN MILITARY MEN WHO ARE THRESHING OVER THE CYPRIOT LAND.** A struggle with the cards open, not behind-the-scenes intrigues in the context of Anglo-American rivalries and interests, a struggle beyond the deadly "Frameworks" of demagogic fraud where enslavers of Athens want to throw us. An uncompromising, courageous struggle at home and abroad, with the aim of asking for the help of all peoples and with the sure hope of support of the truly free countries.

A struggle for freedom and peace and at the same time a struggle for the everyday problems of life, for the basic human rights that one can secure for as many days as we are obliged to live still under it colonial enslavement. A struggle general and partly always based on principles of the united front, of the common struggle, of the sections of the people. No apathy in the face of the danger of turning the world, and our country, into a hell of ruins and a cemetery, of a new imperialist life. Our struggle for freedom, peace and life are inseparable. AKEL on behalf of the Cypriot working class and hundreds of thousands of other toilers, raises the banner of the struggle even higher with its Eight Congress, and invites all the people to duty without exception.

THOSE WHO ARE FAITHFUL TO THE SACRED CAUSE OF FREEDOM AND PEACE, THOSE WHO ARE INTERESTED IN SEEING THE COUNTRY BETTER DAYS, FREEDOM WITHOUT MASTERS AND HAPPY LIFE, LET THEM ANSWER PRESENT.

THE RESOLUTIONS OF THE CONGRESS

THE RESOLUTION AGAINST THE WAR AND THE MILITARISATION OF OUR ISLAND⁶⁸

The 8th Pancyprian Congress of AKEL adopted the following resolution against the militarisation of Cyprus and against the war in general:

The 8th Pancyprian Congress of AKEL, which met in Nicosia on 5-6 and 7 of March, after taking into account the intensifying effort of foreign colonists to transform of our island into a military base, as well as the fact that the militarisation of Cyprus cements the position of foreign colonists and perpetuates the colonial enslavement of our people, votes:

1. Unreservedly condemns the plans and actions of foreign imperialists for the construction of military bases in Cyprus, as well as the conduct military exercises on our island.

2. Declares the opposition of the peaceful Cypriot people to military plans and actions of the foreign government, which aim to perpetuate the enslavement of our people.

3. Demonstrates the determination of the Cypriot people to fight for the cancellation of the plans to turn our country into a military base as well as its solidarity with the millions of peaceful peoples struggling to wreck the plans of warmongering imperialists who tend to sink humanity in the horrors of a new war.

4. The 8th Pancyprian Congress of AKEL appeals to the whole progressive, peaceful Cypriot people, workers, peasants, workers and scientists, men and women, Greeks, Turks and Armenians, independently from their political views to join the Pancyprian movement of peace and below, united to fight against the confiscation of land for military purposes to return the confiscated land, against the conversion of our island into a military base.

⁶⁸ *Democrat newspaper, March 10, 1954.*

THE RESOLUTION OF THE CONGRESS TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE GREEK GOVERNMENT⁶⁹

“Your Excellency.

The 8th Pancyprian Congress of the Progressive Party of the Working People (AKEL) of Cyprus, wants to make you known to you—and through you to the Greek government—the opposition of the entire Cypriot people to your policy towards the Cypriot national issue.

The policy of all Greek governments from the liberation to the present day, including the government of Cyprus, is a policy of abandonment, not to say betrayal, of the Cyprus question.

The people of Cyprus condemn the policy of the so-called bilateral negotiations as deceptive, they consider this policy as a policy of inclination, which irreparably damages our case. The people of Cyprus, together with the people Greece, call for the courageous claim of Cyprus through the U.N. and on the basis of the application of the principle of self-determination of peoples. The latest debate in the British House of Lords, shows how futile it is to pursue bilateral negotiations.

The people of Cyprus condemn every bargain and every compromise around their case. The union must take place, without any bases for any foreign power, anywhere in Cyprus or Greece, without consideration.

The people of Cyprus ask your government to respect their will, which is together and the will of all the Greek people”.

THE RESOLUTION TO THE GREEK GOVERNMENT ON PRISONS AND ON THE ISLANDS⁷⁰

The 8th Pancyprian Congress of AKEL, which met in Nicosia on 5-6 and 7 of March expresses the strong protest of the Cypriot

⁶⁹ Democrat newspaper, March 7, 1954.

⁷⁰ Democrat newspaper, March 10, 1954.

people for the unheard of tortures and tortures to which thousands of Democratic Greeks are subjected in prisons and on the islands.

These unheard of tortures, to which the Greeks prisoners and exiles have been subjected for years now, stigmatize your government, which seeks to exterminate its political opponents with such politically cowardly means. It is political cowardice and inhumanity for a government to use such means against thousands of people who love and fight for democracy, peace, and the national independence of their homeland.

The 8th Pancyprian Congress on behalf of the Cypriot people demands that immediately release all political prisoners and exiles. By granting a general amnesty and that you stop all persecution of the Democratic movement and restore the democratic freedoms of the people and national independence of the country.

THE EIGHTH CONGRESS WELCOMES THE HEROIC GREEK EXILES⁷¹

The 8th Pancyprian Congress of AKEL that met in Nicosia on 5-6 and 7 of March addresses its warm and cordial greeting to the Greek political exiles, these victims of savage persecution, barbarism and the political empathy of Greek monarchofascism. Welcoming these heroic representatives of the democratic Greek people, we call on the entire progressive people of Cyprus to continuous and intensive struggle for general amnesty in Greece, for respect of human rights, for democracy in Greece.

Our Congress, welcoming the honoured popular fighters, the Greeks prisoners and exiles, it promises that AKEL will consider one of its most honourable and urgent tasks, the struggle for restoration of democratic ideals in Greece and the granting of a general amnesty.

⁷¹ *ibid.*

THE CONGRESS OF AKEL'S RESOLUTION ON THE LAW OF RENT⁷²

The 8th Congress of AKEL yesterday, during its work, approved the following resolution regarding the new law “on rent control”:

“The 8th Pancyprrian Congress of the Progressive Party of the Working People, unanimously condemns and strongly denounces the new anti-popular law on rent control.

The new law was enacted, despite its unanimous condemnation by all sections of the people, was enacted to serve the interests of large property owners and will inevitably lead to a new rise in rents and the standard of living resulting in a new decline in the standard of living of the people.

The enactment of the law shows how much the colonial government of our country ignores the people, and serves the interests of the few, whether they are large landowners of properties, or they are foreign and local big-businessmen. It also shows how necessary the popular mobilisation and organisation and the united treatment of the anti-popular economic policy of the government.

“The 8th Congress of our Party calls on the tenants of the shops and houses, calls on the workers and all toilers in the town and village, to join forces and to fight for the solution of all their problems for protection and improvement of their standard of living. In this struggle our Party will always die with the people, leader of the people.”

THE RESOLUTION TO THE VICTIMS OF THE EARTHQUAKE OF 10 SEPTEMBER⁷³

1. The 8th Pancyprrian Congress of the Progressive Party of the Working People (AKEL) that met in Nicosia on March 5-6-7, sends a

⁷² *Democrat newspaper, March 7, 1954.*

⁷³ *ibid.*

warm fraternal greeting to all the victims of the devastating earthquakes of 10.9.1953.

2. We express our sympathy and solidarity to all those who have suffered and are still suffering because of earthquakes Our Party will always be by their side in the struggle they are waging for their recovery. We fully support all the requests of the earthquake victims approved by their Joint Congress submitted to the government by their Commission.

3. Our Party stood by the earthquake victims from the very beginning, stressed the duty of the government to take immediate and positive measures for the rehabilitation of the victims, and pointed out that popular solidarity, no matter how willingly, will not be able to solve the problems, serious problems created.

4. AKEL helped the earthquake victims to join forces and to claim substantial state care and assistance. With the unity and their struggles, the earthquake victims managed to thwart to some extent the half measures that the government initially tried to implement. With the section and their struggles achieved an increase in government aid. But, whatever and as much and if they succeed, their problems still exist. Many hundreds families are still living in tents, exposed to the cold and the rain, or in dilapidated houses, at risk of plague.

5. We believe that earthquake victims will maintain their unity and will continue their fight to claim their demands.

THE NINTH CONGRESS OF AKEL, September 9, 1959 (ILLEGAL)

THE DECISIONS OF THE CONGRESS⁷⁴

Decision of the 9th Pancyprrian Congress on the Activity Report

The 9th Pancyprrian Congress of AKEL after discussing in detail the activity report of the C.C. taking into account the pre-Congress broad debate approves the action report of the C.C. in the period from the 8th to the 9th Congress and decides:

1. Our Congress met at a remarkable historical time that is crucial to the future of humanity. The all-round development, scientific progress and the power of the socialist and people's democracies led by the Soviet Union which is taking place unprecedented and leaps and bounds, while the capitalist countries, in their ever-intensifying contradictions and general crisis, the new successes and the rapid rise of the peoples' struggle for national independence and peace, all these are events of the utmost importance for the future of humanity.

As a result of the active struggle of the peoples for peace, the consistent peaceful policy and the growing power of the socialist countries and first of all the Soviet Union. Favourable opportunities are now being created for a severe recession in international relations. Our Congress wholeheartedly welcomes the exchange of visits of the leaders of the world leading powers—USSR and USA (i.e. United States of America)—as the most decisive step towards a summit and as a turning point from the politics of international tension and Cold War to the politics of peaceful coexistence.

Our Congress also welcomes Lunik's successful launch to the moon as a great victory of the world powers of peace and democracy.

⁷⁴ *From the Proceedings of the Conference, 9 September 1959.*

Based on recent and forthcoming political developments and bright prospects that are opening up before humanity, our Congress expresses the belief that with the active struggle and contribution of all peace-loving people will prevent the danger of a new world war, despite the persistent efforts made by the warlords imperialist circles, and that ultimately the relations of the various countries with different social systems will be established on the basis of their mutual respect, integrity and independence and the principles of peaceful coexistence. Our Congress also meets in the context of a transitional period mediated between full British colonial rule in Cyprus and the declaration of Cyprus as an independent state as established by the Zurich-London agreements. Our Congress that meets in conditions of illegality the fact that in violation of any notion of democracy the prescription decrees of the people's Party and organisations and newspapers are still in force, which deprives the Party of the basic democratic right to legitimate political life and action.

2. The period between the 8th and the 9th Congress of our Party was a period of intense and comprehensive struggle of our people for implementation of the principle of the self-determination and from 1955 to 1958 was a period of the harshest trial and oppression for the Cypriot people and our Party. Under the military fascist state of emergency imposed by colonisation, our people have suffered hard, endured and fought bravely for its abolition. For the first time since its founding, our Party had to work under such difficult and adverse conditions created with its prescription, the arrest for a period of time of most members of the C.C and the E.U. as well as other active members, the emergency regime and armed action of EOKA, conditions that our Party was facing for the first time. The political and other developments during the intervening period overshadowed the economic problems of the people.

In the period that we are reviewing, our Party for the first time faced and was called upon to decide on such serious and crucial issues, such as the various phases that the Cypriot community went through during these years for the whole people line of self-determination until the Zurich-London agreement, the problem of tactics in conducting the national struggle in relation to action of EOKA, dealing with the all-out attack of the fanatical fascist part of the right against the Party and the popular movement, the inter-communal riots and more.

3. The 9th Congress assessing the conditions under which C.C. worked during these years, and the position it took on the main problems that faced, approves the decisions and the action of C.C. praises the prudent and cool way of handling all these issues and expresses its complete satisfaction with them. Specifically, the Congress fully approves and ratifies:

(a) The decisions of the C.C. on the various phases that the Cyprus issue has gone through in these years and welcomes the fact that the Party since its founding to this day has remained essentially committed to the patriotic line of self-determination, which the C.C. and the whole Party defended all these years with complete consistency, as opposed to a section of the right-wing political leadership that abandoned the line of self-determination and eventually came to the Zurich agreement which explicitly excludes the Union, a provision that is basically contrary to the right to self-determination.

(b) the position taken by C.C. regarding the Zurich Agreement and the way in which this issue was welcomed and proclaims that under the status established for Cyprus by this agreement the main aim of the party remains the completion of independence, the demilitarisation of Cyprus and the democratisation of the Constitution of the Republic of Cyprus, a position that shows that the Party remains essentially committed to the patriotic line of self-determination.

(c) The position of C.C. for the tactics of conducting the national liberation in relation to the armed action of EOKA. The Congress taking into account the specific Cypriot conditions and especially the correlation of the forces that clashed in this struggle, the basically compromising role of the Greek government, the reactionary and negative role of the Turkish Government, the factor of the Turkish minority in Cyprus, the hostile attitude of the American factor that was clearly manifested in all cases of discussion of the Cyprus issue at the UN and finally the lack of a truly united front of struggle with a common political line and tactics in which the working class plays its pioneering role, the Congress ratifies the position of the C.C. that under the given Cypriot conditions the most appropriate and helpful tactic of struggle was the tactic of the massive single conciliatory struggle which our Party inevitably followed.

(d) Our Congress believes that the tactics followed by EOKA and the forms of struggle it applied were tactics out of place and

time and has nothing to do with the revolutionary Marxist tactics of self-determination. Regardless, however, our Congress pays tribute to all the honest fighters who gave their lives as a holocaust in the struggle for self-determination. The result of this tactical struggle, namely the Zurich agreement, confirms the correctness of the Party's position against the EOKA tactics and verifies the Declaration of C.C. of January 1955 that "every road other than a well-planned and well-oriented struggle leads to compromise and perpetuation of colonial enslavement". Our Congress fully approves the position of C.C. against the tactics followed by EOKA, despite the individual errors committed in the formulation of our position and which were promptly accepted by the C.C. and they were corrected.

(e) The position taken by C.C. by its decision in June 1956 on the problem of negotiations which helped to adopt a correct approach in the various phases of the negotiations and to abandon the previous negative position which effectively excluded negotiations.

(f) The position of the broad plenary session of the C.C. on the question of dealing with the all-round slanderous and murderous attack of the fanatical fascist section of the right against the Party and the popular movement. The relevant decision of C.C. is truly historic, it offered the highest service to the Cypriot people and their cause and saved our people from whirlwind of the civil war and our case from complete collapse. Today wider strata of the people recognise the correctness of this decision and appreciate the superior spirit of patriotism and self-sacrifice with which this decision is inspired.

The Congress pays the highest tribute to all Greek and Turkish friends who gave their lives in the holocaust in defence of the high Party ideals with the belief that their sacrifice will inspire the whole Party and our people in their struggle for national and social freedom and justice. The example of our comrades in the province of Famagusta who gave their lives defending the honour and dignity of our Party, will inspire us in the struggle for the completion of our independence and new life.

(g) The position of C.C. on the issue of inter-communal unrest and conflicts which created a serious risk of racial segregation and the collapse of the Cyprus issue. In the conditions created by the inter-communal riots, some seized by panic and others by chauvinist hatred wanted to lead our people to the tribal war of

Greeks and Turks, is a valuable honour for our Party which is led by the internationalist Marxist-Leninist principles stand up against the shaft that was driven away our people and raised the flag of mutual respect, understanding and brotherhood.

Despite the correct position taken by C.C. on the issue of inter-communal unrest, however, the Congress notes that our work among our Turkish compatriots has suffered a serious decline due to the erroneous tactics of EOKA, chauvinism and anti-communism of the Turkish leadership and savage terrorism and murders committed against our Turkish comrades. As a result of this situation we lost almost all the Party forces we had among the Turks. Our Party under any circumstances will continue to work among our Turkish compatriots, always guided by the internationalist Marxist-Leninist principles.

4. The Congress approves the work of the Party for the promotion of unity of the broadest patriotic forces of the Cypriot people, which has always been and is still a fundamental aim of our Party today. The fact that the spirit of unity is pervasive today among the wider strata of the Cypriot people, that during the four years several positive steps of unity have been taken with the formation of various joint bodies—Council of Mayors, Supreme Economic Council, advisory body, etc.—is a result of the tireless and consistent work of the Party towards EDMA (i.e. Unified Democratic Reconstruction Front) and endorses the five basic principles which are necessary conditions for the formation of a truly unified and truly democratic front and which are:

(a) Unity of programmatic goals and objectives based on a minimum programme accepted by all.

(b) Unity of leadership of the front representative of all party organisations and personalities participating in the front.

(c) Democratic structure of the front and democratic election of all the guiding organs of the front.

(d) Unity of action for the promotion and achievement of the objectives of the front and democratic decision-making.

(e) Independence of parties or organisations participating in the front; and respect for the opinions of all on the basis of the democratic principle freedom of thought and organisation.

The Congress instructs the new C.C. to continue tirelessly in the future its efforts to promote unity among the wider strata of the people as well as for the formation of a truly united and democratic front based on the above basic principles. Based on the

aims and the Party programme, based on daily political, economic and other problems, the Congress instructs the C.C. for setting up the broadest united anti-imperialist front of struggle of the Cypriot people. The work of the Party for unity in the village and in the parishes, the work in the places where labourers and other workers work, will play a decisive role in building this broad united front.

5. Generally appreciating the work of the Party in these years, the Congress declares:

Despite the individual mistakes it made in various issues and which it corrected in time, despite the weaknesses, shortcomings and delays that we noted in our work, our Party can be proud of the work it has done in these years. It is in favour of the Party and its leadership that it has remained firmly committed and defended the line of self-determination at any stage of the Cyprus issue. It is in favour of the Party and its leadership that with its correct position it took on the issue of EOKA's armed action to deal with the all-out attack against the Party and the popular movement as well as on the issue of inter-communal unrest, it managed to preserve and save the popular patriotic forces from the catastrophe so sought by the imperialists and the Cypriot cause from the complete destruction and collapse. The Party's struggle against the emergency measures and for popular problems, its tireless work for the unity as well as its contribution to the organisation and strengthening of the struggle of the popular strata and the cool and prudent way of handling the various issues is another page of its patriotic action of our Party.

6. The Congress welcomes the steady organisational development and improvement of the organisational work that occurred during this period, despite the difficult and adverse conditions under which the Party worked. As a result of the development and improvement of organisational work, the phenomenon of leakage and the instability of members that the Party used to consume has disappeared and today the Party has three times the number of members than it had before its registration, the largest number in its history. The Congress also welcomes organisational development of the labour, youth and women's movement which contributes to the strengthening of the democratic forces of the Cypriot people.

Also a significant improvement during these years in the organisational and political work of the Party's leading organisations, in the promotion of new cadres in various mainly

lower positions as well as in its work Party base organisation. The institution of activism was used more closely and more constructively in this period. The principle of collective leadership that our Party has consistently followed for years has become even stronger in recent years despite the difficulties of illegality. Despite the significant growth of the Party's numerical strength and the improvement of organisational and political work, however, the Congress emphasises a series of serious weaknesses and shortcomings in our organisational work that the main ones are the following:

(a) The numerical power of the Party in general, but much more in such strata as intellectuals, peasants, artisans are not at all proportional to the broad political influence that our Party and movement exert within these strata of the people. The Party power within the minorities is also completely insignificant. Despite all the good work that was done recently in the recruitment of women in the Party, we are still lagging behind in this area. As a result of this weakness, the social composition of our Party basically shows a narrow workers' Party and this social composition also reflects on the composition of the governing bodies of the Party, which are completely dominated by proletarian element.

(b) The problem of cadres, despite the promotion of several new cadres, has not been solved satisfactorily and is still presented with a lot acuity for our Party. Particularly serious is the lack of skilled and well-trained cadres.

(c) We present a serious delay in the organisation of educational work on a stable and planned basis. Despite the efforts made and some work done in this area, however, our work is far from meeting the current political demands of the situation and the needs created for the Party, as a result of the massive recruitment of new members.

(d) Finally, while the work of the grassroots Party organisation is improving, it must be emphasized that it is a serious weakness of the Party to have several groups that do not develop initiative that are consumed by routine and bureaucratic methods of work and do add not political content to their work, the fact that the grassroots Party organisation is not rooted everywhere in the workplace, in the village and in the parishes.

7. In order to further develop the party's numerical strength, to improve organizational and political work and to expose weaknesses and shortcomings, the congress approves the measures

proposed in the action report and sets out the following specific organizational tasks:

(a) To further massify the Party with the recruitment of thousands of new members. Especially to focus our attention and recruit new members to the Party among the peasants, the artisans, the intellectuals and the upper and lower strata of employees. In promoting this task special attention should be paid to setting up groups in new villages. We must make a real turn in our work for recruitment of members from minorities. The Congress properly evaluating the political influence of the Party, which is constantly developing as a result of its correct policy line, strategy and tactics, aims to surpass by the ten thousand regular members of the Party by the next Congress.

(b) To organise in the best and most effective way, taking all the necessary measures, the educational work in the Party for the raising of the ideological, political and theoretical level of the members and cadres of the Party. The need to raise the ideological and political level of the Party is becoming more urgent today with the entry into the Party of thousands of new members. To generally raise our work in the field of the ideological front responding effectively to the slanderous propaganda of the reaction and imperialism. To improve our daily and magazine press. Having the serious role of the democratic press in the enlightenment of the people, the Congress calls on all Party organisations to develop initiative and organise its widest circulation among the masses. The C.C. to also consider setting up a publishing department which will strengthen our ideological field.

(c) To solve correctly in a specific way the problem of cadres with the courageous promotion of new cadres. Special effort must be paid for promoting cadres among scientists and intellectuals who are so necessary to us in the new Cypriot conditions.

(d) To further improve the work of all leading organisations of the Party. With the same consequence, the C.C. and all Party organisations to apply the principle of collective leadership, criticism and self-criticism and to apply control in a creative way and inspection in lower bodies. To set up, staff properly and activate all the central offices of C.C. of the Party can be timely, thoughtfully and effectively address the various issues and problems of the people and the Party as well as the various areas of official government activity. To strengthen and expand the

Party's regional committees to become competent leaders in the field in which they work.

(e) To take the necessary measures to improve the work of the grassroots Party organisation, which must be extended everywhere, in the workplace, in workshop, factory, parishes and villages, so that its composition is in accordance with the statutory principles of the Party.

(f) To further strengthen the Party's ties with the masses, with the pioneering contribution of Party members and cadres to the organisation of the masses in the strengthening of the working class, rural youth and women movement and to the agitation of the economic and other problems of people of the city and the countryside. We must raise the struggle of all working strata of the people for their economic problems illuminating these problems with diligent research.

(g) We must attach great importance to the field of minorities and especially to the Turks. The rift observed on our inner front with the Turks being swept away by their chauvinist reactionary leadership and imperialism must be closed. That is why we should work out a practical work plan which to draw the masses of our Turkish compatriots in the common struggle of the Cypriots for their daily problems, for the completion of our independence for demilitarisation and democratisation of Cyprus.

(h) To preserve and further strengthen its monolithic nature of the leadership and the Party in general, which is a prerequisite to our Party to respond worthily to its pioneering leadership role.

(i) To organise the vigilance of the Party so that the Party is guarded from the blows of the enemy.

8. Our Congress declares that with the implementation of the Zurich-London Agreement, in front of the Party and the people opens a new chapter of our people's struggles for the completion of the Cyprus independence, the demilitarisation of Cyprus and the complete democratisation of the constitutional institutions of the Republic of Cyprus.

The Zurich-London agreement, which is essentially a defeat for the right-wing tactics has caused a split in its lines and threatens to throw our country into a new wave of unrest which will only benefit the enemies of Cyprus.

In this transitional period the continuation of the proscription of AKEL and other popular organisations and newspapers, the use of fascist and terrorist methods of action and the threat of using

armed action to impose political pursuits, the illegal equipment of terrorist groups and the latest violence and murders among our Turkish compatriots, the Cypriot people are deeply concerned and sceptical about whether the foreign colonial regime will be replaced by a regime of fascist violence and oppression in which there will be no respect for fundamental democratic principles and human rights.

AKEL, loyal to the people and its cause will work for the unification of all of the patriotic, democratic forces of the country to block the way to fascism and anomaly. Democratic development, peaceful struggle based on the cooperation and conciliation of Greek and Turkish Cypriots, right and left, and independent is the line of AKEL.

THE LETTERS FROM THE CONGRESS⁷⁵

Towards the Mixed Transitional Committee

Honourable Gentlemen,

Almost 8 months have passed since the Zurich-London agreement that closed the Cyprus issue. During this period, the Cypriot people with rallies, demonstrations and resolutions demanded the legalisation of AKEL and other organisations and newspapers. Various leading factors of the country such as A.M. Archbishop Makarios and Dr. Kucuk, ministers, mayors, representatives of organisations, scientists and intellectuals suggested to the government, or agreed with their statements that AKEL and other organisations should be legalised.

In other words, there was a unanimous demand of the Cypriot people and their representatives to lift the regulations. However, this unanimous and universal demand has not been accepted until today by the British government, which still keeps AKEL illegal, despite the governor's repeated promises to abolish the extraordinary and illiberal measures, with the creation of peaceful conditions.

The continuing illegality of AKEL, 8 months after the Zurich agreement and on the eve of elections, constitutes a serious political scandal and stigma for the Republic of Cyprus under establishment, because it is obvious that there can be no real democracy when one of the largest parties of the Cypriot people is detained in the illegality.

We call on the Joint Transitional Committee to ask the Governor to legalise AKEL and the other popular organisations and newspapers.

Nicosia 6.10.59

We are honoured

For the C.C. of AKEL

⁷⁵ *ibid.*

To the Cyprus Advisory Board

Your Beatitude,
Honourable Mayors,
Distinguished Gentlemen,

Almost 8 months have passed since the Zurich-London agreement that closed the Cyprus issue. During this period, the Cypriot people with rallies, demonstrations and resolutions demanded the legalisation of AKEL and others organisations and newspapers. Various leading factors of the country such as A.M. Archbishop Makarios and Dr. Kucuk, Ministers, Mayors, representatives of organisations, scientists and intellectuals suggested to the government, or agreed with their statements that AKEL and other organisations and newspapers should be legalised.

In other words, there was a unanimous demand of the Cypriot people and their representatives to lift the regulations.

However, this unanimous and universal demand was not accepted by the British government, which still holds the illegal AKEL, despite the Governor's repeated promises to abolish the extraordinary and illiberal measures with the creation of peaceful conditions.

The continuing illegality of AKEL, 8 months after the Zurich agreement and on the eve of elections is a serious political scandal and a stigma for the emerging of the Republic of Cyprus, because it is obvious that there can be no real democracy when one of the largest parties of the Cypriot people is detained illegally.

We call on the Advisory Board to address the issue at its next meeting and with its decision to protest against this illiberal and anti-democratic measure, calling on the government to legitimise AKEL and other popular organisations and newspapers.

Nicosia 6.10.59
We are honoured
For the C.C. of AKEL
E. Papaioannou

THE TENTH CONGRESS OF AKEL, March 8-11, 1962

THE DECISIONS OF THE CONGRESS⁷⁶

THE DECISION OF THE 10TH CONGRESS OF AKEL

The 10th Pancyprian Congress of AKEL, which met in Nicosia on 8, 9, 10 and March 11, 1962, after discussing in detail the action report of the C.C. and K.E.E. of AKEL, as well as the Programme Plan approves the action report of C.C. and K.E.E. for the period from the 9th to the 10th Pancyprian Congress and the Draft Program, which will now be the Party Programme, for completion of Cypriot independence, for peace and demilitarisation, the democratisation of political institutions, the smooth democratic development, and the economic growth of Cyprus.

The 10th Congress also approves the financial report, and the proposed amendments to the Statute of AKEL.

The 10th Congress of AKEL additionally decides;

1. The conditions that are taking shape in the world today, the conditions within which the 10th Pancyprian Congress of AKEL met are truly historic for the future of all mankind. The main feature of political developments and the political situation is the decisive struggle taking place between the world peace camp and the world pro-war imperialist camp, around the main problem of our time, the problem of peace or war. In this uncompromising struggle between the world peacekeeping forces, on the one hand, led by the socialist countries and, first and foremost, the Soviet Union and imperialist forces on the other, headed by the USA, the peaceful camp clearly proved its superiority. As a result, the struggle the defence of peace has triumphed and the pro-war, adventurous and

⁷⁶ *Neos Dimokratis Magazine, Issue 9, May 1962.*

criminal wars have been cancelled so far the plans of the imperialists.

At the same time in the economic rivalry between socialist and capitalist countries the socialist countries will overcome capitalism in the most decisive field of human activity, in production of material goods and surpass it even in its growth rates production and successfully build socialism, making comprehensive progress in all areas, resulting in a steady rise in the standards of living of the people.

The Soviet Union, a vanguard of the socialist camp, based on the historical programme approved by the 22nd Congress, began to rebuild, with the full of faith and optimism, heroism and self-sacrifice work of the Soviet people, under the leadership of the glorious CPSU, the new, fairer, the higher and more perfect society—the communist society. At the same time the brilliant and majestic achievements of science and technology in the Soviet Union opens before man new paths of space exploration and the conquest of new forces for peace and happiness of humanity. At the same time, with the really rapid rise of their struggle peoples for the defence of peace, the struggle for national freedom is intensifying, which achieves strong blows against colonisation. As a result, more and more new countries are gaining their independence, while the shameful colonial system is rapidly leading to its bankruptcy and collapse.

In contrast to the comprehensive progress made in the countries of capitalism, capitalism, and its highest stage, imperialism, lurks in crisis, in its insurmountable contradictions and in its disintegration. Rising unemployment, the minimal increase in industrial production, the formation of economic coalitions, recourse to armaments and fascist methods of government, underline and confirm the crisis and the economic contradictions of the capitalist world. Due of this situation in the capitalist countries there is a significant rise in the struggle of workers against plutocracy and oppression, against fascist violence for a higher standard of living, for peace, for democracy and social progress.

The great successes of the socialist countries in rebuilding socialism, the beginning of the rebuilding of communist society in the Soviet Union, the great victories of the peoples in the struggle for national freedom and the supremacy world forces of peace versus the forces of imperialism and its war—all this confirms that the main content, the main direction and the main features of the

historical development of human society today is determined by the world socialist system and the forces fighting against imperialism, for its socialist transformation society. No effort can stop the upward course of history. The basic preconditions for further decisive victories of socialism were created. The complete triumph of socialism is inevitable.

The 10th Congress declares that AKEL remains faithful to the principles of proletarian internationalism and defends the proclamations of the Conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties of 1960 in Moscow.

2. The main political event in the internal political life of the country, in the period we are reviewing, was the proclamation of Cyprus as an independent Republic with based on the Zurich-London agreements. In the intervening period from the 9th until the 10th Pancyprrian Congress, the main feature of the Cypriot economic-political situation was on the one hand the crisis and the instability of Cypriot economy and on the other hand the intensifying efforts for the disintegration of the Cypriot people, Greeks and Turks, right and left. The crisis and the instability of the Cypriot economy is mainly due to the delay of the agricultural economy and the drought, the existence of minimal industry, the fact that our mineral wealth is in the hands of foreign exploiters and the general backwardness, which is mainly responsible for the long colonial regime. All this, together with the lack of necessary funds, creates serious difficulties for the economic recovery of the country and a serious risk of penetration of foreign capital in the form of public or private capital.

With regard to the efforts made to strain relations Greeks and Turks or the right and the left, the main responsibility lies with the imperialists and especially the British, Americans and West Germans imperialists, who at every opportunity incite tension by exploiting—especially with regard to Greek-Turkish relations—the political crisis which from time to time is created due to the negative provisions of the agreements Zurich, London, which are a permanent source of complications and friction. The imperialist activity, manifested at every opportunity and in the most different sectors, aims at undermining unity and division of the forces of the Cypriot people, in its economic and political enslavement Cyprus, in the abandonment of the neutral policy (even to the extent that it followed by the Cypriot Government) and the accession of Cyprus to the various imperialist aggression pacts.

3. The 10th Pancyprian Congress of AKEL fully and unreservedly approves the political line, strategy and tactics, which with exemplary consistency followed the Party from the 9th Congress until today. Based on post-Zurich Cypriot reality and the correct finding that the stage of the struggle of the Cypriot people is still national liberation, anti-imperialist. The Party defined as its line the completion of the Cyprus independence, the peace, the demilitarisation of Cyprus and the democratisation of political institutions, with the main focus on the struggle against imperialism and the institutions, who is the main enemy of the people. The Party defined as its tactic the anti-imperialist unity and rallying of the broadest strata of the people, all patriotic forces and the formation of a single anti-imperialist, national liberation front. All Cypriot patriots, Greeks, Turks. Armenians, men and women, regardless of political, ideological or other differences have their place on such a front.

Having as a guide in its daily action and in the study of the various problems—economic, political and others—this line and tactic, the Party took the right position both for all the problems it faced and against the Government of the Republic of Cyprus.

As a result of the right line, strategy and tactics that follow Party, by the C.C. as the lower governing bodies and its members and cadres the spirit of unity, sympathy and cooperation among the people is now widespread and quite advanced, despite active efforts paid for undermining the unity of the popular masses.

The 10th Pancyprian Conference of AKEL considers the line, strategy and tactics, of the Party as uniquely correct in the current stage of the struggle of the Cypriot people.

Declaring his commitment to this national patriotic line, the only serves the real interests of our people, the Congress calls for Party as a whole to continue this line with even greater stability and regular and work more actively to implement it in practice.

4. The period between the 9th and the 10th Congress was rich in struggles and mobilisations of all working classes. Faced with the consequences of the crisis and hardship for workers, peasants, professionals, artisans and teachers fought for defend or expend their conquests, to demand better working and living conditions. The main feature of all these struggles was their united front character, the predominance of the spirit of unity and united struggle among all those concerned.

The Congress welcomes this spirit of unity, solidarity and cooperation—which for its creation the Party played a decisive role—as a fact of the utmost importance to our people and calls on all workers, workers, peasants, professionals and artisans, as well as intellectual people—to further strengthen unity, sympathy and cooperation in the common struggle for the most reliable and efficient service of their interests and for the good of all the people. The Congress invites them in particular workers and peasants to further strengthen their ties, to promote and forge their alliance which is the best guarantee for serving the interests of the wider popular strata and the axis of the broader front of the people and which is a necessary condition for promotion of the national liberation, anti-imperialist struggle of the Cypriot of the people.

5. The 10th Pancyprrian Congress welcomes the significant successes that carried out by the Party in the organisational sphere, especially for stabilisation of its numerical power, its massification and the strengthening of its finances of—where the results were really brilliant—as well as in education sector, raising the level of work of the Party group, the emergence of new leading cadres, etc. Its brilliant, organisational results Party were made possible thanks to its right line and tactics in improving it organisational and political work of the C.C. we were the Party group, the planned work with the annual plans, the development of its spirit rivalry, the blow to a significant degree of sectarianism and bureaucracy and finally to the fact that our Party has developed and implemented properly for a long time the principle of collective leadership at all levels and especially centrally. The good results of our work are due to the great influence they exert to the peoples the great achievements of the Soviet Union and the countries of the socialist camp.

Welcoming the important successes achieved by our Party, the 10th Pancyprrian Conference also highlights the shortcomings and weaknesses in our work. Such weaknesses are: sectarianism and bureaucracy, which still manifest in our political and organisational work in several cases, especially at the bottom, the still low educational level of Party members, the lack of initiative, observed in several groups, the lack of qualified staff in various areas of leadership work, etc. In general despite the significant improvement we have seen in the organisational work, there is still a lot of room for further growth, so as to raise the organisational

work to the level of political line and tactics of the Party, at the level of the requirements of the political situation and tasks that life itself sets before us.

6. Assessing the current international and Cypriot political and economic situation and having in mind the serious economic and political problems faced by the Cypriot people, as well as the broad, thorough discussion that has taken place, the 10th Pancyprian Congress of AKEL sets out the following basic tasks:

(a) Immediate. The vital and imperative task of every Cypriot patriot, regardless of political or ideological differences and religious beliefs, is to further strengthen the pan-Cypriot peace movement, the denuclearisation and the abolition of imperialist military bases in Cyprus. Bearing in mind that the problem of peace and war is the most vital and urgent problem of our time and appreciating the really deadly dangers that the Cypriot people are going through from existence of imperialist bases and nuclear weapons in the territory of the homeland of the congress calls on our Party to contribute with all its might to global struggle for general and complete disarmament, for international recession, for deterrence of nuclear disaster and the strengthening of the struggle for their abolition imperialist bases that exist on the Cypriot soil.

(b) The main task of the Cypriot people is the struggle for its completion of Cypriot independence, democracy, smooth democratic development of the domestic political life and the economic growth of Cyprus. For accomplishment of this basic task requires the broadest anti-imperialist unity, cooperation and common struggle of all patriotic forces of the Cypriot people, Greeks, Turks, Armenians, right-wingers, and left and the faithful implementation of a consistent genuine foreign policy of positive neutrality.

For the promotion and consolidation of anti-imperialist unity, it is necessary for all the patriotic forces of the people with their common struggle to resolutely repel and thwart active efforts of imperialism and its organs, aimed at dividing the people. It is also imperative that every effort be made from all sides to restore relations of conciliation, mutual respect and cooperation between Greeks and Turks, based on common Cypriot interests and against the imperialist interests foreign to Cyprus. The anti-imperialist consultation and cooperation of Greek and Turkish Cypriots is a basic condition for the fulfillment of the patriotic aspirations of the

people. In the context of the anti-imperialist unity of the people and in the interest of the anti-imperialist struggle, it is necessary to faithfully implement a foreign policy of genuine positive neutrality, which ensures the broadest support of our people's struggle for the completion of its independence.

The 10th Pancyprian Congress declares that AKEL is faithful to the patriotic line and tactics, will use all its power and influence to guard the unity and extend it until it is created the united anti-imperialist front, will give to the Cypriot government its unreserved support for the implementation of a genuine external political neutrality, but will not hesitate to criticise the government where it does not faithfully implement this policy.

(c) Closely related to the task of fighting for the completion of the Cypriot independence, the demilitarisation of Cyprus and their democratisation of its political institutions is the task of reviving the Cypriot economy and raising the living standards of the people, a task set for the fulfilment of the Party will fight with all its might.

In order for the Cypriot economy to get out of the crisis and hardship and to enter the path of recovery and progress, radical measures need to be taken for the rural and industrial development of the country, for the development of all resources of the country and their exploitation for the benefit of the people and for a fairer distribution of national income, so that raises the standard of living of the broad masses. On the issue of the development of Cypriot economy, the position of Cyprus in relation to the penetration of foreign capital is crucial. The policy aimed at encouraging foreign capital to penetrate into Cyprus and supporting it creates a very serious risk of economic and political dependence of Cyprus and subordination of the Cypriot economy to foreign monopolies. And such a situation creates neo-colonisation.

The 10th Pancyprian Congress of AKEL argues that the only correct position against foreign capital is the conclusion of government loans without policies, military or other commitments and on the most favourable terms and acceptance of assistance from any country, it is provided without conditions and in return, these funds must of course be used during best way for the development of Cypriot industrial and agricultural economy. A necessary condition for the implementation of any measures of economic development is to ensure conditions of democratic normalcy, security and restoration of the distrust of the public,

which is being disrupted with the illegal action of the extremist and irresponsible elements as well as the defence of the democratic rights of the Cypriot people.

Our Congress declares that AKEL with its banner of the unity of the people will contribute with all its forces to the economic recovery of Cyprus, for guarding and raising the standard of living, for democratic normalcy and the guarantee of the democratic rights of the people.

(d) In order for the Party to play even more actively its leading role in the fulfilment of the political tasks that come before it, it is necessary to raise the political and organisational work at a higher level, so that it corresponds to its political line and to the requirements of the political situation and its developments. In order to raise the organisational-political work of the Party, we need to take all necessary measures to make our Party even more massive with the recruitment hundreds of new members among all the working classes, to it we make it tighter, better organised, rooted everywhere in the city and the countryside, where the masses live and work. We need to improve the mechanism of the whole Party from the C.C. to the Party base, to strike sectarianism and bureaucracy where they manifest in our work, to highlight even more, more capable and specialized in various fields leading cadres, with particular attention to the emergence of female leading cadres in cities and the countryside, to further develop collective work and action, applying better to the whole Party mechanism the principle of the collective guidance, creative criticism and self-criticism, political vigilance which needs to be strengthened more and organised more systematically—and the division of labour. To preserve and forge even more the unity and the monolithic Party lines from top to the bottom. We must take concrete measures for the future improving the work of Party groups, to strengthen Party's ties with the broad masses of the people, for the improvement of the ideological-political and theoretical work of the Party, the development of finances for smooth operation of the Party mechanism, the organisation the work of agitation and propaganda, raising the level Party publications and the steady rise in their circulation, as well as for raising the educational level of members and cadres with the organisation of more schools, lectures and with organised self-education.

For the cultural rise of the people, our Party must play more active role in the field of art and literature. To defeat any tendency to devalue art and with appropriate measures to contribute to development of art and literature in our country.

The 10th Pancyprian Congress of AKEL is addressed to all members of the Party and invites them to work at a new, higher pace for more massive, better organised, monolithic, militant Party, a Party capable of meet more worthy of its historic destination and lead our people to a new, peaceful, democratic and happy future, as the Cypriot people deserve.

The 10th Pancyprian Congress of AKEL addresses to the entire Cypriot people the patriotic appeal: Forward, all united in the common anti-imperialist struggle for life, peace, democracy, economic growth, demilitarisation, the completion of Cypriot independence and beyond for a new and happy Cyprus.

The AKEL Programme⁷⁷ , (Approved at the 10th Congress of the Party, held on March 8, 9, 10 and 11, 1962 in Nicosia)

A. AKEL'S POLITICAL LINE AT CURRENT STAGE

The TIME we live in is the age of peoples. The era of disintegration of imperialism, the abolition of the colonial system, the era of transition of more and more peoples on the road to socialism, the era of building a new, more just, happy, peaceful and happy society for all people—the era of communism.

This era began with the Great October Socialist Revolution, which put an end to the absolute domination of the capitalist system and imperialism and created, under the leadership of the C.P.S.U., the first socialist state in the world.

Hundreds of millions of former colonial peoples have thrown off the political domination of colonisation, have now gained their national independence and are fighting for prosperity and social

⁷⁷ Publications C.C. AKEL, *The Programme of AKEL*, 1962.

progress. In the conditions of the new, the glorious of this era, the triumph of socialism-communism is inevitable. The conditions have already been created for the passage of more and more peoples on the clear path of communism.

It is in this very period that the proclamation of the Republic of Cyprus took place on 16 August 1960, on the basis of the London-Zurich Agreement.

For many years, the enslaved Cypriot people have been struggling to live nationally free, based on the internationally recognized principle of self-determination. Many generations lived and were nurtured by the ardent desire for self-determination, and many fought sacrificed for the realisation of this ideal.

The creation of the new Cypriot state put an end to colonial rule of the country. This, however, did not completely free the Cypriot people from imperialism, which still remains in our country, maintaining sovereignty military bases and other privileges, such as the right to use ports, the airport, Cyprus airspace, roads and other Cypriot territories for military high schools and military purposes. At the same time, permanent stationing of Greek and Turkish troops in Cyprus, the obligatory alliance of the island with Britain, Turkey and Greece, along with other reactionaries, anti-democratic provisions of the Zurich-London agreement, confirm and underline the correctness of the statement that the independence of Cyprus is crippled and consequently, the stage of struggle that the Cypriot people are going through is still basically anti-imperialist, national liberation.

In the current economic and political situation of our country and the new ones conditions created by the proclamation of the Republic of Cyprus, we need a program that meets the immediate needs of the people and point the way forward.

AKEL, a Party of the working class and the working people, has as its ultimate political programme the implementation of socialism-communism, which is the highest, fairest and most civilised social system, the system which abolishes the exploitation of man by man and creates all conditions for an ascent without barriers, for the happiness and joy of all of the people. This, however, the ultimate political programme of AKEL can be implemented after the completion of the Cypriot independence and when the majority of Cypriot people will support its implementation.

While AKEL looks forward with optimism to the distant future, when all the conditions will be created for the implementation of the socialist social system, it cannot ignore the present and especially the period, which will mediate until the Cypriot people reach that stage, who will be able to start the socialist reconstruction in its country. Today our people need a programme, which will help them to fight for the realisation of the aspirations in the conditions that have been created with the proclamation of the Republic of Cyprus.

Since the stage we are going through—as has been emphasised—is basically anti-imperialist, national liberation, the main goal of the general policy of AKEL is the completion of Cypriot independence and the main enemy of the Cypriot people remains imperialism and its institutions. To achieve this goal, we need the implementation of an anti-imperialist policy externally and internally, the liberation of Cyprus from economic and political dependence and influence of the imperialists, the abolition of military bases, its democratisation political and social life and the economic recovery of the country.

The driving forces in the struggle to achieve the main goal are workers, peasants, professionals and artisans, the intellectuals and the national bourgeoisie—all the people, Greeks, Turks and Armenians, except those who have linked their interests to imperialism. All these forces must unite in a United Anti-Imperialist Front. The basis of this Front will be the workers' and peasants' alliance that will unite the amazing majority of people. The working class will play a pioneering role in the mobilization of patriotic forces and will be the leading force in the struggle for the completion of the independence of our people. The line that will help the formation of this Front is the unity of the people in practice, based on their daily problems. Such a Front could, within favourable international conditions, achieve the completion of the Cypriot independence.

B. FOREIGN POLICY

The economic and political problems faced by Cyprus and especially the main problem of completing its independence, create for Cypriot government the task of consistently pursuing a neutral, peaceful, anti-colonial policy. This must be the basis of foreign policy of the Republic of Cyprus,

because only such a policy serves the genuine interests of the Cypriot people and has the full support of the amazing majority of the people. Cyprus must consistently pursue this policy both in the United Nations and in its relations with all states. Our island has every interest in maintaining friendly relations, on an equal footing with all countries of the world. Naturally the place of Cyprus is in large family of peoples, who broke or are struggling to break its shackles colonial enslavement. Cyprus must have absolutely nothing to do with the imperialist pro-war pacts of NATO, SENTO, SEATO or any another military coalition.

Friendship, understanding and cooperation with all countries of the world and especially with anti-colonial countries on the basis of equality, mutual respect for the independence and territorial integrity of all countries—this is the appropriate foreign policy for the Cypriot people.

If for all mankind the problem of war and peace is the most burning, for the Cypriot people—as well as for other peoples—it is clearly a matter of life or death. Cyprus may disappear from the face of the earth in a thermonuclear war, even if it does not take part in it, because its territory is used, against the will of its people, as nuclear, military base by the British imperialists. And this, among other things, is completely incompatible with the concept of independence. Thus, the struggle for peace, the peaceful coexistence, general and complete disarmament, the struggle for the denuclearisation of Cyprus and the abolition of foreign military bases, is directly related, not only with this existence of the Cypriot people, but also with the just popular demand for full and genuine independence. World war can and will be averted by united struggle the world peace movement, the world socialist camp, the international working class, the national-liberation movement, all countries that are against war and all peaceful forces in general in the world.

C. DOMESTIC POLICY

The government of Cyprus must be truly democratic. The powers conferred on the President and Vice-President by the Zurich Agreement, in addition to being excessive and contrary to the spirit of democracy, create a state of dual power with the serious risk of often leading the country to a dead end and a political stalemate.

The democratisation of the political and social life of the country and the guarantee of human rights are the best guarantee for the progress of the Cypriot people and the success of the struggle for the completion of its independence.

The Constitution of the Republic of Cyprus with its heterogeneous and anti-democratic provisions, not only negates the basic rights of the Cypriot people, but also creates causes of discontent, friction and political stalemate.

The supreme body of power, with full legislative rights, in the Republic Cyprus must be the elected House of Representatives. The government of the country to be formed by the Parliament, and to be accountable to it for its actions.

Community Assemblies, Municipal and local community authorities to be democratised, based on democratic institutions of self-government. All these bodies must be fully elected.

The most democratic electoral system for the election of all elected authorities is the simple analogue, which ensures the democratic representation of all socio-political currents of the people. That is why the principle must be adopted of universal direct and secret ballot with the system of proportional representation. The AKEL unreservedly supports this system.

The democratisation of the constitution, as well as any other changes in government of Cyprus to be done by democratic means.

The penal code of Cyprus to be cleared by all dictatorial and oppressive laws—legacies of the British colonists— and amended on the basis of the democratic, liberal principles which must govern the state of a Republic.

The state mechanism—government services, courts, police, etc.—to be democratised. The selection of persons in the state apparatus should be made not by racial or ideological criteria, nor by the means available, but on the basis of character, qualifications, abilities, honesty, faith and devotion to the cause of the Republic and the people.

The establishment of human rights and the creation of conditions of peace, normalcy and security, is an inviolable principle and condition for economic and cultural growth of the Cypriot people.

In the Republic of Cyprus, no control of minds, no persecution or oppression should be allowed, because of the beliefs or ideology of any citizen. The exercise of political blackmail or terrorism by anyone and for any reason that is unacceptable is a crime against

the people and democratic rights and cannot be tolerated by the democratic state of the country. No one should take the law into their own hands and commits crimes against the state and the people.

Medieval prisons—the legacy of colonisation—need to be synchronised and become a place of food education as done in developed democratic countries.

The formation of a Cypriot army is completely unjustified and in addition creates a serious financial burden for the heavy taxpayer Cypriot people. The defence of Cyprus is not secured with 2 thousand of its men Cypriot army, but with the policy of peace and friendship with all peoples of the world. That is why the constitutional provision for the creation of an army must revised.

The policy of the state is aimed at creating conditions of harmonious coexistence and cooperation of the two communities. To establish good relations between Greek and Turkish Cypriots on the basis of common Cypriot interests and the common struggle against foreign interests of imperialism. All the differences that are created between the two communities to be resolved democratically, in a spirit of goodwill and guided the general interests of the people and the country. The anti-imperialist conciliation and cooperation between Greek and Turkish Cypriots is crucial factor of success in the struggle of the Cypriot people for peace, economic growth, democracy, and the completion of its independence. The Republic of Cyprus must to be a real democracy, based on its democratic principles of freedom, equality and fraternity.

D. FOR THE ECONOMIC RECOVERY OF THE COUNTRY

The proclamation of the Republic found the Cypriot economy in a situation instability. And yet Cyprus is a rich island that could ensure the prosperity and happiness of its population. The long colonial enslavement left the Cypriot economy behind and incapable of offering to the working people the means for a good standard of living. The island remained A backward rural country, with minimal light industry, with limited internal market, low national income, long-term liabilities in its trade balance and limited foreign trade, mainly within the framework of the British Commonwealth. According to official statistics, our gross national income at constant prices in 1950, or in 1960—the time of the

proclamation of the Republic—£52,800,000 against £58,800,000 in 1957. That is, we had a drop by £6,000,000, at constant prices, within 4 years. This is mainly due to the fact that the British colonists depended on the Cypriot economy largely from spending on their military projects and on the fact that we had a decline in agricultural production due to the drought. Compared to average per capita gross income over the last few years, we had in 1960 a drop in average income from £145 to £139 for the total population and from £72 to £68 for the rural population—in current prices. With the first decline in our national income, unemployment appeared massively and immigration became widespread.

The crisis and instability of the Cypriot economy is due to the backwardness of the agricultural economy, the drought, the lack of significant industry, the fact that our mineral wealth is in the hands of foreign exploiters, the commercial nature of the Cypriot capital and the general delay, basically responsible for the long-term colonial regime.

A prerequisite for the economic recovery and the steady rise of the living and cultural standards of the workers is the planning of the Cypriot economy. For this purpose it is necessary to develop long-term and short-term programmes for the development of the various sectors of Cyprus economy in order of priority and at specified intervals. At the same time, the implementation of a sound economic and credit policy must, to the extent possible, regulate capital investment and be directed to those sectors which are of particular importance to the island's economy.

AKEL, based on a scientific study of the current economic situation, proposes the following measures for the reconstruction of the Cypriot economy, the growth of our national income and the rise of living and cultural standard of the people.

1. MINERAL WEALTH

The mineral wealth of our island is important and huge its role for the Cypriot economy. This wealth, however, mainly belongs to the foreign monopoly capital (American, British, etc.). While ores worth over £9,000,000 are mined every year, covering nearly 12% of our national income and over 50% of the value of our exports, little money is left in the country. Foreign mining companies make huge profits. The American Cyprus Mines Corporation, for example,

started in 1925 with an asset of £648,000, which today reached £39 million. In the same period its depreciation reached £46,000,000, while its profits amounted to £66,000,000. In the 1951-1960s alone, KME had a net income of 40 million pounds. The Asbestos company with an initial capital of £200,000 made from 1950-1961 £1,100,000 profits, while its current capital amounts to one million pounds. The number of workers employed in mining is now around £4,000, compared to £6,000 in 1957. No industrial processing of ores takes place in our country.

The correct solution to this problem lies in the nationalisation of the mines. Such a measure will significantly increase the resources of the Republic of Cyprus, which will help finance the development programme of our economy. The mines and the mineral wealth of our country in general, must belong to the Cypriot state, which exploits this most basic source of our national income for the benefit of the people in general.

However, until the mines are nationalised, as a first step, we must:

(a) Force the mining companies to pay more rights for the exploitation of our mineral wealth.

(b) To revise the operating conditions of the mining companies, so that the state participates in the management, the way the mines are operated and profits.

(c) To oblige companies to lend part of their profits to the state.

(d) To impose state control on the disposal of ores.

To carry out, under state control, geological surveys to discover new ones deposits and for the full exploitation of the wealth found in the subsoil of our island. And all the new mines that will be created must be state-owned.

2. INDUSTRY

Industry, a key factor in a country's national economy, is limited and light form in our place. Except for some industries the rest are basically artisanal in nature. In a number of industrial enterprises, such as cement, tobacco and soft drinks, foreign capital has penetrated in various forms and in some dominates.

In 1959, in industry, handicrafts and construction 58,000 workers and employees, that is, 21.9% of our workforce were employed. The Colonial policy is primarily responsible for our

industrial backwardness and for fact that Cypriot capital remained largely commercial and non-productive. With the customs policy implemented by the colonial government and with the use of the Cypriot market for British industrial products, discouraged the establishment of a large-scale Cypriot industry.

The basis for the development of industry are the raw materials that Cyprus has today or that it could produce, such as e.g. milk, leather, cotton, tobacco, fruits, building materials, flax, plants for seed oils, ores, etc. food and especially canning industries could therefore be set up, footwear, underwear, cotton and the like industries. Worth, also to study the possibility of establishing a fertilizer industry, glassmaking and household utensils.

The following measures must be taken for the development of the industry:

(a) To protect the place from the penetration of foreign monopoly capital which is the main threat for industry and the economy in general and political independence of the island. The penetration of foreign monopoly capital is essentially a form of neo-colonisation. The uniquely correct line, about the investment of funds, is the conclusion of government loans without policies or military commitments and on the most favourable terms and use of these funds for the development of the industry.

(b) To encourage the repatriation of Cypriot capital from abroad and its productive investment in the country. At the same time, take all necessary measures to prevent the flight of Cypriot funds abroad.

(c) To promote the creation of Cypriot industry in the form of state-owned enterprises; semi-public, cooperative and private enterprises.

(d) To encourage the Cypriot capital for investments in industry and long-term, low-interest loans granted by the state for development of sustainable industry.

(e) The state, with a sound economic and credit policy, to encourage and to guide the investment of funds in those areas, which have of particular importance for the economy of the island.

(f) The state to protect local industry from competition imported goods, with protective duties by the abolition of customs duties on raw materials and other tax measures. But in parallel with state protection, state control of quality and prices, so that consumers are also protected.

(g) Special care must be paid by the state for the technical training of leading cadres and other experts we need in the industry. The State should provide facilities (scholarships) to the best students for higher education and especially in those branches where there is a large need for technicians for our national economy.

AKEL will support all the efforts of Cypriot artisans and industrialists, aiming at the development of local industrial production and will demand from the state their comprehensive reinforcement and protection.

3. AGRICULTURAL ECONOMY

Agricultural production, the other key sector of the Cypriot economy, is the largest but also the most backward sector of our economy. While it employs 50.8% of the working population, offers only 21.9% of its gross national product.

The distribution of land presents the following picture: From 31/2 million arable land scales, 1,300,000 belong to the state, the church, Evkaf and the large landowners. Some 520 thousand scales from this area, belong to the church and the landowners and another 720 thousand scales are Hali land and low forest government land. The other 2 million scales divided into 63,200 families. Half of these families own an average 471/2 scales each and in most cases fragmented land into small and scattered lots. When we consider that of this total area only 7% are irrigated regularly and 11.7% periodically, while the remaining 81.5% depend solely on weather conditions, we form a general and complete picture of the situation with respect to arable land and its distribution.

The low productivity of our agriculture is a natural result of it fragmentation of land, backward means and methods of cultivation, the lack of irrigation works and the lack of protection from plants diseases.

However, the crisis of our rural economy is completed with the enormous growth of agricultural debts and leads to the descent of thousands of peasants into cities and their emigration abroad, in search of work.

The main measures that need to be taken for the development of rural economy are:

(a) Free distribution of state and Hali land to landless people and peasants who hold a small lot and state aid for this development land.

(b) Expropriation of the tsiflikadiki, ecclesiastical, monastic and Vakif land, in exchange for low compensation and its distribution to the homeless and peasants who hold a small lot, at a low price, with a long term repayment and low interest rate.

(c) Solution of the irrigation problem with the construction of dams, with drilling and other water enrichment projects as well as with synchronised legislation.

(d) Concentration of agricultural debts and their conversion into long-term with low interest rate.

(e) Granting long-term loans to peasants, at low interest rates, for the development of their production. With state aid to make the necessary land improvement and other land development projects.

(f) Provision to peasants of cheap fertilizers, tools and machinery.

(g) Provision of sufficient land, cheap feed and long-term loans with low interest rate to peasants to make the transition from the nomadic stable livestock.

(h) Encouragement and assistance for the further development of poultry farming.

(i) To provide assistance for the development and expansion of arboriculture.

(j) To establish state, semi-state and cooperative industries, for processing of our agricultural products.

(k) To reorganise, expand and staff with the appropriate scientific staff, agricultural scientific and technical services, for providing comprehensive scientific and technical assistance to peasants. To study to determine the most profitable and productive crops in each area. To establish an Agricultural Research Institute. To take state measures to combat plant and animal diseases, which plague agriculture and livestock. To expand services of the phytopathological and veterinary department.

(l) To set safety values for the agricultural products they facing A chronic crisis and take measures to address the difficulties. Implement a satisfactory market system.

(m) Implement an integrated agricultural insurance system covering all sectors of the rural economy.

(n) Ensure stable markets and steady prices for export agricultural products and especially for those facing a chronic crisis.

4. COOPERATION

Cooperation is one of the most effective institutions for serving the interests of the working people, workers, peasants and small businesses. The cooperative movement in our country is the largest movement and brings together in its lines producers and workers of all ideological beliefs and political directions.

The Republic of Cyprus to provide great assistance for the further development of cooperation in our country. To abolish all anti-democratic restrictions and regulations governing the state's relations with cooperative movement. To democratise cooperation, to strengthen it with grants and loans and to encourage it to expand not only to the field of collection, distribution and processing of agricultural products, but also in the field of production, in order to become a key regulator of the economic activity of producers and workers in general and a factor in their economic growth.

5. FORESTS

Forests are a truly incalculable treasure for our country. Under the long foreign rule this wealth experienced great disasters with reckless cutting of forest trees, especially during wartime. Our forests, in addition to providing us with valuable timber, prevent erosion soil and help with rainfall.

This wealth must be safeguarded and developed through large-scale reforestation, so as not only to fill the gaps left by the disasters, but also to expand our forests to areas that are currently bare of any vegetation.

6. FISHERIES

Fishing in our country is extremely late. No government effort has been made to develop this key sector of our national economy. The neglect of fishing has resulted in the fish being today a luxury for the island population of Cyprus.

The following measures must be taken for the development of our fisheries:

- (a) to carry out research to find areas rich in fish.
- (b) grant long-term, low-interest loans by the state for the synchronization of the technical equipment of the fishery and for the creation fishing fleet capable of fishing in deep water and on the high seas.
- (c) to provide state aid for the technical training of live material.
- (d) to develop fish farms in closed areas.
- (e) by synchronising fisheries, increasing production and lowering production costs, at the same protecting this sector from the foreign competition.

7. TRADE

The backwardness of our rural economy, the lack of industry and the high cost of living, have had a negative impact on our trade. The backwardness of our national economy had its impact on our foreign trade. Our trade balance presents a large chronic deficit. This liability was partly covered by undisclosed resources—military expenditures, tourism etc. But now that these resources have been significantly reduced, the continuation of liabilities in our trade balance will have serious consequences on economy of our country and the standard of living of the working people.

In order to revive our domestic trade, the internal market needs to be developed. This can be done with the development of agricultural and industrial production and with full employment, which will result in an increase in the purchasing power of the masses and consequently an increase in demand for goods.

In order to develop our foreign trade and make it beneficial for our national economy, we must:

- (a) Increase the production of agricultural and industrial products for export.
- (b) Our economic policy is aimed at developing trade relations with all countries, based on parity and mutual benefit. Pay special attention to those countries that can become regular buyers of our products and especially those products that face chronic market and price problems. Our direct or indirect connection with the European Common market will have serious consequences for our trade and the Cypriot economy.

(c) Conclude bilateral trade agreements, preferably long-term ones. In this area the socialist countries, with their planned economy, offer great advantages. This has been confirmed by their experience of recent years.

(d) Barring the importation of items that are either not essential for our internal market, whether produced locally in the same good quality and sold at the same prices.

With such an economic policy, the state would help the comprehensive development of our national economy, would lead to the reduction of the deficit, which is presented in our trade balance and would place our foreign trade on correct and healthy bases.

8. ELECTRICITY

Electricity is a key factor for the recovery of the Cypriot economy, the development of industry and agricultural production, as well as for the raising the standard of living and cultural level of the people. The supply electricity for industrial and irrigation purposes, constitutes a precondition for the increase of our national income.

AKEL supports the expansion of the electricity network to the extent that it covers all the villages of Cyprus and satisfies all the needs of the Cypriot economy. Providing plenty and cheap electricity must be our main goal.

9. TRANSPORT

The state must take care of the improvement of our internal communications and especially of intra-city transport. For this purpose it is necessary to take the following measures:

(a) To correct and synchronise our road network.

(b) To encourage and strengthen the establishment of car cooperatives; and especially in the countryside.

(c) In the cities to establish state or municipal transport, where it is necessary, with regular itineraries and cheap pipeline to serve employees.

(d) To protect professional motorists by establishing an appropriate legislation and other measures.

(e) Restrict the import of private cars and control the import of market cars.

As for our external transport, these are completely inadequate. Especially the transport related to commercial and passenger shipping. That is why it is necessary:

(a) to review existing contracts and extend the state air transport.

(b) To establish state commercial and passenger shipping, to cover needs of trade and tourism of our country.

(c) To synchronise our ports with their expansion and improvement.

10. CREDIT

The need arises to review the entire banking and credit system that prevails in our country, so that it becomes possible to serve the needs of a planned economic development. That is why it is necessary:

(a) The imposition of state control over the banks and the concentration of financial and monetary control in the hands of state-owned publishing house and credit bank, which will provide short-term and long-term loans for the economic development of the island. State control should also be imposed on insurance companies.

(b) The financing and control of the development of industry, trade, transport, tourism and fishing, to be done directly by State Bank, which with a special department also operates as a development bank.

(c) The Central Cooperative Bank, with the assistance of the State Bank, to provides loans for the development of our rural economy.

(d) The transfer of Cypriot funds from the Banks abroad should be prohibited.

11. TOURISM

Cyprus is an ideal place for the development of tourism, thanks to the good climate, its archaeological monuments and its natural beauties.

The following must be done for the development of tourism:

(a) To renovate our resorts and to build modern hotels staffed with competent and experienced staff.

(b) To synchronise our thermal baths and to be combined with clinics for patients.

(c) Construction of entertainment centres for holidaymakers (cinematic) halls, theatres, dance centres, etc.).

(d) To take measures for the preservation of our archaeological monuments and for their manning with competent personnel to accommodate tourists about their history.

(e) Improve our transportation through the service of tourists.

(f) Provide foreign exchange and other facilities to tourists.

(g) To organise appropriate advertisement to attract tourists to our country.

(h) To organise industrial and other exhibitions.

(i) To exercise control over the quality and prices of the services offered to tourists.

These are the basics of what needs to be done to make our country a good tourist centre in the Middle East.

12. RESOURCES FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CYPRUS ECONOMY

Funds for the development of the Cypriot economy could come from the following resources:

(a) From budget surpluses that could be generated by increasing our national income and reducing the unnecessary expenses.

(b) From a part of the profits of the mining companies.

(c) From internal loans, which could be concluded by the state.

(d) From external government loans with very low interest rates, as well as from another kind of assistance, without political or other exchanges and commitments.

(e) From the revenues of state industries, to be established.

13. TAX POLICY

Cyprus is considered one of the heaviest taxed countries in Britain Commonwealth. The main burden of taxation falls on the shoulders of workers, which results in the redistribution of our national income to benefit of the affluent sections of society.

The basic principles that should govern a proper tax policy in our country are:

(a) To reduce the indirect taxes, which are mainly borne by the working strata of the people and lower their standard of living.

(b) Increase the minimum non-taxable income as well as the deductions for children and spouse and implement an increased progressive taxation scale for big capital and big incomes, so that it falls more tax burden on the shoulders of the rich, and reduce the taxation of working classes.

(c) To eliminate any attempt at tax evasion through more systematic control and to take measures for the taxation of the agricultural property that it has turned into a high value urban property.

(d) To exempt from customs duty certain raw materials, machinery used for productive purposes, chemicals that are useful for the rural economy and basic necessities, which are not produced at all or not produced in sufficient quantities locally.

(e) Tax all types of luxury heavily.

E. FOR POPULAR SURVIVAL AND PROSPERITY

1. FOR THE INCREASE OF THE STANDARD OF LIVING OF THE WORKING CLASS

AKEL will give every possible support to the struggles and efforts of all unions to defend and raise the standard of living of workers. The salaries and wages of low paid workers must be increased. They must also be protected from any employer intrusion or attack on the basic wages set with free collective agreements. To maintain and expand the institution automatic indexation of salaries and wages.

Our Party is of the opinion that the labour policy of the government should be full-time policy. Cyprus can be neither happy nor prosperous, when thousands of its citizens are unemployed, without living resources.

Our Party will give its full support to the struggles of all the unions to defend the 44 and 40 hours, by each employer and to extend it where possible or where the working conditions require it. It will give its support for improvement, completion and implementation of labour legislation as well as for the legal guarantee of the right of organisation and collective bargaining, which today is violated mainly by large foreign companies.

Our Party will support the efforts of all trade unions organisations and federations for the organisation of disorganised workers. Our principle is: All workers should be organised in the union of their choice.

Our Party is following with interest the efforts for rapprochement of the various trade unions and organisations and the consolidation of one unified trade union centre. From the success of such an effort only the working class will benefit and only its enemies will be displeased. Our Party will welcome any success of this endeavour, as a significant victory of the working class order, as a step towards the successful solution of all their serious problems of workers and as a decisive factor in the formation of the United Anti-Imperialist Front.

2. FOR SOCIAL INSURANCE

Workers with their struggles achieved certain social security. But the social security system, implemented by the British colonists are imperfect. The Cypriot working people need a complete social security system, which provides him with free medical care, adequate unemployment benefit, old-age pensions and other benefits and covers workers, peasants and all workers in general.

Our Party will give every help to the workers' organisations and to every effort made for the elaboration and implementation of an integrated social security system in our country.

3. FOR HOUSING

Closely related to the standards of living of workers is the housing problem. Our country needs a plan to deal with this problem. The reconstruction by the Government or the Municipalities of workers low-rent housing should continue in cities and the suburbs. The state's attention must be focused on improving its housing and health conditions in the countryside.

The government must take measures to price the plots, especially in the cities, so that today's extremely high prices are significantly reduced and to help workers get housing.

4. FOR INCREASING THE LIVESTOCK LEVEL OF PEASANTS

The living conditions of our peasants are poor and their standard of living very low. The villages face a number of problems that need to be solved. They are problems of roads, water supply, electricity and more.

Our peasants need state care to be able to cope their financial difficulties and to raise their standards of living and cultural level.

AKEL will fight for the supply of electricity to all communities, for the final solution of the water supply problem, for its improvement and expansion road network and the rise of its cultural and health level in general people of the countryside. The solution of agricultural problems and the rise of standards of living of peasants will depend on the cooperation of agricultural organisations and the unity of the rural world in general.

AKEL will fight for the creation and operation of democratic institutions of local government in rural communities, with the democratic election of community authorities.

5. FOR PROFESSIONALS AND ARTISANS

AKEL stands wholeheartedly on the side of professionals and artisans for securing professional housing with reasonable rents and securing in general the position of professionals and artisans with the rental space, which must be applied effectively in the interest of professionals.

It also supports the demands of professionals and artisans for the provision of cheap electricity, for low telephone tariffs and for loans with low interest rates.

6. FOR INTELLECTUALS

AKEL declares that spiritual people are a capital for the people and our country. In order to use this capital in the interest of the people and the country, we must give our scientists, intellectuals and artists the means and the initiative to develop their work.

We want our teachers, our scientists, the people of art and literature in the service of the people, we want them capable of fulfilling their mission in the best way. They must have the support of the state in order to be able to provide the means of subsistence and to provide the everything they have to offer.

7. FOR YOUTH

The Cypriot youth is the golden stock of our people. Represents the present and the future of Cyprus. That is why the greatest possible care is required for her our youth. To ensure for this the opportunity to study in higher education technical schools and universities. We need to secure jobs for the youth, not to face the problem of unemployment, which makes it decline. To provide the youth with mental, physical and cultural conditions development with sport, public libraries, art events and any other means of educating the younger generation.

8. FOR WOMEN

The woman of Cyprus proved both in the struggles of the people and in the daily struggle for life, that she is absolutely equal to the man.

It is fair for Cyprus to enjoy equal pay with its husband, for equal work. The Cypriot woman should enjoy equal political rights with a man, the right to vote and to stand for election in all the public bodies of the Republic without exception. It is imperative that measures be taken to protect the child and the mother with the establishment of kindergartens, with the implementation of the UN Declaration for the rights of the child etc.

AKEL supports these just demands of the women of Cyprus and will fight for women to win these rights.

9. FOR MINORITIES

AKEL has been a supporter of the line for friendship and brotherhood with our Turkish compatriots, as with all the others minorities, since its establishment. The tension in the relations between Greek and Turkish Cypriots is a very serious obstacle to the struggle of the Cypriot people for economic growth, peace, democracy and the completion of their independence. The imperialist factor exploits every difference and tension between the Greeks and the Turks Cypriots to promote their own interests and aspirations. We must frustrate any hope of imperialism for the continuation of this situation.

The split of the two neighbouring elements delays the solution of vital problems of our country and creates uncertainty and dangers for new calamities to the detriment of the Cypriot people.

AKEL believes that it is possible to restore good relations between Greek and Turkish Cypriots, on the basis of common popular interests and the common struggle against the foreign interests of imperialism towards Cyprus. The anti-imperialist conciliation and cooperation between Greek and Turkish Cypriots is a decisive factor in the success of the struggle of the Cypriot people for peace, demilitarisation, economic growth, democracy and its completion of Cypriot independence.

The AKEL's programme concerns our Turkish compatriots, as well the Armenians, Maronites and all in general who live in Cyprus. No distinction or separation is made in this programme.

10. FOR THE HEALTH OF THE PEOPLE

Medical and health services in general are completely inadequate for the people. Provincial hospitals have serious shortages of specialists and technical equipment, while in the countryside hundreds of villages do not have a doctor. There is a complete lack of care for mothers and babies, who in most cases are born without the help of a doctor. For the health of the people the following must be done:

(a) To organise the provincial hospitals on a better basis and to be equip them with all the technical means and the necessary specialists, so that they can meet the needs of the people.

(b) Provide adequate medical care for rural communities with regular visits to doctors and the establishment of rural hospitals.

(c) Organise a more complete system of free medical care to serve to all workers. To organise a commentary service in all cities and in the countryside.

(d) To provide special care for pregnant women, infants and children in general, so as to safeguard and improve the health of the younger generation.

(e) To be organised on a better basis and to expand the sanitary ones services.

(f) To nationalise medical services for better service of the people.

11. FOR EDUCATION

Education is an important factor in the progress of the place and prosperity of our people. That is why the state must consider it as one of its basic obligations and to strengthen it decisively.

Education must be adapted to the real needs of our time and country so as not to be ungrounded. To prepare young people well for life and for higher studies, providing them with the necessary knowledge, skills and social education.

To study and approve an integrated educational system that meets the current needs of the country. This educational reform should be done after a serious study and after taking into account the experience of the most advanced states in this field.

The most basic and most urgent educational problems that need to be addressed immediately are:

(a) To build adequate and appropriate classrooms for all schools, with priority where conditions are more difficult and manned all schools with the necessary staff.

(b) Establish community kindergartens and train appropriate staff.

(c) To improve the curriculum of primary schools, to strengthen the physical education courses and to provide appropriate textbooks for all the courses.

(d) To establish the vernacular for all grades and all subjects in primary schools, so that children can learn their mother tongue well and acquire a correct sense of language.

(e) Strictly implement compulsory education in primary school and to gradually expand free tuition to the second grade of high school. Make further education accessible to all with the introduction of low tuition and the extension of scholarships for needy students.

(f) To establish secondary schools of various types and with directions that serve the needs of the place.

(g) The vocational and technical education to be expanded at a faster pace so that to completely replace the system of apprenticeships (minions) in the handicrafts.

To establish agricultural vocational schools with various specialisations (animal husbandry, arboriculture, vegetable growing, etc.) where young peasants will be trained.

(h) To organise vocational and educational courses for young workers, and to enact a law establishing free time for the technical education of young workers.

(i) The training of teachers in the Pedagogical Academy to be improved with a stricter selection of candidates and with the introduction of three-year study in combination with the specialisation of teachers in various school subjects (physiological, philological, technical, etc.).

(j) Our education must be democratic in its content, and patriotic, completely free of partisanship and politics propaganda.

AKEL will support every effort to improve and expand education.

12. FOR CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

For the cultural development of our youth and people in general, the state must help financially and morally in the following directions:

(a) To organise the musical movement both in schools and outside them with choirs, orchestras and philharmonic orchestras.

(b) To develop the Cypriot theatre with the rich talents of our people.

(c) To help all our young artists to cultivate and develop their talent. To teach them to study life, the reality around them and to express it. To teach them to create living works, works that express the truth of life.

(d) To help and promote classical sports, on the broad popular base and to better organise football and other team competitions.

The Cyprus Radio Foundation and the Television must be reorganised to be able to meet the demands of the people as enlightenment and cultural institutions. To become real instruments of democratic education and expression of the policy of friendship with all the countries of the world as well of the cooperation and peaceful coexistence of neighbouring elements of the Cyprus problem of the people. The Cyprus Radio Foundation and the television to operate on democratic basis without discrimination and subject to democratic scrutiny to ensure their impartiality and objectivity. Occasionally the Radio of Cyprus and the Television to broadcast political speeches by representatives of the local political parties.

F. HOW TO MAKE THIS PROGRAMME LIFE AND PRACTICE

For the successful implementation of this programme, the unity of all is required of the anti-imperialist forces of the people, Greeks, Turks, Armenians, etc. on a united anti-imperialist front. It is imperative that peaceful, democratic conditions prevail internally and that a national anti-imperialist policy be adopted.

AKEL firmly believes that aiming at the common enemy, imperialism, we can and must achieve unity and cooperation among the entire Cypriot people, regardless of ideological beliefs or racial differences. AKEL will work with all its might to realise the United Anti-Imperialist Front, on the basis of a minimum programme, to be discussed and approved at a joint meeting of representatives of all parties and organisations, from politicians and other local actors.

This programme can be carried out by a democratic government of anti-imperialist unity. Such a government can conduct decisive, uninterrupted and consistent struggle abroad and at home, following appropriate policy and taking advantage of the favourable international conditions, to carry out democratisation, economic recovery and completion of Cypriot independence.

The conditions for conducting such a struggle are made daily and more favourable because of the rapid international political changes that they lean towards the progressive anti-imperialist forces.

AKEL will give its full support to any government that is willing to make this programme a reality.

AKEL will follow completely democratic methods for the implementation of this programme and will not deviate from these methods. AKEL's effort will be to enlighten and finally convince the people of the correctness of its proposals, always accepting the views of the people for the enrichment of its programme and the best way to implement it.

AKEL once again trumpets the patriotic, anti-imperialist line of the popular unity and cooperation. It is time for all of us to join hands and as brothers to proceed with the great and difficult task of rebuilding our homeland and the struggle for a truly independent, peaceful and happy Cyprus, as its people want it and as it deserves it.

Honouring the memory of all known and unknown heroes who sacrificed the most precious human good, their lives, for the cause of Cypriot self-determination, let us all join together in the united

struggle to make reality the ideals of freedom and peace for a happy life.

THE RESOLUTIONS OF THE CONGRESS

THE RESOLUTION ON THE ABOLITION OF FOREIGN BASES⁷⁸

1. The Pan-Cypriot Congress of AKEL considers it its duty towards the Cypriot people, towards the peoples of the world and towards world peace to express the strongest protest of our people against the existence and maintaining of the military and thermonuclear bases of the British imperialists in our country.

The existence of these military bases provokes the greatest reaction among our peaceful people, because not only are they a mortal danger to our existence but at the same they are an unacceptable challenge and threat against our friends and neighbouring countries and in general against world peace.

The Cypriot people, faithful to the policy of equal friendship and positive neutrality, deeply imbued with the great lofty ideals of peace and national independence, collectively demand the abolition of these bases, which is a prerequisite for the completion of its independence and for the prevalence of peace in the Eastern Mediterranean region and around the world.

2. The 10th Pancyprrian Congress of AKEL, taking into account the last UN decision on the denuclearisation of Africa, the proposal of the Cypriot representative to the UN for the inclusion of Cyprus in this denuclearised region, as well as other suggestions made for denuclearisation of the region in which we live, expresses its full support for above suggestions and calls for the request of the Cypriot government, which is a request of the entire Cypriot people should be respected and for Cyprus to be included in the denuclearised region, which will be a valuable contribution in the case of maintaining and consolidating world peace which is the most precious ideal of our people.

⁷⁸ *New Democrat Magazine, Issue 9, May 1962.*

THE RESOLUTION ON THE LIBERATION OF GLEZOS AND OTHER EXILED MILITANTS⁷⁹

The 10th Pancyprian Congress of AKEL expresses its full support and its solidarity to the imprisoned hero of the National Resistance Manolis Glezos and the other fighters who have been rotting for so many years without trial in prisons and on the islands. The 10th Pancyprian Congress of AKEL, being fully aware of the real interests of the Greek people, demands in the name of normalcy and democracy the release of the hero Manolis Glezos and all the other exiled fighters for democracy in Greece.

⁷⁹ *ibid.*

THE ELEVENTH CONGRESS OF AKEL, March 3-6, 1966

THE DECISIONS OF THE CONGRESS⁸⁰

THE DECISION OF THE 11TH CONGRESS OF AKEL

The 11th Congress of AKEL, which met in Nicosia on 3, 4, 5 and 6 March 1966, after discussing the action report of the C.C. and K.E.E. of the Party, unanimously approves the action report and decides:

The international political situation

The main feature of the international political situation is the intensifying struggle between the forces of peace and peaceful coexistence, the freedom of peoples and progress on the one hand, and the forces of war, enslavement and backwardness on the other. In their attempt to stop bankruptcy and the collapse of the colonial system and put an end to the peoples' struggle for national freedom and progress, the US-led imperialists, intervene in the internal affairs of foreign states, organise conspiracies and military coups against the newly independent states.

The open attacks of the imperialists and especially of the USA against the Congo, the Dominican Republic, Vietnam, have worsened the international political situation and increased the risk of a general war and the destruction of humanity with a thermonuclear war.

At the same time, the imperialists, inspired and organised recent coups in a number of countries and overthrew their legitimate governments and where they cannot intervene or

⁸⁰ *Neos Dimokratis Magazine, Issue 21, March 1966.*

overthrow the governments of the newly independent states, try to penetrate them by neo-colonial methods, by investing capital and securing monopoly privileges, to continue the plunder of their national wealth, to achieve their political dependence and hinder their economic and social progress.

In Greece, the imperialists and their institutions, anxious about the victory of the progressive and democratic forces, which opened prospects for stabilisation and the final victory of democracy, organised the coup of July 15, which overthrew the legitimate popular government of the country and established in its place, a government of their own confidence. The Greek people as a whole rose up against the xenophobic coup, showing unprecedented resistance to the infamous plans of the imperialists and the their agents.

The broad democratic forces of Greece, continuing the heroic democratic traditions of the people, mobilised united in defence of democracy and deliver strong blows against neo-fascism. Despite the serious danger of abnormal, dictatorial solutions, our Congress expresses its conviction that the democratic people of Greece, with their united forces and under the leadership of its most consistent, fighting forces will eventually enforce its will for new free elections and restore democracy and smooth democratic development.

Against these marauding and dangerous for peace actions of the imperialists, as against neo-colonial infiltration, the forces of peace, national freedom and social progress are increasingly fighting. The people of the whole world, including the people of the United States, express their indignation and condemn the dirty war of the American imperialists in Vietnam, their shameless intervention in the Dominican Republic and elsewhere and resolutely demand that an end be put to the actions of the imperialists dangerous to their own peoples and world peace.

The peoples and governments of the newly independent countries are increasingly feeling the need to unite in a united front to defend their freedom, peace, life and future from imperialism, this relentless and mortal enemy of humanity. Today, the peoples and governments of these countries are increasingly aware of the danger of neo-colonialism and are struggling to get rid of foreign monopolies and the political, economic and military dependence of the imperialists. That is why they are developing their national economy, rejecting the establishment of foreign

military bases and the involvement of the imperialists within themselves, and on the other hand, strengthening their ties and cooperation with the non-aligned and the socialist countries.

Under these conditions, the camp of non-aligned countries was formed and developed, in which Cyprus also participates. The power and influence of the non-aligned countries is growing from year to year and today they are playing a serious role in shaping and developing international affairs. Strengthening the solidarity, unity and cooperation of the non-aligned countries against imperialism is a guarantee for the stabilisation of peace, the improvement of the international situation, the freedom and progress of these countries.

The socialist camp led by the mighty Soviet Union makes a huge and decisive contribution to the struggles of the peoples for national freedom, for the independence of the newly liberated peoples, for the preservation of peace and the progress of mankind. The constant rise of the socialist countries and, first of all, of the Soviet Union, in all sectors, in production, economy, science and technology, in parallel with the uninterrupted strengthening of their defence capacity, is a decisive factor for the fortunes and development of human society. Thanks to rise and power of the socialist camp, more and more favourable conditions and new opportunities are being created for the peoples who fighting for national freedom, peace, democracy and progress. Thanks to this factor, the newly independent states, however small they may be, as is abundantly demonstrated by the example of the UN, Cuba and Cyprus, can thwart the imperialist intrigue, relying on fraternal solidarity and the help of the anti-imperialist camp.

The world socialist system is constantly gaining new victories in peace rivalry with capitalism. The huge economic and military power and the supremacy of the socialist countries and first of all of the Soviet Union, over of the imperialist powers, is a guarantee for the abandonment of the adventurist plans of imperialism, for the maintenance of world peace and salvation of humanity from the deadly danger of a thermonuclear war.

Meanwhile the imperialist camp led by the United States, shattered and undermined by its infinite and acute internal contradictions and going through a constant crisis, the anti-imperialist camp becomes ever more powerful. At the same time, the struggle of the working class and other toilers in capitalist

countries against the power of monopolies, brutal exploitation and warmongering, the adventurist policy of imperialism, the struggle for real democracy and social progress, contributes decisively to the weakening of imperialism and accelerates the historical course of humanity towards freedom, democracy and socialism.

In today's critical times for humanity, the greatest possible unity of the international communist movement and the socialist camp that is the vanguard of the global anti-imperialist movement is demanded. Regardless of the differences of opinion on theoretical issues and tactical problems, the interest of the common anti-imperialist struggle, the interest of all peoples, requires an end to the division and to forge the unity of action of the socialist countries and the World Communist Movement against American imperialist invasion of Vietnam and elsewhere, for the freedom and social progress of the peoples and for peace.

This unity can be achieved based on the Declaration of Moscow Conferences of 1957 and 1960. The attitude of the leadership of the C.P. of China, which continues the abusive war against the Soviet Union, the socialist countries and the Communist Parties, which remain faithful to the Declaration of the Moscow Conferences is the main obstacle to its unity of the socialist camp and the world revolutionary forces. Especially the rejection by China of the proposal to create a united front of action against the imperialist aggression undermines the struggle of the peoples against imperialism. Any split in the socialist camp encourages and aids imperialism in its adventurous plans. The General Secretary of this Congress considers it our supreme duty of every communist and workers' Party to contribute with all its might to the realisation of the unity of action and the achievement of fraternal understanding and cooperation between the Parties and the socialist countries. AKEL will contribute to the best of its ability to strengthen the unity of the international communist movement and to unite the communist and workers' parties in a common front of action against imperialism.

The Cypriot foreign policy and our tasks

The anti-imperialist character of the struggle of Cyprus against imperialist conspiracies, against our people and the xenophobic insurgency was a decisive factor for the inclusion of Cyprus in the camp of the non-aligned countries.

The support and the practical strengthening of our struggle by the socialist and non-aligned countries, as well as the revelation of the role of the Anglo-American imperialists and NATO in the creation of the Cyprus crisis, resulted in the Republic of Cyprus pursuing a clearer anti-imperialist policy on a number of burning international issues, such as the abolition colonisation and neo-colonisation, disarmament, the banning of atomic weapons and their storage in foreign lands, the prohibition of racial discrimination, non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries, peace and peaceful coexistence, strengthening of the UN, the abolition of military bases from all foreign territories etc.

For the expansion of international support and the annulment of the imperialist plans to the detriment of Cyprus a necessary condition is the observance of a clean and a consistent anti-imperialist line. Within this framework, the foreign policy of Cyprus must be defined, which must have the following objectives:

(a) Strengthening friendly and militant ties with all the countries of the anti-imperialist camp, the non-aligned and socialist states. Failure of the imperialists' attempt to isolate Cyprus from its natural allies.

(b) The struggle for the abolition of the foreign imperialist bases that constitute deadly threat to our people, neighbouring friendly peoples and for world peace in general.

(c) Demonstration of solidarity and active support for the peoples fighting against colonisation, neo-colonialism and imperialism intervention.

Our Party has worked for the implementation of this anti-imperialist foreign policy and will continue to develop its ties with the socialist countries and with the movements of the brotherly peoples, who are fighting for national freedom, democracy, peace and social progress.

The internal political situation. The AKEL's line.

The main feature of the Cypriot political situation, in particular in the last two years, it is the unwavering united and heroic struggle of the Cypriot people for their exemption from the Zurich commitments, for the abolition of foreign bases from the Cypriot territory and for non-aligned independence—self-determination.

By carrying out this struggle all of us, firmly and resolutely, together, rejected the various insidious conspiratorial plans of the imperialists and their institutions that sought the abolition of the Cyprus state, the partition of Cyprus and its submission to the marauding NATO. In the last two years, the Anglo-American imperialists, seeking to defeat our national liberation struggle and subjugate Cyprus to NATO, organised the mutiny of the Turkish Cypriot extremists-chauvinists and made active efforts to impose on our people their evil plans, even taking advantage of the national feelings of our struggling people.

Our Party headed by C.C. firmly based on the line and the decisions of the 10th Congress, he gave wholeheartedly and without the slightest reservation, all its forces in the national liberation, anti-imperialist struggle of the Cypriot people. The 11th Congress unreservedly ratifies the line, which with stability and consistency followed the C.C. of the Party as well as its patriotic action throughout this period. The Congress confirms that AKEL's firm and irrevocable line in the national liberation struggle remains the non-aligned independence, full sovereignty, the territorial integrity of Cyprus and the abolition of foreign bases and spy stations from Cypriot territory. Only with the realisation of this line will the Cypriot people to determine freely and without any foreign interventions or pressures, their future based on the internationally recognised principle of self-determination. Based on this line, the fulfillment of the just desires of our people for national rehabilitation—Union of Cyprus with Greece— will be the result not any blackmail and enforcement, but of the will of the people themselves, who it must express themselves freely and effortlessly, after first being freed from their shackles.

By opposing this line, the imperialists and the pro-NATO forces taking advantage of the national feelings of the people, promote and propagandise as a solution to the Cyprus problem, the so-called "direct" or "coup d'état" Union. Our Party is resolutely opposed to the line of direct, coup d'état Union, because the result of such an action will be to impose itself on the people an unacceptable NATO solution to the Cyprus problem, which while it will appear as Union of Cyprus with Greece, in fact, will be the division Cyprus and its submission to the marauding NATO. In view of the activity carried out by the imperialists and pro-NATO forces, the Congress calls on our people to be vigilant in order to thwart their conspiratorial, enslaving plans against Cyprus. The 11th Congress considers this

line, non-aligned independence, absolute sovereignty, self-determination, as the only correct one, as genuine national liberation, anti-imperialist, which fully serves the real interests of the national liberation struggle of our people and the general interests of peace and the cause of the peoples.

Ratifying this line the Congress calls on the Party, firmly and unwaveringly committed to it, to continue to play in the future a pioneering role in the national liberation struggle, devoting all its activity to it and wholeheartedly giving all his strength.

The tactics of the unity is the basic aim of AKEL

In the conduct of the national liberation struggle and the struggle for problems of the masses during the period we are reviewing, our Party has remained resolutely and uncompromisingly committed to the patriotic policy of unity, turning its fire against the main enemy of our people, imperialism. Defending firmly and without hesitation its line, our Party worked tirelessly for the unification and unity of all without exception the patriotic forces of the people for the most effective repulsion of the enslaved plans of imperialism and the conduct of the national liberation struggle.

Our Congress welcomes the tremendous contribution of the Party and the contribution of all patriots to the achievement of unity of action in the conduct of our national liberation struggle. Welcoming the national unity and cooperation which prevails today among all strata of the people, the Congress calls on the Party group to safeguard and preserve with all its might that has been achieved in the field of national unity and with its active work to strengthen it and expand it. Our Party must work with flexibility in its tactics, but without unacceptable compromises on matters of principle, for the formation and organised form of a United, Patriotic Front. On such a Front, all Cypriot patriots, without exception, Greeks, Turks, Armenians, Maronites, men and women, regardless of political, ideological or other differences. The working class with militancy, dedication and pioneering role must win the trust of this front, become its soul and main force and its alliance with the peasantry form the backbone of the united national liberation movement, anti-imperialist front.

AKEL's position towards the government

The position of the Party towards the government of Makarios. also falls within the line of national unity.

Our Party consistently supports the government, without participating in it and without having any selfish interests, because this was required in the interest of the national liberation struggle of the Cypriot people and their cause. Our Party supports the government because it agrees with the most essential, the national line of non-aligned independence—self-determination, and not because it agrees with everything it does or with its policy on all issues.

The Congress fully endorses this position towards the government and calls on the Party to continue to provide support in the same honest way in the future to the government on the basis of the declared common line of the non-aligned independence—self-determination.

At the same time, our Party must continue in the future in a creative way and always within the interests of the national liberation struggle, creative criticism of the government for any decision or action, or and its omission, which in the opinion of the Party does not serve the interests of the Cypriot people and their national liberation struggle.

For the friendship and cooperation and peaceful coexistence of Greeks and Turks

The Congress gives a completely special importance to the Turkish minority. In recent years, Anglo-American imperialists have managed to infiltrate significant portion of the Turkish Cypriot minority and exploit it for the promotion of their own aims and aspirations. The conflict of Greek and Turkish Cypriots, is basically the work of imperialism and its satellites in Cyprus and Ankara. With the bloodshed, the Anglo-American imperialists and the their institutions want to prove to the world public that they supposed to be impossible for Greek and Turkish Cypriots to coexist peacefully and to promote thus their conspiratorial divisive plans and the enslavement of Cyprus in NATO.

Our Party's stable policy towards our Turkish Cypriot compatriots, the main minority living in Cyprus, is the policy of rapprochement, friendship and cooperation, which creates a

climate of mutual trust. This policy beats key imperialist partition plans and ensures the conditions for a peaceful solution to the Cyprus problem.

Consistently following this patriotic policy, our Party, with led by the C.C., worked tirelessly to implement this policy in practice. Our Party played an important role in defeating chauvinism from wherever it manifested itself and in the official proclamation of the Declaration of Intent on Minority Rights by the government to the UN. Our Party calls on the government to take practical and concrete measures that will help our Turkish compatriots return to their homes and do their jobs without any fear for life and their property.

The Congress approving the policy and action of the C.C. emphasises the Turkish Cypriot minority, stresses that it is an inviolable patriotic duty of every Akelist, every Cypriot patriot to work tirelessly with persistently on the rapprochement of Greek and Turkish Cypriots, to restore smooth peaceful conditions of coexistence, friendship and cooperation between the two neighbourhood elements, which is a prerequisite for the peaceful solution of the Cyprus problem.

The economic front

The Congress considers that the economic front plays an important role in successful conduct of our national liberation struggle.

The Cypriot economy, which has managed to withstand the great ordeal of the last two years, thanks to the self-sacrifice and patriotism of the workers and the tireless efforts of the people and the government, must not be allowed to bend and weaken. Despite the burden of mobilisation and the military spending, there are opportunities to achieve new economic growth, increase national income and improve the balance of payments. To this end, the following measures must be taken, inter alia:

(a) To promote and accelerate the execution of all the key projects of Five-Year Development Plan. To give absolute importance to development of the local economy and the increase of the national income.

(b) To grant medium and long-term loans at low interest rates to peasants to develop production and suspend their payment of debts of those peasants who are facing serious financial difficulties.

(c) To help the Cypriot industry to develop and expand production. For this purpose, it is necessary to provide low-interest loans for local industry and tourism and to protect them from the competition of foreign monopoly capital, which penetrates the country with the sole purpose securing super profits. Encouraging foreign monopoly capital to invest in our country creates, in addition to financial risks, damage to our national liberation struggle.

(d) To stop the inflow of foreign capital in Cyprus and to take measures to limit and gradually expel the foreign capital that has already settled in our country and is squandering its wealth.

(e) To increase our export trade and to expand our trade relations, making a special effort for the stable sale of our agricultural products at steady prices. The large trade deficit must be reduced by increasing our exports and restricting of imports of luxury imports goods and goods produced in our country that are on a par with foreign and sold at competitive prices.

(f) In order to find the necessary financial resources, the government must take out loans on the most favourable terms it can secure from countries willing to grant loans without political conditions or other commitments and exchanges.

The implementation of all these and other measures that help the development of the economy will contribute to full employment, increase national income, raising the standards of living of the people and strengthening the struggle of the Cypriot people for national freedom. Along with the above measures that will strengthen our economic front, the government must take measures for a fairer distribution of national income, so that on the one hand everyone contributes to the budget according to their financial strength and on the other hand, to raises the standard of living of the poorest working classes of the people.

The mass movement

The contribution of the mass movement of the Cypriot people to the national struggle and the solution of the serious economic problems of the people, was decisive and of great importance.

The trade unions, agricultural, professional and cooperative organisations, the youth, women and peace movement, the various scientists and cultural associations, proved in the critical moments of our struggle that they are inspired by a superior patriotic spirit

and are strongholds of our struggle. The establishment of the Coordinating Committee of Collaborating Organisations is an expression of the deep desire of the people and their mass organisations to fight together for the annulment of the imperialist conspiracy until victorious end of our struggle.

The trade union movement was at the forefront of the struggle against imperialist conspiracy, subversive actions and perverted NATO solutions. Patriotism and self-sacrifice characterise the attitude of workers and employees and their organisations in dealing with the problems created by unbridled insurrection and in the conduct of the national liberation struggle.

At the same time, however, the trade unions, without departing from the proper tactics of unity and commitment of workers to the main national task of dealing with the intrigues of imperialism, did not neglect the problems of workers, protected the acquired rights and in many cases improved the working conditions and wages of workers and helped to improve labour legislation and in particular the law on social security. Thousands of workers earned welfare, leave and rest. The Akelist trade unionists played an active part in all the economic and national struggles of the working class. AKEL will continue the same policy of support for the trade union movement, summarized in the following:

(a) Continuous strengthening and further massification of the trade union movement, with the organisation of disorganised workers and employees. Defending the interests of workers and employees, anti-imperialist rallying and more decisive contribution to the national liberation struggle, proper education of the workers on the basis of the experience, aspirations and the historical role of the working class for socialist development of society.

(b) Unity of workers and employees in the workplaces and by occupation. Promoting the unity of all workers and employees organisations either with the organisation of a Trade Union Congress or another type organisation deemed appropriate by the unions concerned. AKEL considers that the unification of all trade unions under one central body will strengthen our national struggle and will help decisively in solving the problems of workers and employees.

The contribution of peasantry in all areas of the struggle, defence, the economic front and national mobilisations was

crucial. The peasantry together with the working class are the axis of our national liberation struggle.

At the same time the agrarian movement promoted significant problems of all main branches of the agricultural economy and more general rural issues. The spirit of unity and cooperation developed within peasants and organisations based on national struggle, professional, community and other issues.

The policy of AKEL in the agricultural movement is: Gathering of all peasants in agricultural organisations, cooperation of agricultural organisations for their solution problems of the peasantry and the promotion of the national liberation struggle. Creating the necessary conditions for the unification of agricultural organisations in a powerful unified organisation.

The workers' and peasants' alliance is the foundation of the national liberation movement front of the Cypriot people, the force that will play a decisive role in complete liberation and the comprehensive progress of our people. The C.C. of the Party will work for its further strengthening.

The cooperation movement, with the help and support of the popular movement, develops and helps to solve serious, economic problems of the productive classes, especially the peasants. The review of the anti-democratic provisions of the colonial Law on Cooperation, and the creation of a broad democratic confederation of all cooperative associations of Cyprus will strengthen the unity and action of cooperation.

The women's movement offered important services to the national liberation movement struggle. AKEL will help women's organisations to expand and play more decisive role in the solution of multiple economic and social problems faced by the Cypriot woman, of particular importance is the organisation of women workers and the promotion of the unity of the women's movement.

The Cypriot youth and its organisations are today dedicated to national struggle. Our young people kept the main weight of the defence and offered them greater sacrifices on the altar of freedom.

While youth organisations will continue to mobilise and educate the younger generation in the spirit of the anti-imperialist national liberation struggle, they must promote for their solution key problems of our young people as well the problem of healthy youth employment that are of paramount importance to the future of our entire people. Special attention must be paid to the

problems of education, specialisation, and professional employment of young people.

Technical and vocational training must be expanded and the foundations laid for extracurricular activities of students by creating student clubs circles of interests, cinemas and so on.

The contribution of our scientists and intellectuals to the national struggle and All-round progress of our country is valuable. AKEL supports the efforts of their organisations to resolve their professional issues and creating conditions that will allow our intellect to play a wider creative role.

Artisans and professionals are an important part of our population and play a major role in the economic and social life of the place. The strengthening of middle-class organisations will help solve their problems, in the stabilisation of our economic front and in the national struggle in general.

The professional, cultural, sports, social and other mass organisations of the Cypriot people, which played such an important role as today, in the solution of workers' problems, in social progress and the national liberation struggle of our country, will play even more decisive role in the future, uniting all its patriotic forces of people in the struggle for the freedom, peace and prosperity of our homeland.

The peace movement has risen again. In the period under review, the struggle of the Cypriot people for peace, denuclearisation, the abolition of foreign bases in Cypriot soil and by all countries and for the end of imperialist invasions and the war in Vietnam became more intense.

The culmination of the popular mobilisation against the bases, for demilitarisation and peace, was the glorious and majestic march through the British bases, from the Temple of Apollo to Limassol in October of 1964, which was the most massive anti-war event that Cyprus witnessed.

The struggle for peace, the abolition of military bases and espionage stations and the cessation of the flight of aircraft with nuclear weapons is of paramount and an integral part of the people's struggle for non-aligned independence—self-determination. The stronger the peace movement, the more important the contribution to the national struggle becomes of our people becomes. The highest duty of every Cypriot patriot is to contribute to strengthening the struggle for peace and the abolition of military bases, combining it with the national struggle and the

struggle of the world peace-loving forces for general and complete disarmament, for peace and for peaceful coexistence.

For a more massive, tighter struggle of the Working People's Party

AKEL today has great appreciation and influence among a wide range of people. This is due to the correctness of its patriotic policy and tactics and the consistency with which it implements this policy in practice.

During the period we are reviewing, our Party has significantly developed its organisational work, resulting in its further massification and improvement of the work of the various Party leadership organisations and the Party group.

The Congress approves the policy for mass recruitment of new members, implemented the C.C., based on the decision of the 4th Ordinary Plenary Session.

Welcoming the progress made, the Congress notes that there is still much room for further improvement of the organisational work for elimination of weaknesses and shortcomings.

It is the duty of the governing bodies and the Party as a whole to work even more intensively, planned and systematically to raise the organisational and political work at a higher level, so that it more fully meets the political line and the requirements of the political situation and its developments. By raising the organisational and political work of the Party at a higher level, we will succeed in making the Party to play even more decisively its pioneering role in the national liberation and the other struggles of the Cypriot people.

Guided by the decision of the 4th Ordinary Plenary Session of the C.C. and K.E.E. (June 1964) we must take all practical measures to achieve further improvement of organisational and political work.

Specifically:

- To make our Party even more massive by recruiting thousands of new members among all the working classes, so that it takes root everywhere, wherever he lives, and the working people work—in the factory, in the workshop, in the office, generally at the place of work in the village and in the district.

- To improve still further the work of the Party group, which is the foundation of the party, as well as of all the guiding organizations. More initiative, higher sense of responsibility,

collective work and division are some measures that will help to improve the work of the Party group.

- To defeat sectarianism and bureaucracy even more decisively where and when it manifests itself in our work. To develop even more in all Party organisations the collective work and action, the creative criticism and self-criticism.

- To raise even more the internal Party democracy and increasingly encouraging free, democratic debate within the Party.

- To highlight even more new capable and specialised cadres in various fields, implementing the correct policy of the Party for the promotion of cadres, making the best use of its institution active, on a provincial and central level.

- To strengthen and organise political vigilance more systematically. To preserve like the apple of an eye and to forge even more the unity and monolithic Party lines from top to bottom.

- To further improve our ideological and theoretical work to help the Party as a whole acquire more ideological and theoretical supplies. To organise special schools, lectures and to encourage self-education. To improve our work on agitation and propaganda and to raise even more much the circulation of the publications that serve the movement and in particular of “ΧΑΡΑΥΓΗΣ” (“DAWN”). To constantly develop the finances of the Party, which is necessary for its smooth and smooth operation Party mechanism.

The 11th Congress addresses its greetings to all its members and cadres of the Party. The Congress calls on the Party as a whole to work with an even greater enthusiasm, with new, higher rhythms for a more massive, more tight-knit, monolithic, militant Party, capable of leading and mobilising more effectively and actively the masses in the national liberation struggle and towards a new peaceful, democratic and happy future.

The 11th Congress addresses the patriotic appeal to all patriots, to the heroic national guard, to all the Cypriot people. Forward, all united, let us forge unbreakable the mighty front of the people, army and government in the common anti-imperialist struggle for the abolition of commitments and restrictions of the Zurich agreements, the demilitarisation of Cyprus and ensuring non-aligned independence, so that the Cypriot people can freely decide their future based on the principle of self-determination.

THE RESOLUTIONS OF THE CONGRESS⁸¹

To the President of the Republic of Cyprus, Archbishop Makarios

Beatitude

The 11th Congress of AKEL in its first session today after hearing the political proposal submitted by the Central Committee of General Secretary of our Party and Member of Parliament Mr. E. Papaioannou, authorised the Bureau to assure you that AKEL will continue to provide you and your presidency government, his full support for its complete success of the anti-imperialist resistance policy, for a non-aligned Cyprus independent, fully sovereign, territorially intact, without military bases, with its people free to decide their future without any intervention.

This policy is the policy supported by the overwhelming majority of the people. This policy alone leads safely to satisfaction of the genuine national desire of our people.

The 11th Congress of AKEL also assures you that it will continue to work tirelessly to thwart all the intrigues of the enemies of Cyprus aimed at the disintegration of the unity of the people, the army and government. We will continue to work consistently and persistently to strengthen this unity, because we know that nothing is more necessary in our struggle as much as unity.

I am Your Beatitude, with all due respect

ANDREAS FANTIS

Chairman

Nicosia, 4.3.1966.

⁸¹ *ibid.*

To the Cypriot People

Patriotic People of Cyprus.

The 11th Congress of AKEL held in Nicosia on March 3-6, 1966 addresses the heroic Cypriot people, the most warm, cordial, fighting greeting.

The moments we are going through are critical. Internationally, the forces of imperialist reaction, feeling the serious danger that threatens them with the awakening of the peoples and the loss of their political and economic positions, are becoming more and more provocative. In Asia, Africa and Latin America, where the peoples opened and continue to open the way to freedom with their blood and sacrifices and social prestige, the dark forces of the monopolies led by American imperialism, are becoming increasingly aggressive, provocative, organise coups against progressive and democratic governments and shamelessly intervene in the internal affairs of the countries to intercept the historical course of the peoples towards democracy, peace and progress. In Vietnam the American imperialists continue their barbaric and bloodthirsty armed intervention and raid to block the path of the heroic Vietnamese people towards the unification of their country, towards its democratic and independent future.

In Greece, the American intervention overthrew the elected government of George Papandreou to stop the democratisation of the country and to facilitate the imposition of a NATO solution to the Cyprus problem.

In Cyprus, Anglo-American imperialism, which is responsible for a blockade imposed on the Cypriot people on the basis of the agreements Zurich-London, organised and supported the Turkish Cypriot insurgency, trying to impose wrong and unacceptable solutions to the Cyprus problem such that serve its strategic purposes in the Middle East with transformation of Cyprus into a permanent thermonuclear base of NATO and SENTO.

Cyprus has recently experienced difficult days due to the Anglo-American intrigues and multifaceted pressures.

But all the subterranean and satanic actions of imperialism, all conspiracies of the British, Americans, West Germans and Turkish reactionaries, have been crushed and frustrated by the wonderful unity and our determination, thanks to the granite will of the

people-army-government to defend the line of non-aligned independence—self-determination. All the hitherto ingrained pursuits of imperialism and its organs, crashed on the impregnable rock of the wonderful popular unity in fight for a truly non-aligned independent Cyprus, free from foreign troops and military bases, a Cyprus whose people can, without foreign interventions and commitments, to decide freely and democratically its future.

Cypriot people,

This enviable and ethno-saving unity that became an object of admiration and appreciation by democratic and liberal peoples around the world, do not allow it to be undermined and shaken by the imperialists and their institutions. Preserve it, grow it, make it even stronger and unshakable because it is the key to the victorious outcome of your national-liberation struggle.

With the banner of unity rally even more closely around the common national-liberation line, help and defend with self-sacrifice this anti-imperialist line and the Makarios government from the subterranean attacks of NATO and its institutions. Defend the status of the Cypriot state from those who want to dismantle it in order to promote the NATO designs. Help and protect your conscripted children, our heroic National Guard, from the divisive pro-NATO actions and strengthen it even more to remain until the end the proud defender and guard of your own genuine anti-imperialist, national desires and aspirations. Strengthen your fight against foreign military bases and foreign spy radio-news stations even more. Even more universal may be your giving in the struggle for the final liberation of our country from foreign troops, and from the terrible thermonuclear threat. The imperialist war centres whose existence in our country is incompatible with territorial integrity, real independence and freedom, must leave the sacred soil of Cyprus In the difficult and critical moments of our struggle.

In the difficult and critical moments of our struggle, the brotherly Greek people stood and stand firmly and wholeheartedly by our side. The countries of socialism, led by the Soviet Union, thwarted the plans of invasion and intervention, and helped your struggle morally and materially. The non-aligned countries have given you their moral support and encouragement.

Do not allow the imperialist reaction and its NATO institutions to undermine the solidarity and multifaceted support that your true friends and supporters have given and continue to give to your difficult struggle. With greater determination it developed the

bonds of friendship and solidarity with the socialist and non-aligned countries. Let the indestructible bonds that unite us with the brotherly Greek people become closer, who are selflessly fighting alongside you against NATO and its immune aspirations.

Imperialism did everything to bring the Greeks and Turks of Cyprus into conflict. It is your highest patriotic duty to resolutely break the artificial walls of hatred and prejudice that the treacherous instruments of imperialism they raised and are trying to rise higher between Greeks and Turks Cypriots.

Fully utilise the Cypriot Government's Declaration on Minorities Rights, put into practice the policy of peaceful and fraternal coexistence between Greeks and Turks and persistently, systematically, with self-denial of work to make the tree grow and flourish.

Patriotic People of Cyprus,

The problems you face in the economic sector are difficult and big. Workers, peasants, artisans, shopkeepers, scientists and intellectuals have to deal with their own problems.

AKEL, the Party that was born and raised by the historical need and the popular demand, the Party that is your creation and child of the Cypriots conditions and popular needs and struggles, stands, as always, at the forefront of the struggle for the promotion and solution of popular problems. AKEL officially gives assurance that it will continue to support with all its might the struggles of the workers for the solution of the problems that concern them with the flag of united action high.

People of Cyprus,

The 11th Congress of AKEL provides the assurance that, without counting efforts and sacrifices, it will raise the banner of unity even higher in all directions and in all areas. It will always remain a vigilant guard and a selfless, steadfast defender of its interests.

I CALL for the unity of all patriotic forces in the struggle against imperialism.

I ASK for the friendship and solidarity of the peoples for freedom and democracy.

I ASK for non-aligned independence-self-determination.

To the National Guard

The 11th Congress of AKEL pays the highest tribute to our heroic National Guard and to all the other Cypriot freedom fighters who with their self-denial and self-sacrifice enabled the successful resistance of the Cypriot people in the enslaving plans and interventions of the imperialists and their institutions.

Our heroic National Guard with its discipline, the readiness and the high fighting stood unwavering guardian of the honour and dignity of our homeland and rightly won the undivided love and appreciation of the whole of the Cypriot people.

The 11th Congress of AKEL greets our heroic national guardsmen who with the weapon in hand and in close cooperation and unbreakable unity with the people fighting on the front lines to thwart the plans and intrigues of the enemies of Cyprus.

It welcomes the heroic freedom fighters, who are faithful to its command of the people stood steadfast guards of the unbreakable unity of people-army and the government led by President Makarios, which is necessary condition and unique guarantee for the victorious outcome of the hard but just national liberation, anti-imperialist struggle of our people.

Our heroic National Guards! Stand steadfast guards of the unity of the People-Army and Government! Strengthen discipline and fighting even more your ability. Stand true to the commands and expectations of the people and her government! Be vigilant and ready to crack down on any conspiracy, subversive action directed against the President of the Republic Archbishop Makarios and the government! Hold up its banner our national liberation struggle for non-aligned independence—self-determination!

To Our Turkish Compatriots

The 11th Congress of AKEL addresses a warm fraternal greeting of hope and optimism to our Turkish compatriots who are obliged to live and struggle in the most unbearable and depressing conditions to pave the way for Greek-Turkish Cypriot friendship and reconciliation.

It addresses a greeting of solidarity and support to the Turkish compatriots who live and suffer the inhuman oppression, threats and humiliations—political, moral and economic—which are relentlessly imposed by the chauvinist extremist Turkish Cypriot leadership and its armed forces.

AKEL wishes for the umpteenth time to reassure its Turkish compatriots that he will continue even more decisively the struggle for the Greek-Turkish fellowship, to fall down the walls of artificial hatred and prejudice that Anglo-American imperialism has tried and is trying to build between us.

Once again, AKEL declares that Greeks and Turks can and should to live side by side as brothers, as they did for years before imperialism managed to impose division and discord.

From division and hatred, only foreigners, only the enemies of our people have to benefit. From the brotherhood and cooperation of Greeks and Turks only our enemies will lose and be harmed. But we Greeks and Turks from the Greek-Turkish Cypriot friendship and understanding will win the peace coexistence, the reconstruction of our country, the peaceful productive works and will give our families and children a better future.

The Cypriot government has already submitted the declaration to the UN on the rights that the Turks will enjoy within the framework of a Cyprus completely free from foreign interference and any commitments and has at the same time announced aid and protection measures for our Turkish compatriots who want to return back to their homes and to their peaceful work.

AKEL believes that all disputed issues can and should be resolved with negotiations between Greeks and Turks away from armed violence, without bloodshed and unbearable deprivations.

AKEL calls on our Turkish compatriots to find the will and the strength to fight to impose salvation and a united and common anti-imperialist path of Greek-Turkish reconciliation and cooperation that will lead our country towards happiness, peace and social prosperity.

AKEL assures our Turkish compatriots that it will fight with consistency and self-denial to make life and practice the policy of Greek-Turkish friendship and cooperation in order to remove the obstacles temporarily set up on our common path by foreigners to serve their own interests, because it believes that the happiness and prosperity of our Cyprus should be based on Greek-Turkish friendship and cooperation.

I WISH the Greek-Turkish cooperation in the common anti-imperialist struggle.

To the Greek People

The 11th Congress of AKEL addresses the brotherly Greek people warm and cordial greeting and wishes that the current struggle for the restoration of Constitutional normalcy and Democracy, crowned with complete success.

The victory of the united democratic forces in Greece will end all forms of persecution, inherited from the long-standing power of the reactionary right, will lead to the release of political prisoners and convicts and will make possible the repatriation of thousands of political exiles. At the same time, it will create the necessary conditions for the liberation of Greece from imperialist dependence on the NATO military offensive organisation and for the full restoration of democracy in Greece.

The Cypriot people who have been fighting for more than two years against the imperialist-inspired Turkish insurgency for non-aligned independence, self-determination, for the abolition of military bases and the territorial integrity of Cyprus, will never forget the great and wholehearted help given by our brother Greek people.

The 11th Congress once again expresses its warm thanks and gratitude for this help. We assure the Greek people that the struggle of the Cypriot people against the common enemy of Cyprus and Greece—imperialism—will continue with even greater force.

Any attempt to impose corrupt and anti-national solutions will be crushed by our united people and that we will eventually succeed in abolishing and eradicating all remnants left by colonialism, including the military bases.

AKEL firmly believes that with the joint efforts of the Cypriot and Greek people, with the sincere help of the progressive friendly countries that stand actively by our side, we will bring closer the day of victory, of satisfying our national desires, the genuine union of Cyprus with Greece.

To the People of South Vietnam

Dear comrades,

On behalf of the 11th Congress of the Progressive Party of Working People of Cyprus—AKEL—we address to the heroic people of Vietnam, a cordial racing greeting. The Cypriot communists like all Cypriot patriots, we are watching with admiration the fierce bloody struggle you are waging against the bloodthirsty American imperialism and its puppets, for the liberation of your martyred homeland, for peace, progress and prosperity of your people and for the unification of your country.

The Cypriot people who are fighting against the same common enemy, the Anglo-American imperialism and its institutions, for the conquest of the right to decide freely and sovereignly for its future, condemns with rage and indignation, the American imperialism furiously indulging in the awful work of desolating your country and the stifling of your liberation struggle.

We express the full solidarity of the Party and the entire Cypriot people towards your heroic liberation struggle and wholeheartedly support your proposals for a peaceful settlement of the Vietnamese problem. We are convinced that thanks to the heroism and self-sacrifice of the brave soldiers of your country and the huge moral and material support of Soviet Union and in the support of international public opinion, American gangsters will be expelled from your homeland and your people will gain the unity, sovereignty and freedom of their homeland.

To the People of German Democratic Republic

The 11th Congress of AKEL considers the peaceful settlement of the German problem as a vital issue for Europe and the whole world.

We express our appreciation for the peaceful policy of the German Democratic Republic, which seeks: normalisation of relations between the two German states, non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, general disarmament and the establishment of a European security system.

We express the gratitude of the Cypriot people to the United Socialist Party, the government and the people of the German Democratic Republic for their fervent support provided to the freedom fighter in Cyprus.

We wholeheartedly support the admission of German Democratic Republic to the UN because we believe that its participation will enhance the work of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace and the development of cooperation between peoples.

Our Congress condemns the pro-war policy of German Democratic Republic and especially its attempt to acquire nuclear weapons and its overt involvement in the internal affairs of Cyprus.

AKEL will continue to work to expand and strengthen the friendly relations between Cyprus and German Democratic Republic, for the mutual benefit of our peoples and maintenance of world peace.

Against Airplane Flights with Atomic Bombs

The positive and verified information that British and American planes, loaded with atomic bombs, are using Akrotiri bases for patrols in the Mediterranean area, caused great concern and feelings of intense indignation among the peaceful people of Cyprus.

The terrible danger, created both for Spain and for all Mediterranean countries, by the flight of the American atomic plane—last month—over Spain, still keeps in turmoil millions of people in Europe, Africa, the near and Middle East, including the Cypriot people.

The 11th Congress of AKEL expressing the feelings of the Cypriot people stigmatizes these criminal flights and denounces to the world public opinion the arbitrary and illegal use of Cypriot territory.

We call on the Cypriot government:

1. To protest strongly to the governments of the USA and the United Kingdom.
2. To demand that the Cypriot territory not be used and that the criminal aircraft flights to be terminated in general; and
3. To submit a complaint immediately to the United Nations.

THE TWELFTH CONGRESS OF AKEL, March 5-8, 1970

THE DECISIONS OF THE CONGRESS⁸²

THE DECISION OF THE 12TH CONGRESS OF AKEL

The 12th Congress of AKEL, which met in Nicosia on March 5-8 1970, after discussing the Action report of the C.C. and K.E.E. decides:

1. INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

The main feature of the international situation is the sharp axis between the forces of peace, the independence of the peoples of democracy and socialism, on the one hand, and war, national enslavement, fascism and imperialism on the other.

Imperialism, led by American imperialism, although it has not become stronger, continues to be a serious and dangerous enemy. Through raids, conspiracies and all kinds of interventions in internally of foreign countries, seeks to maintain its positions, to weaken the positions of socialism, to undermine the dominance of the democratic movement in capitalist countries, to generally halt the upward course of humanity to national emancipation, democracy and socialism.

The main peak of the epidemic strategy of imperialism is directed against socialist countries, because the world socialist system is the decisive force of the anti-imperialist struggle, which restrains imperialism and prevents it from regaining its lost dominance and initiative in the world. The aggression and adventurism of the American imperialists brought the world repeatedly to the brink of a world war.

⁸² Neos Dimokratias Magazine, Issue 31, August 1970

The main manifestations of the aggression of imperialism in the recent years were: The barbaric and inhumane invasion of American imperialism and its satellites against the heroic people of Vietnam. The adventurous war against the Arab peoples, waged by the reactionary Zionist circles of Israel, on behalf of the Anglo-American imperialists, the subversive efforts of imperialism in the socialist countries, the attempts to overthrow progressive governments, in various mainly newly independent countries, and finally the military fascist, coup in Greece, where, with the inspiration and help of the American CIA, the foreign military overthrew democracy, abolished all political freedom and democratic rights of the Greek people, turning Greece into a concentration camp.

Developments in the international situation confirm that imperialism, despite its continuing aggression, is no longer able to impose its will on the peoples, it cannot determine the main direction in the course of humanity. In our time, the forces of socialism, national liberation, the international working class and democracy, which form the world anti-imperialist front, exert a decisive impact on world developments.

The facts themselves unequivocally verify this basic finding:

In Vietnam, the most powerful imperialist power in the world, the US, along with its satellites, despite the enormous modern military forces it uses despite the inhumane methods of genocide, has failed to bend the resistance of the small but heroic Vietnamese people. Thanks to the unparalleled struggle of the Vietnamese people, thanks to its decisive help Soviet Union and other socialist countries, thanks to the unprecedented international solidarity manifested everywhere, even in the US itself, imperialism is suffering a humiliating defeat in Vietnam.

The victory of the Vietnamese people inspires all the peoples who are fighting for nationality freedom and independence, because it clearly proves that in our time even small peoples have the opportunity, when they fight resolutely and have the support of the world anti-imperialist powers, to win and successfully defend their independence.

In the Middle East, despite the temporary military successes with the conquest of Arab lands, the reactionary Zionist government of Israel, imperialism, which instigated and equipped it, failed to carry out its subversive plans, contrary to its aspirations, the progressive regimes in Syria and the USSR have

stabilised and strengthened. The national liberation anti-imperialist movement and the unity of the Arab peoples are on the rise. Progressive popular revolutions in Sudan and Libya overthrew the pro-imperialist regimes. The peoples and governments of the Arab countries turn more and more resolutely towards consistent allies and loyal friends, the Soviet Union, the socialist and non-aligned countries.

In the capitalist countries the working class and the other strata of the workers rise up in unprecedented mass struggles against exploitation and oppression of monopolies, demanding economic, political and social transformations. The mass strikes of the last two years in France, Italy, Japan and elsewhere, show the rise of the class struggle, is an expression of incurable contradictions of the capitalist system and its chronic crisis.

The intense monetary crisis in the main capitalist countries, the contradictions between France and Britain on the latter's entry into the EEC, the reactions of many capitalist countries in Europe towards their belligerent policies of the USA and NATO, the revival of the neo-fascist movements in Italy and W. Germany, the mass uprising of students are also manifestations of contradictions and the general crisis of capitalism.

The events of our time constantly confirm that the world socialist system is the decisive force of the anti-imperialist struggle. The existence and power of the socialist camp is mainly due to the change international balance of power in favour of peace, its national liberation democracy and social progress.

The socialist countries are constantly presenting amazing new achievements in economic and technological sector, in science, education, in the raising of the living and cultural standard of their peoples. With the development of its economic potential, its moral and social prestige and its military power, the world socialist system is a guarantee for the maintenance of world peace, for the cancellation of the imperialist adventurous plans imperialism against the peoples.

The socialist countries, and first of all the great Soviet Union, provide decisive comprehensive assistance in every liberation struggle, valuable support to the newly liberated peoples for their economic and social progress, for their independent development.

The unity of the world socialist camp acquires enormous importance in today's conditions for all struggling peoples and all the progressives forces in the world. The imperialists took

advantage of the differences and disagreements presented in the socialist camp and the international communist movement to develop their adventurous marauding policy.

The common aspirations, the common social, economic and political interests, which unite the socialist countries, are far stronger than differences of opinion that exist, so they will certainly lead to the consolidation of their unity and cooperation.

The socialist countries, led by the Soviet Union and in cooperation with non-aligned countries, are leading the fight for international recession, the repudiation of violence in international relations, the collective security of Europe, for general disarmament, peaceful coexistence of states and the guarantee of world peace. As a result of these efforts, there are some promising developments in the international situation, such as the positive response of some governments of Western Europe to the proposal of the Warsaw Pact countries for pan-European security, the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Convention and the US-Soviet talks to limit their nuclear potential.

Crucial to European and world security and peace is the recognition of post-war borders in Europe, the establishment of equal diplomatic relations between the two German states on the basis of international law, and the diplomatic recognition of the German Democratic Republic by all countries without exception.

To this end, the proposals of the German Democratic Republic, submitted through the President of the State Council to Government of West Germany are a positive contribution that must be fully utilised.

In the Mediterranean and the Middle East, the forces of peace, national liberation and social progress are being strengthened and consolidated. The progressive revolutions in Libya and Sudan, the consolidation of the progressives regimes in Syria, the **HAD** and Algeria, NATO's failure to divide and turn Cyprus into a missile base and finally strengthen it Soviet fleet in the Mediterranean are factors that change the balance forces at the expense of imperialism and contribute decisively to the final victory of the peoples.

The communist and workers' parties operating in almost all countries world are the vanguard of the progressive forces that are fighting for peace, peoples freedom, democracy and socialism. That is why "the cohesion of the Communist parties is the most important factor for the mobilisation of all anti-

imperialist forces” (“Main document”, International Conference p. 47).

The enormous tasks borne by the progressive forces of our time, the socialist countries ruled by the communist parties, the international labour movement, which waged fierce class struggles with monopoly power and the national liberation movement, which faced the aggression of imperialism, urgently require mobilisation and the unity of action of the international communist movement.

The disagreements and divisions that have arisen in the international communist and workers’ movement are a serious negative factor and must be overcome through contacts, honest discussions, regional and international conferences, with the exchange of experience and common struggles.

The International Conference of Communist and Workers’ Parties in Moscow, in June 1969, is a great achievement and milestone in the unity of action and the cohesion of the sister Parties. The Main Document of the International Conference equipped the world communist and workers’ movement with a complete assessment of the phenomena of our time, collectively defined the tasks of the anti-imperialist struggle and laid a solid foundation for the unity and cooperation of the communist parties based on the immortal principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

We express the full support of our Party for the decisions of the International Conference of Communist and Workers’ Parties of 1969 and our firm commitment to the unity of action and the cohesion of the world communist and workers’ movement. We condemn the dogmatic, divisive line of the leadership of C.P. of China and its unbridled anti-Sovietism that led to challenges and armed conflicts on the Sino-Soviet border and serving objectively the criminal plans of imperialism. The interests of China itself and the anti-imperialist front of the peoples demand the abandonment of this disastrous policy by the leadership of the C.P. of China, the development of cooperation and international solidarity with the socialist countries, the international communist movement and the anti-imperialist camp. We are sure that healthy forces within the C.P. of China will find a way to bring the Party to right path based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

Our Congress confirms the positive contribution and constructive action of the AKEL delegations at the Karlovy Vary Conference on the Mediterranean Rome Conference, Preparatory

Meetings and Moscow International Conference, and believes that the creative implementation of these decisions of the conferences will contribute to the unity of action of the sister parties and all anti-imperialist forces in general. The Congress also appreciates as positive and beneficial the results of the bilateral meetings that the C.C. with brother communist, workers' and national liberation parties and believes that these contacts contribute decisively to the development of the international solidarity and cooperation for the benefit of the common liberation struggle and the Cyprus issue.

The era of imperialism is closing to the west. Humanity is steadily marching towards peace, freedom, democracy and socialism. At the head of this path lies the world socialist system and the firm support of this system is the sacrifice-leading and powerful Soviet Union. Imperialism still remains a serious and dangerous enemy of the peoples, but the united anti-imperialist forces of socialism, national liberation and the International Labour Movement are able to thwart the criminal, adventurist plans of imperialism and ensure peace, freedom and social progress for all peoples around the world.

The working class and the communist parties in each country are at the head of these struggles for a happy future for all of mankind.

2. THE INTERNAL POLITICAL SITUATION

The main feature of the Cypriot political situation in the four years we have been reviewing have been the consistent and relentless struggle of the patriotic forces of the Cypriot people for a solution to the Cyprus problem, which is based on the principles of independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity of Cyprus free from foreign military bases and foreign troops and with guaranteed democratic and human rights for all citizens and clearly defined and guaranteed the specific rights of our Turkish compatriots. In this struggle, our Party played a significant role.

The 12th Congress unreservedly ratifies the line that the C.C. of the Party followed with persistence, determination and consistency, as well as the patriotic action developed to promote this line, based firmly on the decisions of the 11th Congress.

The Congress believes that only with its realisation is it possible to create the right conditions for the Cypriot people as a

whole to determine the future freely and without any foreign interference and pressure, based on the principles of the UN.

The imperialists have opposed and continue to oppose this line, with the Americans as their protagonists, and the pro-NATO forces, both Cypriot and foreign. This line has also been the target of criminal and subversive action of the fascist terrorist organisation "National Front". This line was also the target of the criminal and undermining action of the fascist terrorist organization "National Front". In response to this line, these forces promote, propagandise and seek the solution of the so-called "direct" or "coup" Union. Our Party resolutely opposes this line, because it will lead with mathematical precision, to the dismemberment, the enslavement of Cyprus to NATO and its transformation into a major modern thermonuclear base—a stronghold of imperialism against the progressive forces of our region and the socialist countries.

As part of their reaction to this line and to hurt the struggle of our people, the hostile imperialist powers and their institutions imposed the Greek-Turkish dialogue, which was a serious diversion of the Cyprus problem from its correct course of solution. All the patriotic forces of our people reacted decisively to this diversion. Our Party played a leading role in condemning and uncovering the Greek-Turkish dialogue as a process by which imperialism sought to impose a solution to the Cyprus problem, mainly serving its own interests.

As a result of the unwavering and united struggle of all patriotic forces of our people, the Greek-Turkish dialogue ended in utter bankruptcy. The line of the feasible solution, which followed the failure of the Greek-Turkish dialogue and the crisis of November 1967 and which was announced by the President of the Republic at the beginning of 1968, is a victory of the patriotic forces of the Cypriot people. This line consist in the creation of a fully independent, sovereign, territorially complete and united Cyprus with clearly defined and guaranteed rights of the Turkish Cypriots.

Our Party has fully and unreservedly supported this line, which is in line with its line and contributed with all its forces to the popular, solemn approval with the presidential elections of 25/2/1968.

The line of the possible solution and the peace measures, implemented by the Government and with the support of our Party, they created the right atmosphere and favourable conditions for

the start of the ongoing Cypriot talks normally since June 1968. The intra-Cypriot talks, which have as the main aim of finding a peaceful, just and sustainable solution to the interest of all Cypriots—Greeks and Turks—were a decisive turn towards the solution of the Cyprus problem.

All the developments around the Cyprus issue confirm the correctness of the policy of our Party, that the Cyprus issue must be resolved peacefully, by political and not military means.

The Congress welcomes our shift to intra-Cypriot talks. Our Party will continue to provide unreserved support in the future to the intra-Cypriot talks, which are the only right path for a just and peaceful solution to the Cyprus problem and will contribute with all its forces to the recession, conciliation and reconciliation among the Greeks and Turkish Cypriots.

Despite the serious difficulties that exist for their success, despite the efforts of imperialism and the other enemies of our people—local and foreign—to torpedo them, the talks must continue as the proper process of any other, especially a new Greek-Turkish dialogue or a new five-party conference. A new Greek-Turkish dialogue or a new five-part dialogue will not provide a solution to the Cyprus problem in the interests of the people of Cyprus as a whole, but instead a solution that will be at the expense of the Cypriot people and will primarily serve the strategic and other interests of the NATO imperialists, enemies of Cyprus.

As a result of the talks and peace measures there is now a better and more favourable climate for the rapprochement of Greeks and Turks, while at the same time an agreement has been reached between the two sides on various issues. However, despite the progress made in the talks, they come up against the essential issue of local and regional administration, where the views of the two sides are seriously and substantially different to the point where there is a risk that the talks will reach an impasse. The main point on which there is a fundamental and essential disagreement between the views of the government and the leadership of the Turkish Cypriots is the question of the composition and powers that the authorities of the local and regional administration will have.

In particular, the essence of the dispute in this issue lies in the question of whether these authorities should be constituted on a purely national basis and whether they will have powers to legislate outside the framework of central legislation and control of the government—as the Turkish side demands—or not. The 12th

Congress of our Party expresses its belief that the intra-Cypriot talks, despite the difficulties that exist in the essential issue of local administration, can reach complete success, as long as the common goal is set and the solution of the Cyprus problem is honestly pursued based on the proclaimed and conciliatory line for a fully independent, sovereign, non-aligned, territorially intact, unified and demilitarised Cyprus, in which the rights of Turkish Cypriots will be clearly defined and adequately guaranteed.

In the context of such a solution, the issue of local and regional administration must also be considered. By carefully approaching this issue, the government must show patience, understanding and flexibility, ready to respond positively to any relevant proposal of the Turkish Cypriot leadership, as long as it does not contain divisive elements that will substantially negate the concept of a single state, which is unacceptable, because this would not serve the real interests of the entire Cypriot people—Greeks and Turks. It is in this spirit and away from all chauvinism and racial hatred, which imperialism has every interest in fomenting, that the democratic, just and peaceful solution of the Cyprus problem can be found.

AKEL IS THE BANNER OF THE UNITY IN THE NATIONAL LIBERATION STRUGGLE

A cornerstone of our Party's policy and action in the national liberation struggle of our people, in the efforts to find a peaceful and just solution to the Cyprus problem and to neutralise the subversive efforts of imperialism and its institutions, as well as in the struggle for the problems of the popular masses, remains unity and united struggle of all the patriotic forces of our people, with the main goal of the most ruthless enemy, imperialism, against which the struggle of our Party and the other patriotic forces of our people must be directed.

On this basis, our Party has repeatedly proposed to all the patriotic forces of the people the formation of a national anti-imperialist front of struggle based on a minimum programme.

The 12th Congress of our Party approves and ratifies the patriotic line of unity steadily and consistently followed by the C.C. Especially the Congress approves the position of C.C. referring to the establishment of various parties, according to which the anti-imperialist, liberation stage of our struggle requires the

maintenance and strengthening of unity and cooperation between the parties, based on a minimum programme for unified promotion of our struggle and solution of the serious problems of the Cypriot people, at the same time each party will maintain its independence and autonomy.

Our Congress also approves the position of the C.C. on the elections which consists in the fact that the interest of the Cypriot people and our anti-imperialist demands that the elections be a milestone for further strengthening of the universal patriotic unification and unity of all patriots forces of our people with a global understanding and cooperation for joint confrontation of any difficulties, for a realistic, far from any dangerous demagoguery, peaceful and just solution to the Cyprus problem.

The Congress also approves the Party's tactics towards the President of the Republic and its Government. Our Party firmly consistently supports the President and his Government, not to serve any selfish interests and aspirations, but because this was required in the interest of the struggle of our people, the interest of the national cause. Our Party supports the President and the Government because it agrees on the most essential thing—the rejection of imperialist plans and intrigues for the partition and subjugation of Cyprus to NATO and for the peaceful and just solution of the Cyprus problem, based on the principles non-aligned independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and a unified of the Cypriot state. Our support to the President and the Government does not in any way preclude criticism of any decision, action or omission of the Government which in our opinion does not serve the interests of the Cypriot people. But also our criticism of the Government must be constructive and submissive in the general interest of the patriotic unity of the people.

The Congress welcomes the pioneering role of our Party in the issue of unity, fully appreciates the positive role of the President of the Republic as well and the contribution of all patriots in achieving, as far as possible, the unity of action in the conduct of our national liberation struggle and calls on the Party as a whole to guard, preserve, expand and strengthen the ethno-saving patriotic unity of our people. Our ambition and pursuit of unity is to achieve the formation in an organised form of one united patriotic, anti-imperialist Front, in which all Cypriot patriots—Greeks, Turks, Armenians, Maronites can participate—men and women, regardless of political, ideological or other differences, manage to agree on a

minimum programme of anti-imperialist struggle for a just and peaceful solution to the Cyprus problem. On such a front the working class, with the high organisation, dedication and militancy that distinguishes it, must play a pioneering role and in alliance with the peasantry to form the backbone of this Front.

The Akelists must work in this direction daily and tirelessly, promoting unity on the daily problems of the masses, with the conviction that in this way they contribute to the building of the united, anti-imperialist front.

ABOUT OUR RELATIONS WITH OUR TURKISH COMPATRIOTS

In its action for a fair and peaceful solution of the Cyprus problem and for the promotion of the problems of the popular masses the C.C. of our Party, guided by the decision of the 11th Congress, worked consistently for the rapprochement of Greek and Turkish Cypriots. The favourable conditions created by the Government's peace measures and intra-Cypriot talks allowed the Party and the other patriotic forces, which correctly appreciate the importance of rapprochement of Greeks and Turks, to develop their work in this direction, so that today there is a better climate in relations between Greek and Turkish Cypriots that gradually leads to the restoration of mutual trust, friendship and cooperation.

As a result of this new situation, there are new political movements and activities in progressive directions among our Turkish compatriots.

Our Congress gives a very special importance to our work among our fellow Turks and in general to the relations between Greeks and Turks of Cyprus, especially today when an effort is being made for a just and peaceful solution of the Cyprus problem in the interest of the Cypriot people as a whole with the intra-Cypriot talks.

Recognising the damage caused by imperialism, this common enemy of ours, who by inciting and exploiting chauvinism, succeeded in bringing about a serious rift in the relations of mutual trust, friendship, cooperation and peaceful coexistence of Greeks and Turks, we must make more efforts to neutralise this serious damage, and succeed in restoring the good old relations.

In fulfilling this task both the Government and the people must contribute more decisively. The government must take a more positive approach to all the problems faced by the Turkish masses

and contribute to their solution with practical and concrete measures, the repair of the houses of Turkish Cypriot refugees and their return to them, as well as providing assistance to resume their peaceful activities. At the same time, professional organisations must play more active role in shaking up and resolving the multiple economic and other problems faced by Turkish Cypriot workers, peasants and toilers in general.

At the same time, the Turkish Cypriot leadership must make a positive contribution to promoting this approach by taking concrete measures, the first of which be the restoration of free communication in the so-called Turkish sectors.

Only with such a policy, only with the concrete and positive approach and solution to the problems faced by Turks and Greeks is it possible to break down the wall of suspicion and hatred set by imperialism and build the bridge of mutual understanding and mutual trust, friendship and cooperation between the Greeks and the Turkish Cypriots. The Greek workers, peasants and toilers in general must develop unity and cooperation with their Turkish colleagues and organisations based on their common problems. Only then will they stabilize and will strengthen the smooth relations and conditions of peaceful coexistence, that is necessary condition for a fair, peaceful and sustainable solution to the Cyprus problem and future progress. The Congress approving the action of the C.C. calls on every Akelist and in general every Cypriot patriot to works tirelessly, daily and persistently, on this fundamental issue, for the rapprochement and strengthening of the relations Greeks and Turks.

THE FOREIGN POLICY OF CYPRUS

The period since the previous Congress has once again confirmed who are firm friends and who are the bitter enemies of Cyprus and the just cause of our people. At the critical moments of our struggle, the socialist and non-aligned countries, and first of all the Soviet Union, stood unreservedly by Cyprus and offered us undivided and incalculable moral and material assistance. On the contrary, the imperialists led by the American imperialists, worked out successive conspiratorial plans against Cyprus.

The anti-imperialist character of our struggle is a decisive factor for a sound foreign policy of Cyprus and the Government. To serve the struggle of our people and their cause, the most

appropriate foreign policy for Cyprus is the policy of non-aligned neutrality, which naturally places Cyprus in the camp of non-aligned countries.

This policy secures in Cyprus the support of the socialist and non-aligned countries and is a decisive factor in repelling the imperialist conspiracies for the abolition of the Cypriot state, for the coup d'etat of the Makarios government, and the imposition of illegitimate solutions to the Cyprus problem, such as the dismemberment, the double Union and the submission of Cyprus to the marauding NATO.

Following its policy with even greater determination and consistency of non-aligned neutrality, the Government needs to further strengthen the ties with the socialist countries and especially with the Soviet Union, to which our people are grateful for the enormous moral and material support and solidarity, and assistance, as well as with other non-aligned countries.

At the same time, the policy of non-aligned neutrality must be expressed through positive attitude and active support of the Cypriot government in its efforts for the solution of the great problems of our time—the general and complete disarmament, the abolition of foreign military bases—and solidarity and support for the peoples who are fighting against imperialism.

Our Party will work for the implementation of such an anti-imperialist foreign policy and will willingly provide its support to the Government in promoting and implementing the policy of non-aligned neutrality.

THE ECONOMIC FRONT

The Conference welcomes the significant growth of the Cypriot economy in the years 1966-1968 which is manifested by the continuous growth of the gross domestic product and per capita national income. This development is the result of the planning of the Cypriot economy, the immediate and indirect interference and encouragement of the state and conscious work of the working class and other toilers.

While welcoming these positive steps for the growth of the economy, the Congress cannot agree with some government measures that do not contribute to economic independence of Cyprus and weaken our economic front.

The policy of encouraging the inflow of foreign private and monopoly capital in Cyprus is detrimental to our economy and can lead gradually in economic, and then in political enslavement.

Good economic policy is the policy of gradual reduction and finally termination of the activities of foreign companies, its prohibition inflow of new foreign capital and direct and indirect intervention, assistance and encouragement for the establishment of Cypriot companies—state-owned, semi-state, private and cooperatives. In the field of trade policy, it is imperative that positive course for changing the one-sided orientation of our trade with Britain and the EEC countries with the further development of our trade relations with all countries and especially the socialist countries. Only this way the economic dependence of Cyprus on the imperialist countries will be reduced and our country will be able to follow the path of independence without hindrance economic development and non-aligned foreign policy.

The trade policy that benefits Cyprus is not the policy of restriction of our trade in the UK and EEC markets or more of Cyprus' accession to the EEC, but the policy of development trade relations with all countries, including countries of the EEC, on the basis of parity and mutual benefit and without any economic, political or other commitments.

Government fiscal policy must tend to increase productive sectors of our economy, so that it is constantly reduced and finally eliminate the dependence of our economy on volatile resources, such as the revenue from the British bases. Tourism is also an important industry of our developing economy and a valuable source of securing foreign exchange to cover the trade deficit of Cyprus.

Our Party will fight on the side of the trade unions for fairer distribution and redistribution of national income, for the determination of a minimum wage that meets the economic and cultural needs of the country, for equal pay for working women, for its improvement social security plan and wages and salaries in general, working conditions and social and other security benefits a dignified life in the working class. which constitutes, together with the peasantry, the main and decisive force of our economic and political front.

Our Party will fight alongside the agricultural organisations to resolve the serious issue land problem through a well-thought-out agrarian reform, for the solution of the capital problem of

irrigation, of the problems agricultural debt, markets and prices for agricultural products, problems of mountainous areas and areas with poor crops like other agricultural problems to secure in hardworking peasants of a life worthy of their labours.

Our Party will help and support the struggles of the middle classes to ensure cheap professional housing, securing low-interest loans and generally solving the multiple problems they face.

Our Party will contribute with all its forces to the solution of the multiple problems faced by our scientists and intellectuals, this dialect part of the workers of our country, especially in the current conditions of scientific and technical revolution.

The expansion of free education and the introduction of free medicine care will be in the centre of the Party because it is related directly with the education and health of our people.

The economic policy of AKEL is a patriotic, genuine Cypriot policy whose main goal is the economic and political independence of Cyprus and the continuous rise of the living and cultural standard of all employees the working class, the peasantry, the middle classes and the intelligentsia.

3. THE MASS POPULAR MOVEMENT

The contribution of the mass popular movement to the national liberation struggle of our people, to the struggle for the abolition of foreign military bases and for the promotion and solution of the economic and social problems of the people has been decisive and of paramount importance.

The struggle for peace and the abolition of British bases is inextricably linked to the struggle of the people for a non-aligned, fully independent sovereign and a united Cyprus.

The Peace Movement is at the forefront of our people's struggle to demilitarise and thwart the imperialist plans to use Cyprus as a base against the Arab peoples. It expresses its peaceful feelings at every opportunity of our people and its solidarity and support for the heroic Vietnamese people, our neighbouring Arab peoples and in general to all peoples who fight against imperialism and colonisation for freedom, democracy and progress.

By participating in international conferences and seminars, the peace movement highlights the demand of our people for the abolition of the bases from the Cyprus territory and for the protection of world peace.

Our Party, fully appreciating the positive and saving role for our people played by the peace movement must contribute even more actively to it strengthening. Our Party believes that the peace movement can and should further improve its work, attract more cadres from the circles of intellectuals and scientists, and to develop its activity, using new forms of struggle, so that become even more powerful and better meet the lofty goals that was set to serve.

The labour union movement is the vanguard in the national liberation struggle of our people. Militant, revolutionary in nature, the labour movement plays, together with the peasantry, decisive and pioneering role in the anti-imperialist, national liberation struggle of our people.

The trade union movement stood at the forefront of the struggle for a just and peaceful solution to the Cyprus problem through intra-Cypriot talks, strongly condemning the criminal activity of the illegal fascist organisations and imperialist conspiracies to undermine the talks and the imposition of a NATO solution to the Cyprus problem.

In the context of the right policy of self-restraint, the trade union movement, fighting for a fairer distribution and redistribution of national income with the united struggles of the working class, stirred up and solved several problems. Despite its remarkable successes, however, the working class is facing serious problems: increasing the wages, especially the lowest paid, the equal pay for women for the same work, the further improvement of the labour force legislation, the further development of standards of living and general improvement of working conditions; and the rest of workers, thousands of whom are paid very low wages—all of which must be at the centre of the trade union movement's attention.

Regarding the organisational situation, one must pay attention to the fact that while in general, the trade union movement has expanded its circle of activity in almost all industries, trade and services, the trade union movement failed to significantly increase its numerical strength. Despite the generally high level of organisation of the labour movement, there are still thousands of disorganised workers, men and women. The progressive trade union movement must pay particular attention to this situation.

Our Party has serious duties to do in relation to the trade union movement.

In particular, our Party must contribute with all its forces to the organisation of the disorganised and the comprehensive strengthening of the trade unions organisations, as well as the strengthening of class and political education of the working class, preparing it to play its historical role for the socialist transformation of society. To stir up the problems of workers, to promote the demand for a fairer distribution and redistribution of national income and a policy of prices, wages and incomes for the benefit of the working class and workers. For the unity of workers and their organisations based on their day-to-day problems. The unification of trade unions will greatly strengthen the labour movement of our country and the struggle of workers for the claim of their demands, as well as the general national liberation struggle of the Cypriot people. Finally, our Party must contribute even more to achieving the workers' and peasants' alliance, which will be the broad base of the national liberation, the anti-imperialist front and the rallying point of all other strata of the Cypriot people.

The peasant movement together with the labour movement, is the axis of the national liberation movement our struggle to repel the imperialist partition plans and enslavement of Cyprus to NATO and for the protection of the right solution to the Cyprus problem from the insidious subversive efforts of the imperialists and their institutions, both local and foreign. The peasant movement has developed a very rich and remarkable action in recent years based on daily problems of the peasantry. The main feature of all the struggles of the peasant movement was their unified character, the unity with which these struggles were conducted. The significant and remarkable benefits that peasants have achieved in recent years are basically a product of the right tactics with which the peasant movement handles the problems of the peasantry, of their united struggles and the coordinated actions of their organisations in Parliament and to the Government. In these struggles, the need for professional unity is increasingly realised.

Despite the successes of the peasant movement, peasants still face a number of problems. Our Party is called upon to contribute with all its forces for the organisation of peasants in their organisations and in their further promotion of cooperation between them, until the conditions ripe for their full merger. Our Party must also contribute to the active work of its member peasants, to stir up and promote the most immediate and serious problems of peasants, such as the problem of agriculture reform,

high land rents, water, agricultural debt and the problem of safety of agricultural product and their disposal at barren prices and more.

AKEL policy serves the interests of peasants and based on this policy it is imperative that we develop our action in the agricultural sector in all aspects.

The cooperation movement is the most massive movement in our country. The co-operative members of our Party play an important role in the cooperative movement and contribute to the development, expansion, unity and its guidance. Cooperation helps to solve serious economic problems of the productive classes, especially the peasants.

The main problem for our Party in terms of cooperation is revision of the anachronistic and anti-democratic provisions of the colonial law on cooperation and its replacement with a modern, democratic law as well as the creation of a broad democratic confederation of all cooperative associations in Cyprus, which will greatly enhance the unity and action of the cooperative movement.

The movement of professionals and artisans unites in its lines an important part of the Cypriot population and plays a great role in the economy and social life of the country. Professionals and artisans face quite serious problems, including those created by the abnormal situation. The most serious of these is the problem of legalisation of professional housing, which for the shopkeeper is the most important means of securing his livelihood.

Our Party has the means of its professional members to help even more in their struggle for the solution of the serious problems they face, as well as for the further strengthening of their unified organisation and the restoration of the unity of motorists' organisations.

The women's movement offers important services to our national liberation struggle, actively participates in the peace movement, and through various events contributes to the rise of the cultural level of our people.

Our Party taking into account that women are more than half of the Cypriot population and that the woman entered the more massively into production, must pay more attention to the women's movement and help it even more in solving the multiple and serious problems facing its massification, promoting unity and more active agitation of special problems of the female population, workers, employees, peasant women and political activity. In general, our

Party will continue to give every support for solving the general and specific problems, faced by women, to improve their position.

The intelligentsia and scientists face many and serious problems. Such are: the conditions for intellectual creative work, the mood of their intellectual work, for their professional rehabilitation, their payroll and in general their working conditions. Intellectuals and scientists as spiritual people are a valuable asset for our people and our country. From their position, they can also play a very important role in the development of the Cypriot economy and the rising standard of living of the people.

Looking critically at our work among intellectuals and scientists, must say that although we always emphasize the importance of our work among them, we have not done our task satisfactorily, resulting in too many weaknesses in this area.

Our Congress, properly appreciating the role of the intelligentsia and the scientists gives instructs the C.C. to deal specifically with our work and tasks concerning the intelligentsia and scientists in a short period of time.

The Cypriot youth with the patriotism and militancy that distinguishes it plays an important role in our people's struggle for full independence, sovereignty and integrity of Cyprus and its liberation from any imperialist presence and dependence. The youth is the backbone of the Cypriot National Guard and is a firm support to the struggle against the invasion threats and the imperialist intrigues for the partition of Cyprus and its subjugation to NATO invasion.

The Cypriot youth is facing problems, the main ones of which are; extension of free education in secondary schools, democratic education and youth education, vocational guidance, appropriate technical and scientific training of young people, their vocational rehabilitation of youth, appropriate youth entertainment and others.

The reactionaries, especially imperialism and its institutions make coordinated efforts to educate the youth in its spirit intolerance and reactionary principles and lure it into anti-communism.

The education of the youth must be based on democratic ideals of our time the ideals of peace, the freedom of peoples, democracy, social progress, the anti-imperialist struggle and socialism. At the same time, the youth must know the rich history and the great struggles of our labour movement which will help in

raising its class and political level and to devote its forces to serve and to further strengthen of this movement.

Our Party must continue to provide all possible assistance to the youth, students, student and workers to deal with the many and varied economic, cultural, social and other problems, as well as for the further strengthening of its organisations and developing unity along its lines.

For the education:

The Party attaches great importance to education, as a key factor for the economic, cultural and social life of our country.

Despite the positive progress made during the years of the Republic of Cyprus in the expansion of general and technical education, many serious issues remain unresolved. The most serious immediate problems in this area are:

The extension of free compulsory education until the 15th year of age, from next year. Adaptation of the types and programs of secondary schools to the needs of our developing economy in all sectors.

Providing scholarships to excellent students, who are destitute, for higher studies abroad.

Sport, and especially football, attracts large masses of young people and the people in general.

Cypriot sports and sports clubs face many financial problems, stadiums, raising the level of athletes, expansion of classical sports etc. The establishment of the Cyprus Sports Organisation is a positive step for the planned response to all these problems.

Our Party must:

To show greater interest in all the problems of sport and to help more sports clubs to deal with their problems in the best way. For this purpose, C.C. must deal especially with the problems of sport.

For cultural development:

To create more opportunities and suitable conditions for the employment of scientists.

To support by the state the artists, intellectuals and writers who are a valuable asset for our country.

To establish a state theatre, a state gallery and state libraries That effectively serve our scientists and researchers.

To support from the state the artistic and other cultural initiatives and activities of youth associations and organisations.

Our Party will pay special attention to the solution of the problems of scientists, artists and intellectuals, to their better contact with the people and their greatest contribution to the development and progress of our country.

For the health of the people,

To reorganise and expand the existing medical and health services to serve the people more effectively.

Fill immediately all vacancies for doctor seats in rural areas and in provincial hospitals.

To organise a full school service, to appoint specialised midwives in the villages and to receive greater medical care for infants and toddlers.

Implement strict control over the prices of medicines in order to stop speculation at the expense of public health.

We consider all these measures to be temporary, because we believe that the conditions for the implementation of a complete system of free medical care for all the people have matured.

THE PARTY

FOR A MORE MASSIVE, TIGH-KNIT FIGHTING PARTY OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

AKEL today has great appreciation and influence among a wide range of people. This is due to the correctness of its patriotic policy and tactics and the consistency with which it implements this policy in practice. Based on this line and its tactics, and developing its organisational work, our Party played a pioneering, decisive role in all these years of testing of our people, and in spite of all the objective difficulties, it basically responded to the multiple tasks that came in front of him.

An important contribution to the promotion of the organisational work and the overcoming of organisational weaknesses was the Pancyprian Organisational Congress, which with the 11th Congress was organised by the C.C. in January 1968 with the main theme: the organisational problems of the Party.

The 12th Congress ratifies the decisions of the Congress and considers them an important contribution to the development of organisational work. Working on the basis of findings and decisions of the Congress, the leading organisations of the Party from top to bottom developed the organisational work in various areas, resulting in progress in our work. Despite improving the work of Party organisations, the main conclusion of the Organizing Congress is still valid that “the organisational work of the Party does not correspond adequately to the political duties of the Party in the current conditions, does not fully correspond to the broad ideological and political influence of the Party among the people”, as well as the fact that “the main cause for this situation is the subjective weaknesses and mainly the shortcomings of the organisational and enlightening work of the Party”.

For the all-round strength of our Party, so that it responds more worthy of its destination and plays its role even more effectively, we must look at the organisational problems of the Party with all seriousness and work with all our might for their solution. The number one organisational problem of our Party is the problem of the cadres, both in terms of numbers for the satisfactory staffing of all Party organisations, and in terms of ideological and theoretical training. Our Party, having to face many

serious political and other problems, constantly needs more cadres, with better theoretical and ideological training able to assimilate and apply correctly in practice within specific Cypriot conditions the theory of Marxism-Leninism.

The strengthening of work and the C.C. and the Central Guiding Offices and Organisations, with a better division of labour and their staffing with new cadres, in order to better fulfill their duties must be the subject of careful study of the new C.C. within its framework promotion of new cadres.

At the same time you must:

- Make our Party even more massive with the recruitment of new members among all the working classes, men and women, so that it takes root everywhere where the working people live and work. Particular attention should be taken give to the recruitment of women in the Party, decisively striking down the devaluation towards women wherever it occurs.

- Improve even more quantitatively and qualitatively the work of the Party base, which is the foundation of the Party and in which the main weaknesses are manifest.

- Improve the work of all leading organisations. The demonstration of more initiative and greater responsibility, the collective way of work and better allocation, better preparation and organisation of work constructive criticism and self-criticism, its encouragement free democratic debate within the Party, are measures that will help greatly to improve and elevate the Party work in all areas.

- To strengthen and organise political vigilance more systematically. To preserve like the apple of an eye and to forge even more so the unity and monolithic of the Party lines, both in leadership as well as below.

- Pay close attention to ideological and theoretical work and to help the Party as a whole to acquire more ideologically and theoretical supplies. To fulfill this task we must organise special schools at provincial and central level, lectures and to encourage self-education. To raise the theoretical level to organise discussions and seminars on specific theoretical and ideological issues and to improve significantly the content of the theoretical Party organ of the ***Democrat***. Also to improve our work in the field of agitation and propaganda by strengthening our main weapon in this field, the ***Dawn (XAPAYTH)*** and increase its circulation significantly, as well as those of other publications serving the movement.

- To constantly develop the Party's finances, which is necessary for the smooth operation of the Party and its staffing, where needed with new cadres.

The Duties of the Party

The 12th Congress taking into account the specific situation in Cyprus and the current political developments as the most immediate and key tasks for the Party and our people the following:

1. The struggle for a just, democratic and peaceful solution to the Cyprus problem based on the line for a fully independent, sovereign, territorially integrated and unified, demilitarised Cyprus, with the democratic rights of all citizens and the specific rights of the Turkish Cypriots are clearly defined and guaranteed. This is the solution that can be reached in the current conditions through intra-Cypriot talks.

In the sense that any other process, namely: a new Greek-Turkish dialogue or a new five-party dialogue, cannot provide a solution to the Cyprus problem in favour of the Cypriot people, our Party must contribute fully to the success of the intra-Cypriot talks.

2. The struggle for the abolition of British "sovereign" bases and in general the demilitarisation of Cyprus. Cyprus can and must, through the struggle of the people, cease to be a base-base of the imperialists against other peoples and become a centre of peace, friendship and cooperation of peoples. This will be a great contribution to peace both in the Middle East and in the world.

3. The struggle for the strengthening of national patriotic unity and cooperation among all the patriotic forces of the Cypriot people, for the support of the talks and the promotion of the Cypriot issue towards a democratic, peaceful and a just solution for the decisive and definitive fight against the illegality and criminal activity of fascist, terrorist organizations, inspired and guided by the imperialist services.

Within the framework of this unity, the task of pan-Party consultation and cooperation in the parliamentary elections, which must be held in the most democratic manner and with the proportional electoral system, as the fairest system of parliamentary representation of the people.

4. The cultivation and promotion of mutual understanding, mutual trust, friendship and cooperation between Greek and

Turkish Cypriots. To this end, it is necessary to defeat chauvinism wherever it manifests itself and unceasingly and persistently expose its role of imperialism, which incites national hatred, to maintain unrest and anomaly in the relations between Greeks and Turks. With our work in all areas and especially with the solution of economic problems, we must encourage the rapprochement of our Greek and Turkish compatriots, which is a necessary condition for reaching a solution to the Cyprus problem and for the common anti-imperialist struggle of the entire Cypriot people.

5. The struggle for a fairer distribution and redistribution of national income, fairer tax system and profit control. Workers, employees, peasants, professionals and artisans, scientists and intellectuals—are the creators of increased national wealth.

Our Party must contribute with all its might to the workers to enjoy a larger share of national income than they receive today. Our Party must also contribute to the implementation of a fairer tax system as well as the imposition by the Government of control on profits, especially in super profits.

6. The comprehensive strengthening of the mass, popular movement and the promotion of unity between the professional and other mass and political organisations. Based on the daily problems faced by employees and various organisations, Akelists must work for the organisation of the disorganised, for the uniform mobilisation of the workers, in general for the comprehensive strengthening of the mass, popular organisations and the solution of its economic, social, cultural, community and other problems of the people.

7. Above all, our Congress emphasizes the basic duty of all Akelists, ordinary members and cadres and all the organisations of the Party from the C.C. to the bottom for the all-round strength of our Party. Without a strong Party it is not possible to fulfill multiple and serious policies and other problems posed by current local and international conditions in front of our people.

In order to strengthen our Party even more, we must make a decisive turn to our organisational and ideological work. Our organisational and the ideological work must rise to the level required by the current conditions and the political tasks we shoulder and aim to exploit to a greater extent the political influence and prestige that our Party has in the broad masses of the Cypriot people. This is how we will make our Party capable to respond more worthily to its pioneering role, to carry them out

political and class struggles that await us and fulfill honourably its historic mission for a truly free, prosperous and happy Cyprus.

THE RESOLUTIONS OF THE CONGRESS⁸³

THE RESOLUTION OF THE 12TH CONGRESS ON THE MURDER ATTEMPT AGAINST THE PRESIDENT MAKARIOS

The 12th CONGRESS of AKEL, on the 4th and last day of its work, with feelings of disgust and indignation, was informed of the shocking fact, that this morning, fascist elements, instruments of imperialism, raised their sinister criminal hand to kill, in the most cowardly and awful way the President of the Republic of Cyprus, Archbishop Makarios.

The 12th Congress of AKEL condemns and stigmatizes the most intense and decisive way the criminal assassination attempt against the President Republic of Cyprus, which is certainly part of a more general evil imperialist plan, has repeatedly denounced by our Party, for the overthrow of President Makarios, the enforcement of the law of the fascist jungle in Cyprus and the dismemberment of the island, based on the criminal aspirations of NATO.

The 12th Pancyprrian Congress of AKEL demands the immediate arrest and exemplary punishment of traitor criminals, demands strict measures to be taken cleansing the internal front from fascist criminal activity and calls on the people to be vigilant and mobilise en masse for protection of President Makarios, to defend the patriotic line for a Cyprus fully committed, independent, unfounded and fully demilitarised.

⁸³ *ibid.*

THE RESOLUTION TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF CYPRUS ARCHBISHOP MAKARIOS

Beatitude.

The 12th Congress of AKEL that met in Nicosia from 5 to 8 March after hearing and discussing the political proposal submitted on behalf of the Central Committee of our Party by its General Secretary, Mr. E. Papaioannou authorises the Bureau to submit to Your Beatitude the following:

(a) AKEL unreservedly supported your decision on the turn of Cypriot policy towards the pursuit of the possible solution of the Cyprus problem within the prevailing Cypriot and international treaties. This patriotic decision of yours, approved by the patriotic majority of the people, is an important service to Cyprus and its cause.

(b) AKEL has always supported and ruthlessly continues to argue that the Cyprus problem is a political problem that can and must be solved in the uniquely correct way of intra-Cypriot talks. We do not ignore the difficulties that exist. But we believe that if the method of conversation presents difficulties, the method of violence, the revival of the Greek-Turkish dialogue, or the Pentagon lead directly to disaster and partition. The talks must continue and succeed and our Party will support every initiative and every bold decision that leads to the success of the talks, to the acceptable feasible solution.

(c) AKEL condemned the illegality and whose main aim is the patriotic realistic policy proclaimed by the President Makarios. Our Party agrees with you that the terrorist action causes irreparable damage to the Cyprus case. Both inside the Parliament and outside the Parliament we gave our full support to the Government in the measures to suppress and eliminate illegality and we want to assure you that in the implementation of the adopted measures you will have our full support.

Without the decisive fight against terrorism and the confiscation of all illegal arms, free and unaffected elections will not be possible, nor will we be able to effectively promote a solution to the Cyprus problem.

(d) AKEL consistently implemented and followed, as always, and in the critical last years the policy of unity of the popular

forces. This will be our policy in the future as well. And now that we are on the eve of elections and in the future we will be working for the unity of all popular forces in the struggle for a territorially integral, state unified, sovereign, independent and demilitarised Cyprus.

THE RESOLUTION ON THE CENTENARY OF LENIN'S BIRTH

The 12th CONGRESS of AKEL meets on the eve of the centenary from the birth of V. I. Lenin, a great teacher and leader of the working class and all the workers of the world, the most worthy follower of the great founders of scientific socialism, Marx-Engels. Our Congress pays the highest tribute to the great leader of the land of exploited.

Lenin consistently defended Marxism from all attacks and opportunistic distortions. Capturing in all their depth the qualitative changes that took place with the transition of capitalism from the pre-monopoly stage to monopoly stage, it shaped Leninism as a continuation, development and creative application of Marxism in the new conditions. The formation of Leninism took place in a relentless struggle against the right opportunism of the leaders of the Second International, who remained attached to letter of Marxism were unable to grasp the essence of imperialism and to draw the necessary conclusions in the struggle for socialism. Leninism was also formed in a fierce struggle against left-wing opportunism, as expressed by various currents of its time. Leninism was the theoretical abyss and guidance for the working class and the peasantry of Russia, as well as for the peoples oppressed by tsarism, in the struggle for the overthrow of tsarism, for socialism.

Led by Lenin and Leninism, the workers of Russia carried out the Great October Revolution which opened a new era in history of mankind, paved the boulevard that will lead to the elimination of human exploitation by man throughout the Earth. The cosmogenic changes that took place from 1917 until today immediately bear the seal of the October Revolution, the seal of Marxism-Leninism. Lenin, as a follower of Marx-Engels, accelerated the

course of the historical evolution of mankind. His services to progressive humanity are invaluable. Mankind owes a great debt to Lenin.

Leninism, as a development and creative application of Marxism in the struggle for the overthrow of capitalism and for the building of socialist society, is of international importance, is a guide in the struggle of workers of capitalist countries to eliminate exploitation, but also in the struggle of the socialist countries for greater success in building socialism-communism.

Our Party and the people of Cyprus owe a lot to Lenin and Leninism. The Communist Party of Cyprus and its successor AKEL, which in its 45 years history has offered invaluable services to the working class, the peasantry, to all our people in the struggle for liberation from imperialism, and for a better life, was founded under the direct influence and radiance of the Great October Revolution, on the basis of the Leninist theory of the new type Party.

The October Revolution dealt the first serious blow to the system of national enslavement, created the first rift in colonisation. Under the influence of the October Revolution, the fruit of Leninism and the great victory against fascism during World War II, the protagonist of which was the Soviet Union, virtually eliminated the colonial system of materialism. It is solely as a result of the conditions it has created by the October Revolution and the victory against fascism that managed to be crowned even with partial success the struggle of the Cypriot people against colonisation and to gain even limited independence of Cyprus.

Leninism, as a development and complement of Marxism, is the guiding teaching for our Party in the struggle for a united, fully independent, non-aligned and prosperous Cyprus, in the struggle for democracy and socialism. AKEL, faithful to the teaching of Marx-Engels-Lenin, applying it creatively, will constantly conquer new victories for the benefit of workers and of Cyprus as a whole.

Leninism, as an inseparable component of Marxism, it is omnipotent and invincible, because it is real.

Long live Leninism!

THE RESOLUTION TO THE SOVIET UNION

The XII CONGRESS of the Progressive Party of the Working People (AKEL), reaffirms once again the deep appreciation and the infinite gratitude of the workers of Cyprus for the stable and selfless support and assistance that the USSR has offered and continues to offer to the anti-imperialist liberation struggle of the Cypriot people. The Cypriot people do not forget that in the most critical moments that Cyprus was going through the Soviet Union offered its full support to Cyprus and helped decisively to prevent the dangers that threatened its independence and integrity of our country. In extremely difficult times for our country, when the imperialist are enemies of Cyprus were trying to isolate the Republic of Cyprus internationally and annihilate it, the representative of the Soviet Union in the Security Council raised a voice of firm defence and fraternal support our just cause. When Cyprus was threatened by a foreign invasion in 1964 and 1967, the USSR government with strict warnings halted and thwarted NATO plans for the dismemberment and enslavement of Cyprus.

The Soviet Union provided valuable financial assistance to the Republic of Cyprus and armaments for its defence, which along with its constant moral diplomatic and political support were a serious factor in the struggle of Cyprus.

And when, again recently, the imperialist pressures and conspiratorial activities intensified, with the aim of transforming Cyprus into a missile nuclear base, in replacing the bases they lost in Libya, while hostile terrorist domestic organisations undermined the existence of the Republic of Cyprus, the Soviet Union with the TASS declaration of 18 February 1970 once again protected the independence of Cyprus and peace, strictly warning the organisers of criminal coups and conspiracies to the detriment of the Republic of Cyprus and its Government. The clear statement of the "TASS" that: "Those who are preparing plans for its abolition sovereign state of Cyprus and the overthrow of its legitimate Government, assume heavy responsibility for the possible consequences of these actions, which are contrary to the well-known Security Council resolutions on Cyprus and which include serious complications for the situation in the region", and that: "The Soviet Union strongly supports independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus, the abolition of

foreigners military bases on the island and a peaceful settlement of the Cyprus issue without any foreign interference “, are proof of the robust Soviet solidarity and support to the Cypriot people and its government of the Republic of Cyprus.

The imperialist enemies of Cyprus and their institutions were alarmed by this categorical manifestation of decisive solidarity with the Republic of Cyprus and tried to hold a referendum, blurring the waters. The efforts ended up in a failure, because the Cypriot people know well from experience who their loyal friends and who are their godless enemies.

The development of political, economic and cultural relations between the Republic of Cyprus and the USSR is an effective factor for the independent development and progress of Cyprus, a protective shield for security of the Cypriot people, a factor promoting peace in the Mediterranean and the Middle East for the benefit of all the peoples of the region.

The 12th Congress of AKEL expresses once again the deep gratitude of the Party, and the patriotic people of Cyprus to the glorious Lenin Party, the Government of the USSR and the great Soviet people, for their solidarity to the Cypriot people and the Republic of Cyprus for the selfless, undivided and decisive support and assistance to our struggle for a Cyprus fully independent, territorially intact, sovereign and prosperous.

THE RESOLUTION OF SOLIDARITY TO THE HEROIC PEOPLE OF VIETNAM

The 12th CONGRESS of AKEL addresses a warm and cordial greeting to the heroic people of Vietnam and its revolutionary vanguard , Workers’ Party and the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, and wholeheartedly congratulates them on their glorious victory against the shameful US imperialist invasion.

CONDEMNS the barbaric invasion carried out by the American imperialism for years against Vietnam with the main goal of enslaving the heroic Vietnamese people and to stop their social progress and progress towards socialism.

WE COMPLAIN with all our might the US invading forces and their use of biological, chemical and other inhumane means mass

extermination, the commission of crimes that are brutally compared only to those of the Hitlerites.

The criminal attack on the people of Vietnam is a stigma for the United States and our modern culture, it awakens every human consciousness and causes worldwide outcry and condemnation.

WE UNRESERVEDLY SUPPORT the immediate solution of the Vietnamese based on the proposals of the C.C. of the EAM of New Vietnam last May. These proposals, based on the 1954 Geneva International Convention, are in line with national rights and interests of the Vietnamese people and serve a lasting peace in the region.

The US government must abandon its policy of obstruction on the Paris talks for a peaceful solution to the Vietnamese conflict, as well as its epidemic actions in Laos that complicate the situation even more in the South-East Asia.

WE EXPRESS our admiration, solidarity and support for the heroic people of Vietnam, who are so selflessly defending the sacred cause of their national freedom, inspiring by its example our people and all peoples fighting for independence, democracy and social progress.

The Cypriot people are on your side, faithful to the ideals of complete independence of the peoples for which they themselves have been fighting for years against the dark forces of imperialism.

THE RESOLUTION ON THE SITUATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST

The 12th CONGRESS of the Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus (AKEL), which met in Nicosia from 5-8 of March 1970, addresses a warm and cordial greeting to the peoples of the Arab countries, who are fighting against imperialism and the reactionary warlords circles of Israel, for defending the national independence and integrity of their countries.

Condemns the war of conquest which, with the encouragement and support of the American imperialists, the Zionists of Israel declared in 1967 against Egypt, Syria and Jordan and stigmatizes with disgust the criminal acts that continue to this day from the same circles, against the Arab peoples and their property.

It considers the retention of Arab territories by the state of Israel to be an act totally contrary to the principles and purposes of the UN and the main cause of the deterioration of the situation in that region.

It argues that the solution to this problem must be sought in the implementation of the Security Council Resolution of 22 November 1967, which provides the withdrawal of Israeli troops from all the occupied territories, as a prerequisite for resolving other relevant issues.

It considers the struggle of the Cypriot people for the completion of independence, the territorial integrity of Cyprus and the abolition of foreign military bases, as directly related to the struggle of the Arab peoples. The common enemy of the Cypriots and Arabs, is international imperialism and especially the American one, which for the sake of the huge profits it has from the exploitation of oil of the Middle East, is trying to turn Cyprus into a NATO military base, to protect these interests.

The people of Cyprus, without ignoring the belligerent intentions of the imperialists and the Zionists of Israel, expressed the belief that it will find a peaceful solution to the problem that will be addressed to the just cause of the Arabs and in the vital interests of all peoples of the region. This is guaranteed by the unity and determination of the anti-imperialist Arab national liberation forces, their strengthening with the new democratic anti-imperialist regimes of Sudan and Libya and the invaluable all-round assistance provided to these forces by the Soviet Union.

THE RESOLUTION TO THE GREEK PEOPLE

The 12th CONGRESS of AKEL welcomes the captive, but mentally unfaithful brother of the Greek people, who for three years now bear the burden of the tyrannical regime of the military dictatorship of 21 April 1967.

The coup of the Colonels trampled on the most basic democratic and human rights and established a regime of fear and terrorism, persecution and imprisonment, overt violence and authoritarianism. The junta regime stifles the free expression of the individual and the press. The civil justice was replaced by extraordinary military tribunals and the arbitrariness of police,

which filled prisons and concentration camps with Greek patriots fighting for democracy.

The 12th Congress of AKEL demonstrates its solidarity with the Greek people and declares that it stands unreservedly on the side of all patriotic forces fighting against the dictatorship. Expresses the belief that all of these democratic forces will be able to coordinate and unite their efforts, in their common difficult struggle to overthrow the dictatorship regime for the restoration of democratic institutions.

The 12th Congress of AKEL, expressing the feelings of the democratic forces of Cyprus demands the release of all political prisoners and the abolition the extraordinary military courts, to restore democratic rights and the freedoms of the Greek people, to return democracy to Greece and for the Greek people to be sovereign to shape their future.

REETING OF THE 12TH CONGRESS OF AKEL TO THE TURKISH CYPRIOTS

Dear Turkish Compatriots,

The 12th Congress of AKEL addresses you with a warm welcome and on this occasion wants to reaffirm that the Workers' Party of Cyprus will firmly support—as in the past 45 years—the need for friendship and cooperation between Greek and Turkish workers of Cyprus.

The Greeks and the Turks lived peacefully in Cyprus for hundreds of years and so they must live in the future for our country to progress and prosper.

The Greeks and the Turks of Cyprus are united by common interests and common problems.

The present dimension is artificial, it is a creation of the imperialists, who are the common enemy of the Greeks and Turks of Cyprus, and who want to maintain Cyprus as their base in the Eastern Mediterranean, to promote their own interests.

AKEL has always stressed that any disputes between Greeks and Turks of Cyprus can be settled peacefully through discussions between themselves in Cyprus.

The involvement of foreigners in the internal affairs of the Cypriots in recent years brought a lot of suffering for all both the Greeks and Turks and hindered the smooth development of Cyprus.

For two years we have a new situation in Cyprus, we have the intra-Cypriot talks aimed at finding a solution of the Cyprus problem within the framework of a single independent Cypriot democratic state and demilitarised on the basis of UN principles and with the rights Turkish Cypriots fully guaranteed and secured.

Dear compatriots,

It is the joint responsibility of the Greeks and Turks of Cyprus to make every effort to preserve peaceful coexistence and for the talks to succeed.

We assure you once again that AKEL will fight consistently—as always—to make life and practice the policy of mutual understanding, mutual respect, friendship and cooperation between Greeks and Turks for the progress of Cyprus.

Long live the friendship and cooperation of Greeks and Turks of Cyprus.

THE THIRTEENTH CONGRESS OF AKEL, April 25-28, 1974

THE DECISIONS OF THE CONGRESS⁸⁴

THE POLITICAL DECISION OF THE 13TH CONGRESS OF AKEL

The 13th COONGRESS of AKEL which met in Nicosia from 25-28 April 1974, after discussing the Action Report of the C.C. and K.E.E. covering the period from the 12th Congress to today, approves the report as well as the introductory speech of the General Secretary of the Party. Our conference expresses its appreciation for the activity developed and the role played by the Party in the four years that we are reviewing, under the guidance of the C.C. and based on the line and decisions of the 12th Congress.

Our Congress regards the international developments of the four years as very important. Characteristic of these developments are mainly the decisive shift from the war confrontation and the Cold War towards recession in international relations, the successes of the peoples against imperialism and the forces of reaction and fascism, the further progress and strengthening of the unity of the countries of socialism and the world revolutionary movement, and on the other hand, the exacerbation of the general crisis, competition and oppositions of the more developed mainly capitalist countries.

These developments in the international arena have also had an impact on developments in Cyprus, both politically and economically and other areas.

The 13th Congress, assessing domestic and international developments, decides:

⁸⁴ *Neos Dimokratis Magazine*, Issue 41, June 1974.

A. Internal political situation

The main feature of the Cyprus political situation during the four years that we have been reviewing, was the main opposition and the sharp conflict among the patriotic forces of the people, rallying around the President of the Republic, Archbishop Makarios and patriotic, political line and tactics, for a feasible and peaceful solution to the Cyprus problem, on the one hand, and on the other, the forces of imperialist conspiracy, the intransigent military and political actors in Athens, and the local reactionary fascist forces, whose slogan is the immediate Union, which in the current conditions essentially means division and double union. In the context of this conflict, the forces hostile to Cyprus worked out and attempted to implement various conspiracies plans at the expense of Cyprus. The armed terrorist activity and other acts violence of the illegal groups of Grivas, the provocation of unrest and disorder, the erosion of the inner front, the attempted extermination or coup. The overthrow of the President of the Republic was and is their main goal the abolition of independence and the submission of Cyprus to NATO, either with the division either with the co-ownership of the Greek-Turkish governments over in Cyprus and the imposition of a fascist tyrannical regime against the Cypriot people.

The conspiratorial plans of the enemies of Cyprus were thwarted thanks to patriotic unity of the popular forces and their massive, militant mobilisation, the decisive action of the state security forces and the international support and solidarity. The unity and militancy of the people was demonstrated with the historic rallies of 1972 and 1973, which together with the action of the forces of the state, were the most decisive factor in repelling and thwarting the conspiracy plans against Cyprus. In this unity of the patriotic forces and their mobilisation, the role of our Party has been really, decisive, innovative.

The international support was expressed by the attitude of all progressive, democratic forces of the world, the events of the brotherly Greek people, the UN intervention, the solidarity of the socialist and non-aligned countries and above all with the resolute and strong support of the Soviet Union, which manifested itself in all the critical moments that Cyprus experienced.

The start of the intensified intra-Cypriot talks was a positive development in this period. The government, based on the line for

a realistic, peaceful solution to the Cyprus problem, correctly accepted the UN decision on the enhanced intra-Cypriot talks. The Party gave its support to the government's decision, believing that this process is the only one that can ensure a just, peaceful and democratic solution to the Cyprus problem.

The talks, while making some progress, nevertheless face significant important difficulties, the most serious of which is Turkey's insistence on a federal solution, which led to the pause of the talks. The beginning of enhanced intra-Cypriot talks and much more their successful outcome will be a significant victory of the people and defeat of the enemies of Cyprus.

The 13th Congress of our Party, considering the political developments of the four years on the domestic front, emphasises:

1. The primary task of the Party is to strengthen the front of the struggle of the Cypriot people, so that the people and the government are able to suppress and neutralise any manifestation of violence and terrorism; and to crush any new subversive, coup plots of the enemies of Cyprus, ensuring democratic order and normality in the country. This is essential for the peaceful solution of the Cyprus problem and the smooth economic development of Cyprus.

2. Having in mind the decisive importance of the patriotic unity of the people in the struggle for the salvation of Cyprus, our Party must also play an active and decisive role in the future for its preservation and its extreme strengthening. The patriotic forces of our people, united around the President of the Republic and the political line he follows and giving their full support to the legitimate forces of the state, will be the main factor in crushing any imperialist conspiracy and the struggle for the salvation of Cyprus.

3. With a firm commitment to the peaceful solution of the Cyprus problem and with belief that the only realistic solution under the current circumstances is the solution of the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and unity of Cyprus. It is the duty of our Party to contribute to safeguarding the process of enhanced intra-Cypriot talks. Our Party believes that any other process outside the UN is harmful and involves serious dangers for Cyprus. That is why our Party excludes any other process outside the UN, and will make every effort to overcome them the difficulties, no matter how serious, so that the strengthened intra-Cypriot ones and reach positive results.

4. In the context of creating more favourable conditions for the talks and the harmonious coexistence of Greeks and Turks, a series of practical and bold measures must be taken by the Government for a decisive rapprochement between Greek and Turkish Cypriots. The solution of a series of economic and other problems, faced by our Turkish Cypriot compatriots, the close cooperation of Greeks and Turkish workers, peasants and other toilers through their organisations, cooperation and mutual understanding in general will all contribute to the elimination of suspicion, which is systematically cultivated by imperialism, and in creation of a spirit of mutual friendship and trust, a prerequisite for peaceful and just solution of the Cyprus problem and the harmonious coexistence of Greeks and Turks.

5. Our Congress demonstrates its complete opposition to existence of foreign military bases and troops on Cypriot territory and the use of British bases under any pretext, by the American imperialists and more generally in their plans to convert them into joint Anglo-American bases and demands their complete abolition and demilitarisation of Cyprus.

B. The Economic Situation in Cyprus

The Congress notes that the Cypriot economy has grown significantly in the years of independence. This increase is expressed in the continuous growth of gross domestic product and national income per capita. The progress of the Cypriot economy is the result of their conscious work of Cypriot workers, the responsible and prudent policy of professional organisations, the activity of private sector investments in productive sectors and the economic policy of the government, expressed in the planning of economic development, state investments and its social policy.

1973 was the first year that the Cypriot Economy began to show signs of decline to such an extent that the fulfillment of the objectives of the Third Five-Year Development Plan (1972-1976) became doubtful.

The phenomenon of inflation, mainly due to the international economic crisis of capitalism and external factors, deteriorated with the unprecedented drought of 72-73 and severely affected the Cypriot economy, creating serious risks to its smooth development and to the standard of living of workers and toilers.

Our Congress recognising the crucial importance of the economic front emphasises the need to define a specific economic policy, on the part of the Government, whose main purpose will be on the one hand, the protection and development of the Cypriot economy and on the other hand, the fairer distribution and redistribution of national income for the benefit of workers and of the working people in general.

Our Congress considers that the following measures are necessary to achieve the above purposes:

1. To encourage by various protective means—tariff, credit and others—industrial and agricultural production, regional rural development, the creation of new industrial units, as well as tourism.

The government's economic policy must be put on a healthier basis and take into account the fact that the state of the trade balance and of the balance of payments, with the ever-widening deficit, creates serious concerns and endangers the stability of the Cypriot pound. That is why the government's policy in the economic sector must tend to the rise of the productive sectors of our economy, to reduce the uncontrolled penetration of foreign capital and the transformation of Cypriot industries and particularly tourism to foreign capital branches, to reduce imports and increase exports, and reduce its dependence of our procedure on parasitic resources, such as revenues from British bases.

Our Party also considers it necessary for the government to take drastic and effective measures to significantly improve the trade balance, such as and the balance of payments and to ensure the stability of the Cypriot pound.

2. Closely interwoven with the general economic policy must be the commercial policy of the government. In determining a sound trade policy, the fact that the association of Cyprus with the EEC must be taken into account, down the known roads, will have serious negative consequences for Cypriot economy in general and its further development and especially at its disposal of our agricultural products and the expansion of our trade with other countries. That is why we believe that a bolder adjustment is needed in this area so that our trade ceases to be one-sided. Good commercial policy in Cyprus is the policy of further development of trade relations with all countries—socialist and capitalist, including the EEC countries—on the basis of parity, mutual benefit, without any economic, political or other commitments.

3. For the fairer distribution and redistribution of national income it is necessary to increase the wages and salaries and general incomes of workers at least in proportion to the percentage growth of gross domestic product except for the low-paid, whose earnings must increase by a greater percentage, and revised the tax policy of the government and especially the Income Tax Law. The revision of tax policy must aim at reducing indirect taxation, which is a burden on the broad grassroots, and at increasing direct taxation, on the basis of the principle: lighter taxation on workers and generally on low-income citizens and heavier on high-income citizens, on large profits and especially super-profits.

In the context of the policy of fairer distribution of national income, the social security system must also be improved by revising pensions, especially for women, and other benefits provided. Establish a state plan for free health care. Complete free education in secondary schools and become compulsory until the 15th year of age. To reorganise and modernize the educational system and to improve in all respects the technical schools, so as to better meet the needs and requirements of industrial development. To promote the creation of preschool institutions. Implement a plan of state scholarships and finally take decisive and concrete measures to address the problem of home and professional housing.

4. The 1970s-1980s will be decisive developments in our agricultural economy. In this decade the foundations must be laid for radical structural changes, for agricultural reforms, for an integrated agricultural policy on the part of the Government. The main objective of these agricultural reforms must be the immensely increased agricultural production and per capita agricultural income.

5. To protect the Cypriot economy in general and the standards of living of workers especially from the serious risks posed by inflation. In relation to tackling inflationary pressures, our Party approves the intervention of the state and the specific measures taken by the government for control of the prices of certain consumer goods and supports the Common Statement by the government, trade unions and employers' organisations as a positive step to curb the effects of inflation.

Apart from the more general measures of a fairer distribution of national income, as well as the above measures of state intervention, our Party considers that other drastic measures must be taken immediately to combat profiteering, such as controlling

the prices of even more basic consumer and other consumer goods, the control of residential and commercial housing rents, loans and more measures that will encourage and discourage investment in productive projects non-productive investments, restriction on imports in general and in particular on imports of luxury goods or produced in Cyprus in sufficient and satisfactory quantities and qualities.

Our Party will offer full support to all those measures of the government aimed at protecting and strengthening the Cypriot economy, increase of industrial and agricultural production, in its fairer distribution of national income and raising the standards of living of workers and employees.

C. The Mass Popular Movement and the Problems of the Workers

The mass popular movement, expressed with the professional and mass political organisations of workers, peasants, professional artisans, small shopkeepers, youth, women, scientists and intellectuals, with the peace movement, cooperation and sport—it is a huge victory for the working class, the peasantry and other workers, and a powerful victory for the conduct of the liberation struggle and the economic and social rise of the people.

The contribution of the mass popular movement to the anti-imperialist liberation struggle of our people, in the struggle to thwart the conspiracies, coup plots of imperialism and its institutions, to preserve and strengthen the patriotic unity, in the struggle for peace and protection of democratic order and normalcy, and for the promotion and solution of economic and social problems of the people, has been decisive and of great importance. The services provided by the popular mass movement and its organisations offer daily to workers and to the people in general, are really invaluable. That is why they justly won the appreciation of all workers who look forward to these organisations to serve and promote their interests.

The Congress expresses its appreciation for the tireless, consistent and responsible work, which thousands of Party members offer within the popular organisations.

This work is a great contribution to fulfilling the role of the people organisations and the Party.

Appreciating the huge and decisive role played by the mass people movement, our Congress considers, that the extreme strengthening of this movement and its organisations is a basic duty of the Party and its members belong to and work in the various mass grassroots organisations. Specifically:

1. The Party members who work in production and are in the progressive trade unions must be active and pioneering activists in strengthening the unity of workers—Greeks and Turks—and their organisations, the organisation of the disorganised, the solution of the economic and social problems faced by the working class and toilers in general and the further strengthening of trade union organisations that with a sense of responsibility properly educate and guide the struggle of the working class. The aim of the labour movement must be guarding the line for joint action of workers—Greeks and Turks—and their organisations for their economic and other problems, to strengthen unity and to strive for this unity to become a more permanent and organised form.

2. The Party members and leading cadres, who work in the agricultural movement and its organisations, as well as in cooperation, must contribute with all their might to further develop the work in the countryside and for the promotion and solution of agricultural problems, based on a proper rural policy on key agricultural problems—such as water, land, debts, prices, etc., as well as for the comprehensive development of the cooperation, to benefit of the Cypriot people. As for the cooperative movement that should contribute more decisively to the local economy, a basic condition for the democratisation of the law is a very uninterrupted development and the regulations governing cooperation.

The promotion and forging, in the daily struggle for common problems and aspirations of workers and peasants, the workers' and peasants' alliance, the backbone of the anti-imperialist, liberation struggle of our people, must be the centre of attention and interest of our Party.

3. The Party members belonging to the artisans movement, shopkeepers, as well as motorists, with even greater activity, should contribute to tackling and resolving economic problems of these layers—such as the problem of securing the professional housing, and others—as well as in further massification and strengthening organisations and maintaining unity in their lines.

4. In the women's movement, our Party, defeating even more decisively every sectarian manifestation and devaluation of woman, must offer every possible help, so that more and more women are organised in their professional organisations, and especially in their women's democratic organisations and play an active role in his political and social life of the country.

The Party members—women working in democratic women's organisations need to further develop their activities, in order to make the presence and influence of these organisations even more noticeable in movement and activity around its general and specific problems of woman. Our Party will develop all-round activity to attract more decisively the woman towards the progressive, democratic forces and in the struggle for peace and social progress.

5. Our Party, fully aware of its weaknesses in the field of intellectuals and scientists, who face many and serious problems and taken into account what a valuable asset for our people and our country are scientists and intellectuals and the serious role they can play, must approach their problems, with affection and understanding especially the problems of young scientists, contributing to the solution based on a specific program, and to become scientists and intellectuals, through their organisations, agents of progress, patriotic unity and democratic struggle, in the service of the Cypriot people and their cause. Attracting progressive scientists and progressive intellectuals with the Party must be seen as one of the most serious tasks, that can be fulfilled, to solve multiple and specific problems faced by scientists and intellectuals.

In connection with the various cultural and other events of intellectuals and scientists, who in recent years have shown significant movement and action, the Party's contribution to become more systematic and active.

6. Our Party valuing the youth as the golden stock of our people and recognising the important role it plays in the struggle for salvation of Cyprus from the imperialist, conspiratorial plans, will give even greater attention and help to the youth movement, as well as for the better organisation of working youth in its professional organisations. With the same attention our Party must also see the problems of the student youth.

With their pioneering work, the Party members working among youth, must play an even more decisive and innovative role in the

massification of progressive youth organisations, in the unity of the youth forces, in their democratic, anti-imperialist education, and in their civic education, generally in all areas of healthy youth action and employment.

7. On the peace movement, whose action today is limited mainly in the expression of solidarity with the struggling peoples and in its participation in international or other conferences, should be helped to find new ways to develop its activity for burning problems of the people, including the abolition of foreign bases on Cypriot territory, so that its presence becomes more noticeable in the Cypriot area and at the same time Cyprus to play, through the peace movement, its positive role in international struggle for recession and cooperation.

8. Our Party must also pay serious attention, not only to our Turkish compatriots, but also for the minorities of Armenians and Maronites and for the special problems they face. Our Party must see the progressive forces within the minorities, their organisations, and to show interest in solving their specific problems.

9. Sport is another field to which our Party must pay more attention and interest. Based a specific and comprehensive sports policy, our Party must contribute to the further promotion of sport in all areas, as well as in the cultivation of true sportsmanship and genuine ideals, as well as in the all-encompassing exaltation of our sporting things.

D. The Party

Our Party is a great political force with wide influence and appreciation among the people. This is due to the decisive role it played in political developments and in the confrontation of any imperialist intrigue, in the correctness of its patriotic line and tactics, in the prudence and consistency with which it implements this policy in practice and in its contribution, with the action of the Members of Parliament, its members, its leading cadres, in view and promoting the economic and other problems of workers. Based on this line and its tactics, and developing its organisational work, our Party played in all the difficult years of hardship pioneering, decisive role of our people. That is why the Cypriot people justifiably look forward with confidence to our Party and expects a lot from it, because it sees it as the most serious,

the most consistent and the most experienced political force in our country.

Appreciating the pioneering role of the Party and with a view to its all-round empowerment, which is the most serious Party duty, the C.C. convened in June 1973 the Pancyprian Organising Conference, with the main topic: the organisational problems of the Party.

The 13th Congress ratifies the decisions of the Congress and calls on the Party as a whole, all members and leading cadres, from the C.C. as the Party base groups, to continue their action at a rapid pace to complete the turn to its organisational policy and its ideological work and activity. Specifically, for the completion of the shift to organisational work and all-round dynamism of the Party, so that it meets even more worthy of its destination and to play even more effectively its role in the struggles of the people us, it is necessary:

1. To improve, with the guidance and contribution of the governing bodies of the Party, the manner and content of the work of the Party group. The team must become a living, active mechanism, to be dealt with the political, economic and social and other problems of the people and will organise the mobilisation for their solution.

The development of more initiative by the group, the collective way of working, the exercise of creative control over the execution of decisions and constructive criticism and self-criticism, and better sharing, better preparation and organisation of work and session, encouragement of free democratic debate within the group, are the specific measures that will greatly help in the revitalisation of the group and in elevating Party work in general.

2. To improve the work of all leading organisations, senior and junior, to become even more effective Party leading organs and ensuring the best possible results in the work of the Party. In this regard, the creation of a Women's Office with salaried Party executive woman should be considered.

3. To make our Party even more massive so that it can take root everywhere, where the working people live and work, in the factory, in the workshop, in the companies, in institutions, general in every place of work as well as in the village and the district. Special care should be taken for the recruitment of members among officials, women and scientists and intellectuals.

Every effort must be made to cultivate spirit of enthusiasm in the new members, as well as to tighten the Party group in general.

4. Despite the progress made in more complete training and promotion of new cadres, this problem remains number one organisational problem of the Party. To deal with this problem we must apply with even greater persistence the executive policy, paying particular attention to evolving members and leading cadres, distinguished by faith and devotion to the working class and the cause of socialism. We need to pay more attention to the emergence of scientist cadres, who must frame our Party and help it in its work.

5. To beat with even greater determination every manifestation of sectarianism, bureaucracy and opportunism that may exist in our work, using for this and the tried and tested weapon of criticism and self-criticism.

6. To preserve like the apple of an eye and to strengthen even more the unity and monolithic nature of the Party and its leadership based on principles of collective leadership and democratic centralism.

7. To strengthen and organise political vigilance more systematically, beating any devaluation that may exist in this area. Our work in this area must be aimed at making it understood by the Party as a whole that vigilance is not only the work of certain cadres but of every member of the Party.

8. To pay extreme attention to ideological and theoretical work and help the Party as a whole to acquire more ideological and theoretical supplies. To fulfill this task we must organise special schools at provincial and central level and encourage self-education in an organised way. To also organise centrally and provincial discussions and seminars on specific theoretical and ideological issues.

The theoretical organ of C.C.—the *New Democrat*—must become real instrument of theoretical thought and projection of Marxist ideology. With the contribution, in the first place, of the central cadres, we need to significantly improve its content, so that it is ever better suited to its intended purpose.

To also improve our work in the field of enlightenment and propaganda by using new means and new ways of working. To improve even more so the content of *Dawn (Haravghi)* and exalt far beyond the role and its prestige as a basic, daily organ of the Party, politics, our ideological and enlightening work and the

promotion and defence of the line, the tactics and decisions of the Party and generally of our labour movement. The increase in the circulation of *Dawn (Haravghi)* and other publications of the Party and the movement and in general any progressive publication, as well as the utilisation of their content is one of the most serious and main duties of the Party as a whole.

9. To constantly develop the Party's finances, which is essential for its smooth operation and its management, where necessary, with new leading cadres. As part of the development of the Party's finances, particular attention should be paid to the assistance of members, which, as it turns out, is unacceptably low, both in terms of its more regular payment. With regard to assistance, the situation must be constantly improved, so that more and more members pay their subscriptions on time and at the same time more and more members to increase the amount of their membership to the Party.

To fulfill the above tasks, which contribute to its completion turning to our organisational, political and ideological work is imperative to change the pace and content of our work so that they keep up with our political duties and our time, which is a time of rapid developments in all areas of human activity.

E. International Situation

1. The main feature, in terms of the international political situation and the developments during the four years we are reviewing, has been the decisive shift from international tension and military confrontation to international recession and cooperation.

As a result of the struggle of the world peace forces, the socialist camp, led by the Soviet Union, and the change in the correlation of forces in favour of the forces of peace and progress, significant achievements have been made towards international recession, peaceful coexistence and cooperation. The initiatives of the Soviet Union and its talks leadership of the CPSU with the state leaders of various countries, the well-known agreements between the Federal Republic of Germany, (FRG) and the USSR, People's Republic of Poland, of the People's Republic of Czechoslovakia, and of German Democratic Republic, the agreement between the 4 Great Powers on West Berlin, the recognition of post-war borders, mutual visits and the agreements between the leaders of the USSR

and the US, as well as between the US-People's Republic of China and the USSR-France, the end of the US invasion and war in Vietnam as well as the admission of People's Republic of China and the two equal German states in the UN, all these are landmarks for the formation and stabilisation of the international situation and recognition of the principle of peaceful coexistence and cooperation as a new basis in international relations.

The Preparatory Conference on European security and Cooperation, held in Helsinki and later in Geneva, is of particular importance for the recession, in the first place, both in Europe and globally. The Peoples' Peace Congress, held with unprecedented success in Moscow in October 1973, was undoubtedly another important contribution to the peoples' struggle for peace and international recession.

Within the framework of the policy for international recession and cooperation, the non-aligned foreign policy pursued by Cyprus is also included. The participation of Cyprus in the Non-Aligned Movement Conferences and the Pan-European Conference on security and cooperation in Europe, the position it takes in the various serious and controversial global issues at the UN General Assembly, its participation at conferences of international organisations and the development of friendship, cooperation, trade and economic relations with the socialist and other countries—they all constitute positive contribution to the international recession and cooperation based on its principles peaceful coexistence.

Our Party offers its support to this policy, which it considers as the most appropriate in today's conditions. The interests of Cyprus require that the Government continue this policy with even greater stability, consistency and energy in the future.

The 13th Congress of our Party:

1. It demonstrates its belief in the Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence, and its belief that despite any reactions from most intransigent, pro-war, adventurist circles of imperialism which are still able to hinder the progress of the peoples, and despite the difficulties and temporary regressions, this policy will eventually become the decisive rule in international relations.

2. During this time, and in parallel with the triumph of the policy of peaceful coexistence, the marauding policy of the most reactionary imperialist circles was hit hard. The peoples of the Arab countries, the peoples of Asia, her African and Latin

American in their struggle against imperialism and foreign monopolies for independence, full national sovereignty, social and economic progress scored significant victories.

The victory of the Vietnamese people against the American, imperialist invasion, the successes of the Arab peoples against the expansionist policy of the Zionists circles of Israel and their imperialist supporters, the victory of the people Bangladesh and its proclamation as a separate state of the People's Republic, the successes of the liberation movement of the peoples of Africa and in general the successes of the progressive forces in various countries in their struggle for independence, complete national sovereignty, economic and social progress, all of these successes are the result first of all of the heroic struggle of the peoples of these countries themselves. At the same time, however, decisive for these victories was the robust and comprehensive assistance of the Soviet Union, the support of other socialist and non-aligned countries and the solidarity of the anti-imperialist countries, progressive forces around the world.

The 13th Congress, welcoming the victories and conquests of the peoples, expresses the his firm belief that their struggle for independence, full national sovereignty, economic and social progress and democracy will achieve even greater successes in the future.

3. In the field of competition between the two social systems—socialism and capitalism—the socialist system demonstrated its complete superiority in all areas over the capitalist one.

The chronic, deep and all-round crisis of monopoly capitalism, inherent in this system, has acquired in the last 4 years new dimensions, while at the same time the internal and transnational external contradictions that undermine it have been exacerbated to an unprecedented degree.

The crisis of the post-war capitalist monetary system, based on the once strong American dollar, with its devaluation, which also swept away the national currencies of other capitalist countries—the crisis in the foreign exchange sector, the tremendous clear-cut commercial competition, which has dimensions of a real economic war between the united states and Japan and the EEC countries on the other, and the contradictions between the EEC, the political divisions within NATO between the United States and the other NATO countries, the slowdown of the production rates and the existence of mass unemployment in a number of capitalist

countries, the rise of the struggle of the working class and other workers in these countries, the deep political and moral crisis that the USA and other capitalist countries are going through (in addition to the economic) the recourse to violence, military coups and the imposition of military dictatorship in a number of mainly developing countries of Latin America, as in Greece and other countries—all this demonstrates convincingly and irrefutably the extent of the deep and all-round crisis of state-monopoly capitalism and imperialism.

In contrast to this state of the capitalist system, the world socialist system free from crisis and overcoming difficulties and obstacles has presented in recent years new, great successes in the field of economic development of technological, scientific, political and cultural progress. With its remarkable successes in all areas of social activity the socialist system demonstrates, not only its stability, but also its complete superiority to capitalism.

In addition to its new and great achievements in these areas, the world socialist system also strengthened unity along its lines. The successes of the socialist system, as well as of the international revolutionary movement, would have been still greater, and the unity on its lines still more strong and compact, had the leadership of C.P. of the People's Republic of China, abandoning the current nationalist, dogmatic and sectarian politics and tactics of division, consistently followed a line of unity and cooperation with the world socialist system and in general the international revolutionary, communist and workers' movement.

In conclusion, our 13th Congress underlines that all developments in the international arena are a solemn affirmation of the position of the 1959 Moscow Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties, according to which imperialism can neither regain its lost initiative nor reverse global development. The main direction of development of mankind is decided by the world socialist system, the international working class, by all revolutionary forces.

Our Congress expresses its firm conviction that, while capitalism will be increasingly crushed by its all-round, unshakable crisis, the global socialist system, overcoming delays and difficulties, inherited from the past, strengthening moral and political unity along its lines, on the basis of the principle of proletarian internationalism, promoting further its economic cooperation within the framework of the SAOV (KOMEKON), it will

be able to constantly and more satisfy the social needs of the population of socialist countries and will increasingly become the decisive force for shaping the future of all mankind.

THE ANNOUNCEMENTS OF THE CONGRESS¹⁵

THE POLITICAL DECLARATION OF THE 13TH CONGRESS OF AKEL TO THE CYPRIOT PEOPLE

Patriotic People of Cyprus,

A MESSAGE of fraternal, militant solidarity and support for your wonderful and patriotic struggles for the salvation of Cyprus is addressed by our 13th Congress of AKEL. A message of optimism for the future, a message of militant vigilance in the face of the dangers threatening the independence of Cyprus, your free and peaceful, democratic life, your achievements in the field economic and social life.

The Progressive Party of the Working People, out of your bowels, part of the militant working class, of the long-suffering peasantry and progressive intelligentsia of our country, the birth and creation of a historical necessity for a free, creative, happy future is addressed to you, on the occasion of its 13th Congress and invites you to continue even further decisively, with greater vigour and militancy the kindest, politico-economic and your social struggles, to defend your conquests and rights, for justice and social progress.

The enemies of Cyprus, the imperialists and their institutions, did not stop plotting and working on the destruction of Cyprus. They seek and want to turn Cyprus into a bridgehead of war against the national liberation movements and progressive Arab regimes of the Middle East. Their strategic pursuit was and remains the predatory exploitation of the national wealth of the countries of the region. And Cyprus—especially now with the imminent reopening of the Suez Canal—is of particular importance to them. They are engineering for this and implementing successive plans to undermine the state of the Republic of Cyprus. They organise, finance and direct armed terrorism. They financially

¹⁵ *ibid.*

support and sustain the raging press and the frantic fratricidal propaganda. They threaten and violate the freedom of thought and expression and every notion of democracy. They committed and planned political assassinations. They organised successive attempts against the life of the elected President Republic of Cyprus, Archbishop Makarios. They are fighting desperately to divide your patriotic liberation forces, which stand in the way of genocidal, their fascist plans. They constantly wind the frayed bogeyman of communism, to create conditions of discord and civil strife. They engage in the immoral exploitation of the national feelings of the youth and, by slogans for immediate union, they try to disguise their shameful evil plans for the partition of Cyprus.

They set out to erode the Cypriot National Guard, in which your children are classified for the defence of the homeland. They organise paramilitary groups in it and try to involve it and lure it into their anti-national, conspiratorial, terrorist intrigues, thus undermining its high mission. They steal the weapons of the Cyprus National Guard intended for the defence against the enemies of Cyprus, weaken it and thus play it game of the imperialists.

Workers, Employees,
Peasants and Intellectuals,
Toilers of Cyprus,
Patriotic People,

The moments we are going through are historic, they are critical. The spectre of imperialist conspiracy to overthrow the non-aligned Republic of Cyprus, to partition and the transformation of Cyprus into a strategic base of NATO, did not cease to loom menacingly over our martyred and long-suffering island.

AKEL, always at the forefront of the anti-imperialist struggle, is a pioneer in the struggles for freedom and democracy, trumpets the invitation of the old patriotic alarm, the invitation of the widest, the most comprehensive patriotic unity, militant opposition and the struggle to crush the various subversive plans of the imperialists and their mercenary instruments.

Raise your stature firmly and resolutely against imperialist intrigue. To thwart the satanic plans for the division of Cyprus. To preserve and safeguard the independence and integrity of Cyprus. Gather even more resolutely around the elected President of the Republic, Archbishop Makarios, and give all your strength, forging the mighty weapon of the old patriotic unity, for a democratic, non-aligned, territorially complete, fully independent,

unified and demilitarised Cyprus. Unite all to crush and eliminate from every corner of Cyprus the hostile, xenophobic fascist terrorism and conspiracy. To restore democratic order, normalcy and peace in all over Cyprus.

Join all your efforts to continue the intra-Cypriot talks to find a just and peaceful solution to the Cyprus problem. For understanding, mutual cooperation and peaceful coexistence to prevail between Greek and Turkish workers in Cyprus. Let the truth be heard everywhere and let logic and prudence prevail. The Cyprus issue will not be solved by foreigners—whoever they are. We, the Cypriots, will solve the Cyprus problem ourselves at the peace negotiation table. The Cyprus issue will not be resolved by military confrontation and bloodshed. The armed conflict and military measures will further complicate it, will further strengthen those who are working on the division and will give the opportunity for the various enemies of Cyprus to play their game freely to the detriment of the interests of Cyprus and its people.

Let the banner of solidarity be raised everywhere among all Greeks patriots—regardless of political affiliation or Party affiliation, the banner of peaceful coexistence and cooperation between Greeks and Turks of Cyprus.

Forward! To isolate the decoys of division and civil strife, the xenophobic agents of imperialist interests in Cyprus—whether they are Greeks or Turks, who, with the unionism on the one hand and the federalism on the other, pursue essentially the same purpose: the mining of the intra-Cypriot talks, the cancellation of the settlement of the Cyprus issue by peaceful means, its derailment by the only right and appropriate procedural course, diversion to adventurous adventures of violence and military conflict, in order to succeed, thus, easily the foreign NATO intervention and the partition of Cyprus.

Compatriot Turkish workers and toilers,

AKEL, the Party of all workers of Cyprus addresses you fraternal fighting salute. The problems of the workers of Cyprus are problems common to both Greeks and Turks. They unite us in common interests, common struggles and aspirations. United and fraternal—Greeks and Turkish workers let us work to bring down the walls of suspicion and mistrust raised by the reactionary forces among us—imperialism, to ensure a just and peaceful solution to the Cyprus problem and together to build a democratic, peaceful and happy future.

Workers of Cyprus,
Toilers, Employees,
Peasants, Scientists,
Writers of Art and literature, Intellectuals,
Small Professionals and Artisans,

Cyprus today, more than ever, has an absolute need for peace and order to be able to deal effectively with the great dangers that threaten its economy.

The Cypriot economy accepts the consequences of the international capitalist economic crisis, exacerbated by the recent energy crisis, consequences that, combined with the most serious effects of the unprecedented drought in Cyprus, threaten the remarkable achievements of the Republic of Cyprus in the field of economic and industrial development. The capitalist inflationary pressures and the consequences of the drought in Cyprus, threaten your standards of living, your achievements, your rights. Conquests and rights are the fruit of long-term struggles and bloody sacrifices and must be protected and extended. Do not allow them to be violated and lost. Unite and fight for their protection.

Workers of Cyprus,

The Progressive Party of the Working People, with its rich fighting experience, with the consistency that always characterises it, invites you to unity and struggle for the protection and expansion of your conquests. Contempt and isolate the disruptors and all those who with demagogy try to promote the unholy criminal plans of imperialism in Cyprus. Strengthen your professional organisations, unite and fight for a better future:

- To bring the effects of the economic crisis under control,
- To curb the prices of consumer goods and raw materials.
- For a fairer distribution and redistribution of national income.
- For the benefit of the adjustment of the government tax policy of the poorest working classes.
- For the most effective solution to the problems you face as workers, in the public and private sectors, as peasants and breeders, as scientists, as teachers, as mothers, as youth.
- For cheap, affordable home and business housing.
- For a complete state Social Insurance plan, which includes free medical care and increased benefits—benefits to all insured.

- For reorganisation and modernisation of our educational system and the provision of free education at all levels of secondary education.

Patriotic People of Cyprus,

We live in a period of historical, cosmogenic social change and political upheaval on a global scale. Under the mighty will and the militant determination of the peoples, the ice of the Cold War broke, the sun of international recession and peaceful coexistence begins to warm the hearts of all people. Everywhere on all continents and especially in Europe, the call for peaceful co-operation and security finds constantly and greater response. The pro-war forces of imperialism are forced into constant retreat. The world imperialist system wanders in the vortex of its contradictions and the symptoms of imperialism moral-political and economic—social decay are becoming more and more apparent. We are on the threshold of a new era, the era of peoples, of era of national liberation movements, national independence, democracy, peace, the era of socialism-communism. In this one universal struggle for the supremacy of the highest humanitarian ideals of peace, democracy and freedom, and our struggle, the struggle of the Cypriot people is an inseparable and invaluable part.

We oppose imperialism and its inhuman, immoral system. We are fighting for a free, peaceful, united, territorially complete, democratic and demilitarised Cyprus, for a loving Cyprus that covers all its children affectionately and happily—regardless of ideological, partisan, religious or ethnic differences. We are fighting for a better future, for social progress, for justice, for real happiness, for human dignity. And in our struggle this. we are not alone. They support us. We are supported and helped by all the liberal and progressive peoples of the world, all socialist countries led by the pioneer and powerful Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

- Forward! All and all united for the national salvation of Cyprus!
- Forward! All and all for a Cyprus completely independent, and non-aligned by any imperialist dependencies!
- All and all for a freer, happier life!

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE 13TH CONGRESS OF AKEL
April 28, 1974.

THE RESOLUTIONS OF THE CONGRESS⁸⁶

The 13th Congress of AKEL approved the following resolutions:

TO THE ARAB PEOPLE

The 13th Congress of AKEL expresses its fraternal solidarity and full support for the struggle of the Arab countries for the liberation of the occupied Arab territories, the restoration of inalienable rights of the Palestinian Arabs and the establishment of a just peace in the Middle East.

The AKEL Congress expresses deep concern over the prolongation of the Middle East crisis, due to Israel's non-compliance with clear decisions of the Security Council and the UN General Assembly, to leave the Arab lands it conquered by armed force. The continuation of the Middle East crisis endangers peace in the region and hinders the promotion of international recession and cooperation.

The Conference warmly appreciates and congratulates the Cyprus Solidarity Movement to the Arab peoples for organising mobilisations and fundraising in support of the Arab liberation struggle. We call on the workers to continue their active support until the Arab cause is fully vindicated.

AKEL appreciates the friendly attitude and support of the Cypriot government towards the struggling Arab countries.

The 13th Congress of AKEL welcomes the development of the militant unity of the Arab peoples and the international solidarity with their just cause. We particularly welcome the decisive contribution of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries to repel Zionist and imperialist conspiracy against the Arab peoples and for a just peace in the Middle East.

- Long live the international solidarity of the anti-imperialist forces that are fighting for national liberation, peace and social progress!

⁸⁶ *ibid.*

- Long live the brotherly friendship and cooperation of the Cypriot people with the Arabs peoples!

ON AMERICAN MARINE AND BRITISH BASES

The 13th Congress of AKEL expresses its strong concern and disapproval for the installation of American Marines in the port of Dhekelia, under the pretext of assisting in the clearing of the Suez Canal. It emphasises that the dangers are serious, because it sets a precedent and because it promotes NATO's long-term imperialist plans to turn Cyprus into an air-to-air missile base, given that the US Marines have been used repeatedly to operate internally in other countries.

The 13th Conference of the AKEL demands the immediate departure of the American Marines, where they violate the independence and sovereignty of Cyprus and pose a threat for peace.

The 13th Congress of AKEL expresses its strong opposition to its continued presence of sovereign British bases and foreign troops in Cyprus.

The imperialist military bases and foreign troops, a remnant of colonialism and the heterogeneous conditions it imposed on us, restrict the independence and the sovereign rights of our people. That is why the 13th Congress demands the abolition of British military bases, the removal of all of foreign troops and spy radio stations from Cyprus.

The complete demilitarisation of Cyprus will ensure its security, complete independence and sovereignty, strengthen peace in the region and will help make our country a bridge of peace, friendship and cooperation between the peoples of the three continents that meet in the Eastern Mediterranean.

TO THE PEOPLE OF CHILE

The 13th Congress of the Progressive Party of Working People (AKEL), which took place on 25-28 April 1974 in Nicosia, interpreting the feelings of the members of the Party and the

democratic people of Cyprus, condemns in the strongest terms the fascist coup against the elected Allende government in Chile.

With disgust and indignation it condemns and stigmatizes the murders, the torture and persecution committed and continue to be committed by the Chilean military against the communists, socialists and others patriots of the country.

Demonstrates the fraternal solidarity of the members of the Party and the people Cyprus, to the victims of fascist terrorism and demands an end to the persecution, the restoration of the democratic rights of the Chilean people and the immediate release of A. Louis Corvalan, General Secretary of the Communist Party, as well as all fighters for democracy, peace and social progress.

The 13th Congress expresses the belief that the heroic people of Chile will overcome in the current difficult conditions, will give new samples of militancy, unity and mobilisation of their forces and with the support of the global anti-imperialist powers will emerge victorious from the test.

The just cause of the Chilean people, which has deeply moved humanity as a whole, will triumph.

ON GREECE

The 13th Congress of AKEL addresses a warm fraternal greeting to the brotherly Greek people, who unceasingly continues their struggle for democracy in Greece.

We strongly condemn the overthrow of democratic institutions and the imposition of a military dictatorship in Greece. This regime is a stigma in the glorious history of Greece, whose people always defended with his blood the ideals of democracy and freedom.

We condemn the dark forces of American imperialism, with the help of which the military dictatorship was imposed on Greece. They are the same these forces that in order to promote offensive aims and monopolies interests, hinder the just democratic solution of the Cyprus problem and promote the subversive activity against the Cypriot state.

We demonstrate wholehearted support and solidarity with the communists and all the defenders of democracy in Greece. The exile camps, prisons, the brutal and inhuman violence will once

again prove to be incapable of crushing the democratic resistance and enslave the proud Greek people.

Together with our appreciation and admiration for the Greek democratic resistance we express the wish and hope that all anti-dictatorship forces, the whole Greek people, will coordinate their struggle on the basis of a common programme and joint action, to overthrow the dictatorship, the restoration of democratic institutions and democratic development, which is the desire of the entire Greek people.

TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF CYPRUS, ARCHBISHOP MAKARIOS

The 13th Congress of AKEL, which met in Nicosia from 25-28 April 1974, after studying the Cypriot political situation on the basis of the Action Report of C.C. of the Party and the Political Presentation of the General Secretary of the C.C. of AKEL, Mr. E. Papaioannou, submits to Your Beatitude the following resolution:

1. The Progressive Party of Working People (AKEL) reaffirms its support for the policy of your Government, which is also a policy of the overwhelming majority of the people for a peaceful democratic solution to the Cyprus problem, and puts its forces at your disposal to pursue this solution. AKEL strongly supports the intensified intra-Cypriot talks, which are under the auspices of the UN General Secretary, as the most appropriate process for a peaceful and just solution to the Cyprus problem. Any difficulties that interfere with the smooth and uninterrupted conduct of the talks, such as the unacceptable and unenforceable demand for a federal solution, can and must be overcome with appropriate cool handling, with patience and perseverance, but always guided by the best service of interests of the Cypriot people as a whole. In a good mood on both sides, a just, democratic and peaceful solution can be found, mutually acceptable, which to serve the genuine interests of the Cypriot people as a whole—Greeks and Turks.

2. AKEL is resolutely in favour of democratic order and normalcy and strongly condemns and unreservedly the illegal, terrorist fascist manifestations and activities of armed groups and

their political expression, the so-called opposition, as well as the conspiratorial plans of the enemies of Cyprus.

The purpose and pursuit of these plans is your extermination or coup d'état to overthrow the unpopular leadership of the Republic of Cyprus, the overthrow of the independence of Cyprus, the imposition of a fascist regime and the submission of Cyprus to NATO.

The Congress welcomes the measures you have announced to combat illegality and is convinced that their decisive implementation, in combined with the wholehearted support of the people, will contribute to the restoration of democratic order and normalcy.

3. Our Conference expresses the most vivid concerns of the people about the use of the British bases by American forces and parking of American Marines in them, as well as for their very existence of British bases on Cyprus soil. The existence of these bases constitutes a violation of the independence and sovereign rights of Cyprus and poses serious threats to peace, both in Cyprus and in the region of the Middle East. The interest of Cyprus demands the abolition of all foreign bases and the withdrawal of all foreign troops from the Cypriot territory and we expect that the government will take all appropriate measures towards this direction.

4. The AKEL faithful to the policy of unity, which consistently follows for half a century now, proclaims that it is in favour of patriotic national unity of all the forces of the Cypriot people, in the struggle for an independent sovereign Republic of Cyprus, for a Cypriot state united, territorially intact, away from military coalitions, without foreign bases and foreign troops on its territory.

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE 13TH CONGRESS OF AKEL

THE FOURTEENTH CONGRESS OF AKEL (May 25-28, 1978)

THE DECISIONS OF THE CONGRESS⁸⁷

THE POLITICAL DECISION OF THE 14TH CONGRESS OF AKEL

The 14th Conference of AKEL, which met in Nicosia from 25-28 May of 1978, after taking into account the Action Report of the C.C. and K.E.E. the pre-Congress discussion, the General Secretary's introductory speech and the views of the delegates, decides:

Approves the Action Report of C.C. and K.E.E. and his introductory speech Secretary General of the Party. The Congress expresses its appreciation for the proper handling by the C.C. of the problems faced by our Party during the four years and for the activity it developed and the pioneering role that our Party played under the leadership of the C.C., within the framework of the line and the decisions of the 13th Congress.

A. THE INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS

1. The 14th Congress considers the international developments of the 4 years as very important. Their main feature was the further strengthening and consolidation of the path to recession, security and cooperation mainly in Europe, but also in on a global scale.

The landmark in the struggle of world peacekeeping forces for international recession was the Pan-European Helsinki Summit in 1975 on Security and Cooperation in Europe. This Conference was of historical significance success of the peaceful policy of the

⁸⁷ *Neos Dimokratis Magazine*, Issue 54. August 1978.

socialist countries, led by Soviet Union, and sealed at the highest official level the bankruptcy of the policy of Cold War and the invasion. With the Principles of the Final Act, as long as they are respected by all, the Congress gave a new impetus to the policy of recession and peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems.

2. The conferences of the Communist and Labour parties of the socialist and other countries, notably the 25th Congress of the CPSU, and the Conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties of Europe, held in Berlin in June 1976, were also a significant contribution to international recession and peace. Our Congress demonstrates its unwavering faith in the soundness of the policy of peaceful coexistence, international recession and cooperation. It is convinced that with the constant and non-stop struggle of all peaceful forces despite any reactions of the most reactionary pro-war imperialist circles, this policy will eventually be definitively imposed as the determining factor in international relations.

3. A necessary condition for the final victory of the policy of peaceful coexistence is the consequent decline from the civilian to the military sector. The ban on the production and proliferation of old and new nuclear weapons, the ban on the production of the neutron bomb in particular, the reduction of the nuclear and conventional military forces of the NATO and Warsaw Pact countries and, above all, the Soviet Union have repeatedly suggested, will be important steps towards general and complete disarmament, for the benefit of all mankind.

4. The 14th Congress values, as important, the successes and the progress made during this period the forces fighting for national independence, democracy, economic and social progress.

In Europe, the democratic forces and especially the forces of the Left are on the rise and are making significant progress. The last dictatorial fascist regimes that oppressed the peoples of their countries for a decade also collapsed in Portugal and Spain. Their collapse led to the restoration of democracy, created favourable conditions for democratic political life and development, for which the Communist Parties and other patriotic forces of these countries are resolutely fighting.

5. The seven-year military dictatorship collapsed in Greece. The collapse of the junta, the restoration of democracy, the legitimization of the K.K.E. and of other organisations, the governance of the country by a democratically elected

Government, accountable to Parliament, are great achievements of the struggling Greek people. The legitimacy of the KKE was a major conquest of the working class and workers of Greece. With its struggles the KKE emerges as a Party with great and decisive influence among working class and the workers around whom they can rally the progressive left forces, in the struggle for its expansion and consolidation of democracy, to free Greece from American influence, NATO and the EEC, for the solution of national problems in the interest of the Greek people, for a policy of international recession and peace.

6. In Turkey, which suffers from a very acute and deep economic-political crisis, the situation has worsened even more. Deep economic crisis, unbearable foreign debts, political unrest and assassinations, mass unemployment and workers going out to look for work abroad—they all create a really explosive situation in Turkey, which has its effect on shaping a chauvinistic aggressive policy of government circles both in the Cyprus issue and in resolving its disputes with Greece.

The democratic progressive forces, led by the working class, are fighting against this reactionary situation and the chauvinist policy of the government circles of Turkey. The C.P., the only Communist Party in Europe that works in illegal conditions, is at the forefront of the struggle for Turkey's release from the current situation and for a truly national political and democratic development, as well as the struggle for a just, peaceful and democratic solution of the Cyprus problem based on UN resolutions.

7. In the Middle East, the Arab peoples despite the division caused by the reactionary circles, are fighting vigorously against the imperialism seeking to impose its sovereignty over the region, and against Zionism and the expansion of Israel's ruling circles, acting as the instruments of imperialists.

The Arab people, led by patriotic, democratic forces are fighting for the liberation of their territories from Israeli occupation and for restoration of the rights of the Palestinian people, including the establishment of its own Palestinian state.

8. In Asia, Africa and Latin America, people are fighting vigorously against imperialism, foreign monopolies, racism, Zionism and reaction, seeking to maintain or impose their dominance over the peoples of these countries.

The people of Afghanistan, overthrowing the backward feudal regime, achieved a glorious victory, which paved the way for radical socio-economic changes with a socialist content.

The peoples of a number of countries, such as Angola, Ethiopia and others, with the heroic their struggle and with the decisive help of the socialist countries and especially of the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of Cuba and the solidarity of the world progressive forces crushed the invasions of the imperialists and the their institutions and are now on the path of non-capitalist development.

9. In the field of rivalry between the two main social systems—the socialism and capitalism—the socialist system is increasingly demonstrating its complete superiority in all spheres over capitalism.

Based on the social ownership of the means of production and its design, the economy of the socialist countries and first of all Soviet Union, ensures supremacy in its growth rates and achieves a continuous, stable, crisis-free growth, resulting in more and more full satisfaction of the ever-increasing social, material and cultural needs of the population.

10. Contrary to this uninterrupted progress of the socialist countries, the economy of state-monopoly capitalism suffers from a chronic deep, general and all-round crisis, which is inherent in this system. A characteristic feature of this crisis in this period was that it struck simultaneously all the most developed industrially capitalist countries and manifested itself simultaneously in all sectors.

As a result of this situation, mass unemployment and the impoverishment of workers and intra-capitalist antagonisms and rivalries intensified even more and took on new dimensions.

11. The Non-Aligned Movement, in which Cyprus also participates, acquires one an increasingly positive role in international developments within the UN and beyond, despite the differences between the participating countries both in terms of their political and social status, as well as in terms of their ideology and level of development.

Despite the efforts of imperialism and other forces to break it up or to neutralise it or even join it, this movement remains anti-imperialist and fights against colonisation, neo-colonisation and racism for both national independence and peace and for a fairer political and economic order.

Cyprus, as a member of the Non-Aligned Movement basically follows a non-aligned foreign policy. Following this basically anti-imperialist policy and participating in all Conferences of Non-Aligned Movement and other international organisations takes a basically correct position on the various serious and controversial international issues, such as the issue of recession, cooperation, disarmament and peace and contributes positively to the extent of its forces in the solution of these great problems of our time.

Our Congress expresses its full support for this policy, which is the most appropriate under present conditions and the most helpful to the struggle conducted by our people. The interests of Cyprus require that the Government pursue this policy with even greater consistency and determination in the future. Our Party will contribute to the fulfillment of this duty with all its might.

12. Our Congress, in appreciation of international developments, determines the following tasks:

(a) to contribute with all our forces to the common struggle of the peoples for the final consolidation of the policy of peaceful coexistence on the basis of the principles of the Helsinki Final Act and the consolidation of the international recession and its success in the military field.

(b) to contribute in the same way to the common struggle against armaments competition, to prevent the production of the neutron bomb and to general and complete disarmament.

(c) to actively support and express in every way our solidarity and support for the people's struggles for freedom and national independence, democracy, economic and social progress.

(d) to further strengthen Cyprus' ties with the non-aligned and in general all the friendly countries, which offer us valuable solidarity and their support in our struggle.

B. THE INTERNAL POLITICAL SITUATION

1. The main feature of the Cyprus political situation in the 4 years that we are aiming at was the manifestation of the many years of prepared imperialist conspiracy against Cyprus, culminating with the treacherous coup of the Greek junta and EOKA B on July 15th and the barbaric Turkish invasion and the war that followed. The twin imperialist crime with all the tragic consequences for our people was the determining factor for the Cyprus developments of 4 years.

As a result of these criminal acts, a completely new, unprecedented in tragedy and catastrophe, situation was created in Cyprus. The elements of this unprecedented tragedy in the recent history of Cyprus are composed by thousands of dead who fell on the field of honour, the thousands of missing, the occupation of 40% of the Cypriot territory by the Turkish invading troops, the control of 70% of the wealth-producing resources of our island by the forces invasion, the uprooting and refuge of about 200,000 Greek Cypriots, the violent displacement of thousands of Turkish Cypriots from their homes and the relocation in some cases with the fraudulent alliance of the British Government—in the area occupied by the Turkish troops in Cyprus and the drama of the trapped.

2. Our Congress appreciating the events that preceded the coup, notes that serious errors in the handling of the whole situation have been committed; and there were serious omissions on the part of the state that became the subject exploitation by the imperialists and their institutions to promote and implementation of their criminal plans.

3. Our Congress reviewing the action and the energies of our Party before and during the coup and the invasion expresses its full appreciation for the role of the Party in dealing with this imperialist conspiracy.

For many years, our Party repeatedly and persistently warned about the risks of a coup and called on the government to take timely all necessary drastic measures to prevent or effectively deal with it. Our Party played the leading role in the mass mobilisations and events to prevent and thwart the coup, offered its forces and made available to the government as many fighters President Makarios requested of us, but without, unfortunately to take advantage of this special offer. On the other hand, from the first day of the fascist coup and later of the barbaric Turkish invasion, our Party called the people to a massive, united resistance to defend our homeland.

Responding to the call of the Party, thousands of its members and supporters of the Party and our Labour Movement in general, along with all other patriots, fought heroically and many fell on the battlefield against coup, betrayal and invasion in defence of the Republic, homeland. The Congress pays tribute to us and expresses its deep and undivided appreciation to all the patriots, who in this

sacred and just struggle sacrificed the most valuable asset for man, their own lives.

4. Our Conference reviewing the policy and tactics followed by C.C. as well as the activities of the Party to deal with many and difficult political, economic, social and other problems created by the coup and the Turkish invasion, expresses the deep appreciation and fully approves the positions and actions of the C.C. and generally of the Party.

5. The Congress finds that the main characteristic of the internal situation was, on the one hand, the vigorous and unstoppable struggle of our people for a fair, peaceful and democratic solution to the Cyprus problem and on the other, the persistence of the American-colonial imperialist circles and their institutions for the promotion and enforcement of their own plans for the solution of the Cyprus problem.

Despite this strong struggle of the Cypriot people and the valuable solidarity and support of the world progressive democratic forces towards our struggle is still deadlocked in terms of achieving a fair, peaceful, democratic, mutually acceptable and sustainable solution to the Cyprus problem, based on UN resolutions and in the interest of all Cypriots— Greeks, Turks, Armenians and Maronites.

6. In order to find such a solution, the government and the Greek Cypriot side showed compromise and a constructive spirit. A decisive step to overcome the impasse were the meetings of the late President of the Republic of Archbishop Makarios with the leader of the Turkish Cypriot Mr Denktash in January and February 1977 and their agreement on the 4 guidelines for a solution to the Cyprus problem. Based on this agreement and in the context of these guidelines the Greek Cypriot side, submitted in April 1977 the known concrete and constructive proposals were approved at a joint meeting of the Minister and the National Council chaired by the then President of the Republic.

7. Contrary to the compromising and constructive attitude of the government and the Greek Cypriot side, the Turkish government and the reactionary chauvinist leadership of the Turkish Cypriot community, with the support of the most reactionary circles of Anglo-American imperialism and NATO, showed in these 4 years complete intransigence. Their main goal is the perpetuation and legitimization of the committed events of violence and invasion. This policy of the Turkish government is

part of and serves the more general offensive plans of the imperialist circles in the region.

Following this policy, the Turkish government and the reactionary chauvinist leadership of the Turkish Cypriots showed complete contempt for repeated decisions of the General Assembly and the Security Council of the UN. They have repeatedly broken their promises and commitments against the UN Secretary General, proceeded to declare a separate federation Turkish state and created new fait accompli with the colonisation of Varossi.

Under pressure from the UN and international public opinion, the Turkish government and the reactionary Turkish Cypriot leadership submitted the proposals last April for the Cyprus issue, after first advertising them worldwide with an Explanatory Memorandum. The main aim of these proposals is to formalise the current situation, as it was created after the invasion and marauding war of Turkey in July and August 1974, with the creation of virtually two separate states, with an artificial and loose connection between them. As such, these proposals cannot form a basis for constructive inter-communal talks for a solution to the Cyprus problem.

8. The Congress emphasises that the most urgent task is to find a just, peaceful and democratic solution to the Cyprus problem in the interest of all Cypriots, based on UN resolutions. Such a solution must guarantee independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and the non-alignment of a bi-communal Republic of Cyprus and to exclude both the Union of all or part of Cyprus with another country and its partition. On the basis of this solution, the Turkish and all foreign troops should withdraw, foreign military bases on Cypriot territory to be abolished and any interventions in the interior of Cyprus terminated. Refugees must have the right to return to their homes and to ascertain the fate of the missing. The independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-alignment of Cyprus to be ensured with strong and reliable international guarantees through the UN.

9. Our Congress declares that in today's specific Cypriot conditions and based on all the facts, the appropriate tactical struggle is the political struggle internally and internationally, the talks, within the framework of the UN and under the personal guidance of the Secretary-General, the establishment of a special International Conference within the UN, which will deal with its

international aspects Cyprus, political and diplomatic activities and as much as possible further internationalization of the Cyprus problem and its maximum utilisation valuable international support and solidarity and especially the Soviet Union.

Strict adherence to this line and tactics is a prerequisite for the success of the struggle of the Cypriot people. Any departure from this, and much more, abandonment of it, and the adoption of another line and policy, in favour of which various political circles and actors are inclined, would lead to the total destruction of Cyprus.

At the same time, all necessary measures must be taken to strengthen the defence capacity of the state. Under the responsibility and guidance government to strengthen its defence shield and legitimate forces of the state and the whole people to be educated in the spirit of resistance to any new military attack by the Turkish military forces.

10. Our Congress emphasises the urgent task of comprehensive assistance of the internal front. The measures that could make a decisive contribution for this purpose are:

(a) The forging of a stable and tight unity of all patriotic forces of the Cypriot people on the basis of a minimum programme, a common line and tactics.

(b) The cleansing and consolidation of the security forces—Army and Police—the state mechanism and the semi-Governmental Organisations.

(c) The dissolution of all illegal organisations and the confiscation of all illegal weapons.

(d) The solution of the main refugee problems and especially of the housing and all the basic economic problems of the people, such as the fair distribution of financial burdens and fairer distribution and redistribution of national income for the benefit of the working masses.

(e) The democratisation of the political and social life of the country through the holding of communal, municipal and other elections, democratisation and the modernisation of the cooperative law and institutions, the establishment of the system of simple proportional and other measures.

(f) The abolition of discrimination against Akelists and in general leftists and progressives in recruitment and promotions in the government service, in semi-governmental and other organisations.

(g) The formation of a political government, representative of the patriots democratic forces, based on a minimum programme.

Our Congress underlines the need for a real turn towards our Turkish Cypriot compatriots. Despite the huge difficulties they created the transfer of the Turkish Cypriots to the occupied area by the Turkish troops of Cyprus and the prohibition of all contact, every effort must be made to reconnect with them, aiming at the complete normalisation of relations between Greek and Turkish Cypriots in the common struggle for a just, peaceful, democratic and mutually acceptable solution to the Cyprus problem.

11. Our Congress in relation to the internal political situation determines briefly the following tasks:

(a) To fight for a solution of the Cyprus problem based on the decisions and within the framework of the UN.

(b) To insist on the correct tactics of struggle for a peaceful, democratic solution through inter-communal negotiations within the UN, away from any extremism and adventurism. To strengthen at the same time the defence capabilities of the state.

(c) To insist on the further internationalisation of the Cyprus problem, on the formation International Conference and the full utilisation of international solidarity and support.

(d) To strengthen our internal front by taking all measures for the forge an integral unity of all democratic forces,

(e) To make a real turn in our approach to our Turkish Cypriot compatriots. Our work must be to break down the dividing walls erected between us by the imperialists and their agents and to gradually restore the good old relations, mutual understanding, friendship, trust and cooperation.

C. THE ECONOMIC SITUATION OF CYPRUS

1. Our Congress finds that the twin imperialist crime against Cyprus not only halted the upward course of the Cypriot economy, but also dealt a severe blow to it with painful consequences for the unprecedented mass unemployment, declining living standards and the creation of refugees and other serious economic and social problems for the majority of the people, Greeks and Turks.

The war with the catastrophes brought about by the Turkish invasion troops of 40% of the Cypriot territory, the loss of 70% of the total gross production, the compulsory abandonment of real estate of value £2.25 billion and movable property of £100 million,

approximately the exodus of 1/3 of the population and the unemployment of about 50,000 workers and 30,000 self-employed—all of which show in relief the extent of the blow suffered by the Cypriot economy.

2. The Congress finds that in the almost 4 years that have passed since the treacherous coup and barbaric invasion, the Cypriot economy recovered, revitalised and reactivated significantly.

The revitalisation and reactivation of the Cyprus economy to such extent is mainly due to:

(a) The proper, patriotic contribution of the working class and the workers of our island, led by our Party and the progressive popular movement.

The patriotic role of the party and the progressive labour movement for the strengthening of the Cypriot economy was expressed both by the voluntary adjustment of the working class working conditions and salaries of employees, as well as by the submission of concrete, realistic and scientifically elaborated proposals by our party for the recovery of the economy.

(b) The specific measures taken by the government and especially the elaboration and implementation of the first and second emergency economic action plan.

(c) the assistance in cash and in kind given to Cyprus by various countries and foreign organisations, specifically for dealing with housing and other problems of the refugee world.

(d) securing and expanding markets for Cypriot, industrial and agricultural products.

3. The Congress, while noting the successes in the revitalisation of the Cypriot economy, the rise in national income and earnings of workers, as well as the action developed during this period by the grassroots organisations for the solution of economic and social problems, notes at the same time that the share of workers and employees in the national income is lower than it was in 1973, which has an adverse effect on living and their cultural level.

This situation requires a radical revision and economic readjustment and economic and social policy of the government for the benefit of the working class and toilers, towards a fairer distribution and redistribution of the national income and the rise of the standard of living and culture of the people.

The commercial policy of the State plays a key role in the development of our economy. Our Party has warned that government's policy towards the EEC is wrong and detrimental to the Cypriot economy with even worse prospects, especially for the rural economy.

The Congress calls for a review of the government's policy towards the EEC in such a way as not to damage the commercial and economic relations of the State with the socialist and non-aligned countries, which are also our natural allies in struggle for survival and freedom.

4. Our Congress expresses its deep appreciation for the pioneering, patriotic role played by our Party and our labour movement in general and approves as important its contribution to the recovery and revitalisation of the economy and in general the strengthening of the economic front of struggle, which constitutes necessary background of the hard and difficult struggle for salvation and freedom of our country.

5. Our Congress, having in mind the state of the Cypriot economy, defines as our main task the continuous struggle for the completion of the reactivation and revitalisation of our economy in all of sectors and for a fairer distribution and redistribution of national income and economic burdens for the benefit of workers.

This can be done by increasing the wages and salaries in particular of workers and low-paid workers, adjusting tax policy, improving income tax legislation in favour of workers, modernising social security on the basis of International Conventions, the implementation of the State Health Plan, introducing free education, implementing a comprehensive plan for housing and other measures.

D. THE MASS POPULAR MOVEMENT

1. The mass popular movement, expressed by the refugee movement, the trade unions, professional and mass political organisations played a decisive role in dealing with the tragic situation and the problems created for our people by the treacherous coup and the barbaric Turkish invasion.

Our Congress expresses its deep appreciation for the patriotism, the high wisdom, endurance, courage, unity and invaluable contribution of both the refugee world and all the mass popular organisations in the struggle to deal with the

consequences of the double imperialist crime, in liberation struggle and the economic and social rise of the people.

He also expresses its appreciation for the tireless consistent and responsible work which thousands of Party members offer by working within the grassroots organisations.

The contribution of the mass popular movement to the anti-imperialist liberation struggle of our people, for the preservation and strengthening of the patriotic unity of the people and for the promotion and solution of economic and other problems of the people, was decisive and of enormous importance. A key element and contributor to the patriotic unity of the people, the backbone of this unity is the workers' and peasants' alliance.

2. Appreciating the huge and decisive role played by mass popular movement, our Congress considers that the very strengthening of the movement and its organisations, the consolidation and expansion of their unity, is a key task of the Party and the members who belong and work in the various mass popular organisations. That is why our Congress invites our members and leading cadres working among the refugees, in the trade union, the rural, the youth movement, women, artisans, scientists and intellectuals, in collaboration, in sports, in its movement peace and other areas of the mass movement to develop even more activity, to always lead the agitation and the struggle for the solution of the problems faced by workers and toilers, to promote the line of unity and educate the people based on the right line and tactics of our Party and in the struggle to secure and improve the working conditions and the earnings of the working class and toilers for rising their living and cultural standards.

3. Our Party must pay special attention to the women's movement. Women make up half of the population and are an economic, social and political force to be reckoned with, with many and varied problems. Our Party must make a decisive contribution to their solution, which will result in more women joining our Party. We must study new forms and methods of work for a real turn in work among women.

Our Party must see with particular interest the problems that face the middle classes, artisans, motorists and others and especially the problems of those affected by the coup and the invasion, such as rents, extraordinary contributions and more.

4. Our task with regard to the mass popular movement is to continue to work for its further all-round strengthening. The unity and unified action of trade unions, agricultural and other professional organisations should be strengthened even more at all levels and for all economic and social problems and in the mobilisation of our people for the right solution to the Cyprus problem based on UN resolutions. This requires the real interest of all workers of Cyprus, Greeks, Turks, Armenians and Maronites.

To achieve this goal, our Party has a duty to do everything possible help and support to the mass, popular movement.

5. Appreciating the serious role that culture plays in the lives of our people—as well as any other people—and how deeply art affects the behaviour of people in general, our Party always affectionately surrounds people who are involved in the cultural sector and the art in particular and will continue to offer them every assistance, within the framework of the Cypriot capabilities, so that they can comfortably create, each in his own field for the good of the country, for the good of the Cypriot people.

E. THE PARTY

Our Party is a great political force with the widest influence and appreciation among the people and as such it bears great responsibilities for the future of our people.

Despite the large number of its members and followers who either fell in the fight against in the coup and the invasion, or are missing, despite the severe blow which suffered with the refugee of thousands of its members, our Party has not ceased for a moment to play its pioneering role. In all the political developments of the last 4 years, in the struggle to deal with the heavy consequences of the coup and the invasion, in the struggle for internationalisation of the Cyprus problem for a just, peaceful and democratic solution in all mobilisations of the people our Party, its members and leading cadres played a pioneering and decisive role.

The correct patriotic political line of our Party and its consistent adherence to it, the prudent handling of all the problems faced by our people guided by the general interest of our liberation struggle, the daily action of its leading cadres and members as well as its deputies, all contributed to the far beyond

strength of our Party and to far beyond the breadth of its influence in the masses.

2. Our Congress endorses unreservedly and expresses its deep appreciation for the activity and pioneering role played by our Party, under the guidance of C.C. in the 4 years we review.

It especially appreciates the work and the great successes in the organisational field. These successes are expressed first of all by the ability and readiness of the Party to reorganise the Party organisations without delay among the refugees, to find and reconnect the largest proportion of members, which allowed him to respond to the most acute problems created after the tragedy. They are also expressed by recruiting of hundreds of new members of the Party, workers, peasants, artisans, scientists, youth and women, as a result, we surpassed the number of Party members of the 13th Congress, the increased activity of Party members grassroots organisations, the promotion of new leading cadres in the Party hierarchy, the increase in the percentage of members participating in the sessions of Party organisations, the increase in the amount of assistance and the percentage of members who paid their subscriptions, the results of the campaign, the increase of the circulation of the Party, the *Democrat (Haravghi)*, and other Party publications and generally the improvement of work of the Party in the ideological, educational and other areas of its activity.

3. Considering as important the results of the organisational work, Our Congress finds that in the various ranks of the Party there are still shortcomings and weaknesses and that there is still plenty of scope for new successes in this field. With a view to overcoming the shortcomings and the far-reaching strengthening of our party, so that it responds even more and more worthily to its responsibilities as the largest political party in Cyprus and its destination and to play even more effectively its role in the hard and difficult struggles of our people, our Congress decides:

(a) To continue even more resolutely the recruitment of thousands of new members of the Party among all strata of the Cypriot people, so that our Party can take root everywhere, wherever the working people live and work, in the place of residence, in the factory, in the workshop, in the offices and businesses, in the institutions, generally in every place of work, as well as in the village and in the district.

Particularly to continue the turn to recruit new members among women and to make a similar turn towards employees, scientists and intellectuals.

(b) In relation to the recruitment of new members, the Party should focus its attention on the assimilation of new members and in general on raising and improving their ideological and qualitative level. This means that all the necessary measures must be taken to ensure that the Party as a whole and especially the new members are more and more equipped by the theory of Marxism-Leninism to get to know each other better. With the statutes of the Party and the principles of democratic centralism.

(c) To improve even more, with the guidance and contribution of the guiding bodies of the Party, the manner and content of the work of the Party group. The group must become a more vibrant, active organisation that deals promptly with all the problems of the people and puts its stamp of activity on the mobilisation of the people for their solution.

The development of more initiative and activity, the collective way of work, the exercise of rapid creative control over the decision-making and constructive criticism and self-criticism, the good division of work, the encouragement of free democratic debate within the group, the encouragement of the initiative of members in the development of activity are the concrete measures that will help the Party group to play its role even more vividly and actively.

(d) To further improve the work of all guiding organisations, higher and lower, as well as the various offices of the C.C. and the E.E. to become even more active and effective instruments of guiding and mobilising the Party and the people and securing even more important ones results in the various areas and activities of the Party.

(e) To promote and implement management policy with greater determination despite the progress made in this field, the problem of training and promoting new leading cadres remains the number one organisational problem, which it should always be in the centre of attention of C.C. of the E.E. and in general all guiding organs from top to bottom.

(f) To safeguard like the apple of our eye and to constantly strengthen the unity and monolithic of the Party and its leadership based on principles of collective leadership and democratic centralism.

(g) Based on the experience to date, to strengthen even more and to organise even more systematically the political, intra-Party and non-partisan vigilance. We have to educate the whole Party, that the case of vigilance, of safeguarding the Party from erosion or the penetration of hostile elements into it is not the responsibility of a certain office or some members, but an urgent duty of all Party members.

By educating the party as a whole in this way we will strike down any depreciation that exists for this so important area of work.

(h) To give exceptional importance and to develop even more our work in the field of the ideological front, which within the specific conditions are becoming increasingly important. With our work on the ideological front we must help the Party as a whole to acquire more ideological and theoretical material. We must fiercely defend the high ideals of socialism and the line and tactics, positions and decisions of our Party. We must promptly and combatively repel attempts at anti-Sovietism and anti-communism, slandering the socialist countries and distortion of the ideals of Marxism-Leninism and the positions of our Party and expose effectively any demagoguery and demagogic slogans, as well as any manifestation of dogmatism, opportunism, sectarianism, and revisionism.

The theoretical organ of the Party, the ***New Democrat***, must contribute of all leading cadres, to significantly improve, to effectively illuminate the positions of the Party and the main theoretical problems of our time, and become a real organ of theoretical thought and projection of Marxist ideology.

Also improve our work in the field of enlightenment and propaganda, using both new leading cadres and new ways of working.

To pay special attention to the improvement and the content of ***Dawn (Haravghi)***, of the ***Democrat*** and the other publications of the Party by overcoming the shortcomings presented by the noticeable quality improvement of ***Dawn (Haravghi)***, that we must achieve, we must elevate even more the role and the its prestige among the broad masses of the people.

Increasing the circulation of ***Dawn (Haravghi)***, ***Democrat*** and the ***New Democrat*** and other publications of the Party and the movement and in general of every progressive publication and the

utilisation of their content, is one of the most serious, daily and main tasks that the Party ensemble must fulfill with honour.

(i) To continuously strengthen and further our ties and to constantly develop our relations with the brother Communist and Workers' Parties, based on the common ideals of Marxism-Leninism and the principles of the proletarian internationalism.

(j) To ensure the continuation of the improvement observed in the finances of the Party, which is necessary for its smooth operation and its manning with new leading cadres and generally for the addressing the growing needs of the Party's work.

By fulfilling all the above tasks we contribute to the all-round dynamism of our Party, we raise the Party work to the level required by the current political situations and developments and make our Party capable and worthy of playing even more decisively its pioneering role in the struggle of the Cypriot people for the salvation and freedom of Cyprus and to meet its responsibilities, the expectations of the people and, its historic destination in the duty for a new, free, peaceful and happy future for all Cypriot people—Greeks, Turks, Armenians and Maronites.

THE DECLARATIONS OF THE CONGRESS⁸⁸

THE DECLARATION OF THE 14TH CONGRESS OF AKEL TO THE CYPRIOT PEOPLE

PATRIOTIC Cypriot People:

The 14th Congress of the working class and workers' Party, AKEL, addresses to all workers and the entire Cypriot people warm patriotic, militant greeting and message of optimism, and unwavering faith in the final victory of our liberation struggle.

WE WELCOME AND HONOUR all those who lost their loved ones in the fight against the treacherous, junta coup and the barbaric Turkish invasion and unwaveringly continue the struggle for freedom and justice.

The GREAT sacrifice of the children of Cyprus (whoever they are) will teach us and will guide us in the great battle of Cyprus, in the battle of humanity, dignity, freedom, prosperity and progress made by the unblushing Cypriot people.

WE WELCOME and honour our refugee world, which, while losing everything it had created through long years of toil and sacrifice, not only stood firmly on the ramparts of the struggle but also contributed decisively to the restoration of the Cypriot economy and the strengthening of the front of resistance and struggle of our people for freedom.

WE PROMISE and honour with all our might, for the solution of the burning refugee problems and the return of refugees in conditions of safety in their homes and properties.

WE SALUTE and honour the relatives of missing persons who, while they are being tested hard due to the lack of valid information about the fate of loved ones, have not escaped and continue fearlessly the struggle to shed light on the darkness that covers the fate of all the missing.

WE PROMISE to intensify the struggle for the realisation of the relevant UN resolutions, which provide for the establishment of a

⁸⁸ *ibid.*

Peace Commission, which will work seamlessly to ascertain the fate of all the missing.

WE SALUTE, honour and congratulate from the bottom of our hearts those trapped in Karpasia who, while suffering the worst under the Turkish occupation, do not leave their homeland and continue their struggle for justice and freedom.

WE PROMISE them to intensify our struggle to bring an hour earlier the coveted day of redemption.

WE WELCOME and CONGRATULATE from the bottom of our hearts all the workers, toilers, peasants, employees, professionals and artisans, scientists, intellectuals and teachers who with their conscious tireless work have contributed to reactivation of the Cypriot economy and its strengthening, factor of the whole front resistance and struggle of our people for freedom.

WE PROMISE to fight with all our might to implement in practice the policy for a fairer distribution of economic burdens and a fairer redistribution of national income, so that the workers who are the real creators of wealth have a greater share of it.

WE SALUTE and congratulate from the bottom of our hearts our heroic National Guard, who with the weapon in their hand defend the honour, dignity, the territorial integrity and independence of our country.

WE PROMISE to contribute with all our forces to strengthen our defence armour and improve their living conditions of the fighters on the front lines of the Cyprus front.

WE SALUTE, honour and congratulate from the bottom of our hearts the women of Cyprus, the heroine mothers and sisters carrying on their shoulders the enormous burden of the problems created by the treacherous junta coup and the barbaric Turkish Invasion.

WE PROMISE to fight to relieve this burden, to implement the policy of equal pay with men and solve so many burning problems faced by women in Cyprus.

WE WELCOME and CONGRATULATE from the bottom of our hearts the young men and women of Cyprus who have made and continue to offer so many sacrifices in the great struggle for salvation and the freedom of the homeland. The Cypriot youth is the pride and hope fighting for the freedom of the Cypriot people.

WE PROMISE to fight for the solution of the problems of the new generation, so that their contribution to the liberation struggle becomes even greater and more decisive.

To our Turkish Cypriot compatriots who are groaning today under a triple oppression and exploitation we send a message of solidarity and support and we extend a hand of friendship and cooperation in the common struggle for the liberation of Cyprus from all foreign troops, and the imperialist presence and influence and pave the way for a truly freer and happier Cyprus, where Greeks and Turks, Armenians and Maronites will coexist harmoniously and will work together as brothers.

PATRIOTIC Cypriot People,

Our STRUGGLE, the struggle for the salvation and freedom of Cyprus is not at all easy. The main enemy of the Cypriot people, imperialism and its military expression, NATO is constantly cultivating Turkish intransigence, because it wants Cyprus divided and based on the imperialist North Atlantic alliance.

However difficult and complicated the imperialists make our liberation struggle, we must be sure that we will eventually win it. And we will win it if we strengthen to the fullest the patriotic unity of our people and if we fight with faith and determination based on the line and tactics laid down by the National and the Council of Ministers shortly before his death of the late President of the Republic Archbishop Makarios.

We will win it if we fully embrace the Internal Front of resistance and struggle, culminating in a political, representative Government, which will enjoy the greatest possible trust and support domestically and internationally.

We can win it if we mobilise all our forces, politically and economically, if we strengthen our defence in the struggle for salvation and freedom.

We will win it if we proceed decisively to further internationalisation of the Cyprus issue culminating in the convening of an international conference within the framework of UN, which will deal specifically with the Cyprus issue and the implementation of decisions of the UN on Cyprus.

We will win it if we develop our ties with all our sincere friends and especially with the great friend and ally of the Cypriot people—the Soviet Union, if we approach them to discuss with them the best way to promote and resolve the Cyprus problem.

OUR STRUGGLE can be long not because we want it to be but because our enemy insists on the recognition of the accomplished and the dismemberment, and if he insists on this we are determined to continue the fight until Cyprus becomes truly

independent, sovereign, territorially intact, non-aligned and demilitarised.

PEOPLE will win! Cyprus will be saved! Imperialism will not pass!

THE RESOLUTIONS OF THE CONGRESS⁸⁹

TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF CYPRUS

The 14th Congress of AKEL that met in Nicosia from 25-28 May 1978, after discussing the political and economic situation of the country and other serious problems of the people, submit to your Excellency the following:

1. AKEL, once again declares its firm support for the policy for a peaceful and democratic solution to the Cyprus problem, for a truly independent and sovereign Cyprus, territorially intact, non-aligned demilitarised, without refugees, missing and trapped, and with reliable international guarantees.

2. For such a solution, within the framework of the above line, which serves the genuine interests of all Cypriots—Greeks, Turks, Armenians, Maronites—we must firmly continue to rely on the correct tactics, that imposed by the specific Cypriot treaties. This tactic is the political struggle internally and internationally, the constructive inter-communal ones talks, within the framework of the United Nations, the struggle for the further internationalisation of the Cyprus problem through political and diplomatic activities with aimed at harnessing valuable international support and solidarity, especially of the Soviet Union, and for the establishment of a special International Conference.

In addition, within the framework of the line and tactics of our struggle, it is necessary to take measures to strengthen our defence so that we can show decisive resistance in case of new attacks by the invading forces.

3. The Cypriot Government and the Greek Cypriot side have demonstrated, especially with the proposals of April 1977, practical compromise and good will for a successful conclusion of the inter-communal talks. Unfortunately Turkey and the leadership of the Turkish Cypriot side, are still intransigent and to disregard the decisions of the United Nations. The culmination of the

⁸⁹ *ibid.*

uncompromising, blind, chauvinist policy, which serves the general imperialist interests, are the latest, unacceptable Turkish Cypriot proposals that were justly and unanimously rejected? But regardless of the above—the attitude of Turkey and the leadership of the Turkish Cypriots—the Cypriot government, as the legitimate and internationally recognised representation of the Cypriot people, must remain strictly committed to the right line and tactics because both are the necessary conditions for the success of our liberation struggle.

The trends that have emerged for the modification or revision of our line and tactics must be rejected because they involve risks of totalitarianism destruction of our homeland.

AKEL warns of these dangers and calls on the government to take all appropriate measures.

4. The 14th Congress of AKEL emphasises in particular the urgent task of the government for the comprehensive strengthening of our internal front, and above all, the unity of the patriotic democratic forces of our people. The prerequisites for such a reinforcement are:

(a) Reaching an agreement on a minimum programme, a common line and regular and full and strict observance of this agreement.

(b) The cleansing and consolidation of the security forces—National Guard—Police and the state mechanism, with the implementation without further delay of the measures provided by the relevant legislation passed by the Parliament.

(c) The dismantling of all illegal organisations and groups, and the construction of illegally seized armaments.

(d) The democratisation of the political and social life of the country with—

- The immediate holding of community elections, announcement of elections for Municipal Councils. Improvement Tips. School Euphrates.

- The abolition of the dictatorial provisions of the Law on Cooperation and the unacceptable status of social certificates.

- The democratic administration and management of the semi-governmental organisations,

(e) The solution of basic economic, social and other problems of the various sections of the workers and the people in general.

- Refugee problems and especially housing.

- The immediate implementation of measures for a fairer distribution and redistribution of National Income and economic burdens created by the invasion for the benefit of workers.

- The significant increase of the tax-free income limit and the increase in social benefits,

(f) The formation of a political government representative of all patriotic democratic forces.

5. The 14th Congress of AKEL calls on the government to make a real change in its policy towards our Turkish compatriots, by applying bold and careful measures for removal of the obstacles created by the mistakes of the past on both sides, for rapprochement and normalisation of relations between the two communities, which will positively assist in the efforts to settle our political problem.

6. The 14th Congress of AKEL declares that it will continue to support the President of the Republic, Mr. Kyprianou and his government based on the line and tactics decided by the National and Ministerial Council in March 1977 and the programme announced by the President before and after the presidential election and will provide him with all possible assistance in the difficult liberation struggle of our people. At the same time, however, AKEL reserves the right to judge and criticize that in his opinion it is negative in government policy and will suggest ways and means to remedy it.

7. The 14th Congress of AKEL, submitting the above, demonstrates the decision of the Party to continue, with consistency, patriotism, its devotion to people and their rights, which characterises its over fifty years of life and action, the struggle for the strengthening of the patriotic unity and cooperation of all democratic forces, for the solution of the problems of workers for a new, free, peaceful future for all the Cypriot people.

TO THE G.S. OF THE UN DR. KURT WALDHEIM

Your Excellency,

The CONGRESS of the Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus (AKEL), which met in Nicosia on May 25-28, for the first time since the tragic events of 1974, appreciated the developments of recent years, discussed the difficult and complex issues facing our country and made decisions to promote their solution.

The Progressive Party of Working People (AKEL) appreciates the extremely important the role played by the UN in maintaining world peace and developing creative cooperation between all countries in the world.

Our Congress wishes to highlight the remarkable positive role played by the United Nations and your own efforts as Secretary-General of the United Nations, for a peaceful just solution to the Cyprus problem based on independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus.

It is our unwavering belief that a peaceful solution to the Cyprus problem can be found in the near future and in the interest of both communities and all the inhabitants of our country, only on the basis of decisions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, which provide for withdrawal of all foreign troops, return of refugees to their homes in safe conditions and recommend conducting essential and constructive negotiations under your auspices to find a mutually acceptable solution.

The Congress notes with regret that these decisions of the United Nations are ignored, despised and violated by the Turkish and Turkish Cypriot sides. For the fourth year, the occupation of a large part continues of the Cypriot territory and the substantial division of the Republic of Cyprus continue. Turkey and the Turkish Cypriot leadership are essentially opposed to the implementation of the United Nations resolutions and seek to maintain the perpetrators of the invasion.

This is the main reason for the Turkish Cypriot side's reluctant policy in the talks and the recent submission of proposals that could not to be accepted by us as a basis for constructive and substantive talks.

In view of the continuation of this unacceptable tragic situation, caused by foreign interventions (junta coup and Turkish invasion) in the summer of 1974 in Cyprus, the AKEL Congress believes that the time has come to implement paragraph 5 of Decision 35/15 (XXXli) of the United Nations General Assembly, which recommends to the Security Council to adopt all practical means to promote the effective implementation of its relevant decisions in all its aspects.

The Conference calls on Your Excellency to continue your efforts both for the resumption of substantive and constructive inter-communal talks on the basis of concrete positive proposals, based on the decisions of the United Nations on Cyprus, and for the adoption by the Security Council of all practical measures for the effective promotion of its decisions, including the UN International Conference.

We once again express our gratitude to the UN for what it is doing to restore peace, security and order in Cyprus, in our region and around the world, and we personally thank you for your efforts as UN Secretary General, for a peaceful and just solution to the Cyprus problem in the interest of all Cypriots.

ON THE REFUGEES AND THE ENCLAVED

The 14th Conference of AKEL held in Nicosia from 25 to 28 May 1978 after discussing among others, the refugee issue and the issue of trapped decides:

1. It denounces the Turkish Government for violating the principles of UN declarations and decisions, still hold 40% of the territory of Cyprus and deprives the 240 thousand Greek-Turkish refugees of the sacred human right to return to their homes and properties.

2. Demonstrates its demand that the Security Council take practical measures to implement in practice last year's resolution of the UN General Assembly, to withdraw from Cyprus Turkish and foreign troops to ensure the right of return of all refugees Greek and Turkish to their homes and properties, in safe conditions.

3. Expresses full support for their efforts and struggles of the refugees to take decisive measures that will contribute to the improvement of their financial situation, for a fairer distribution of

the burden of calamity, to solve the housing and all other refugee problems based on the memoranda of the WFP and the 4th Pancyprrian Refugee Congress.

4. The Congress denounces the brutal methods used by and are being applied by the Turkish occupation troops and the settlers to their detriment of the trapped. We support the implementation of UN resolutions and demand that appropriate pressure be exerted on Turkey to ensure that it provides better living, movement, training and employment conditions for the trapped.

5. The 14th Congress of AKEL calls on the refugee world to maintain and stabilise the unity of forces, which is a necessary condition both the promotion of the problems for survival and the general struggle that we conduct for a Cyprus Unified-Independent-Integral-Democratic.

THE MISSING PERSONS

The 14th Congress of AKEL that met in Nicosia from 25-28 May 1978 after discussing, among other things, the serious problem of missing persons, decides:

(a) Expresses its full sympathy to the thousands of the families of missing persons, who have been living for 4 years now, under stress and anxiety about determining the fate of their loved ones.

(b) Condemns and stigmatizes the negative attitude of the Turkish government who ignored the appeals and decisions of the United Nations, on such a serious and humanitarian problem as the issue of the missing,

(c) The 14th Congress supports the acceleration of the establishment of a special Committee based on the UN decision to investigate and verify the fate of the missing.

THE GREETINGS TO THE TURKISH CYPRIOTS

From the podium of the 14th Congress of AKEL we address a warm and cordial greeting to our Turkish Cypriot compatriots. We salute workers, peasants, intellectuals, in general all working Turkish Cypriot, who are fighting a hard and difficult struggle for

the rights of the masses for the independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus.

AKEL, based on the immortal principles of Marxism-Leninism proletarian internationalism, declares that Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots have the same sufferings, suffer the same sufferings and hardships and are victims of the same hated enemy, international imperialism and especially American.

That is why, from the podium of the 14th Congress, we appeal to the Turkish Cypriots to join forces with the Greek Cypriots and to strengthen their fight against NATO imperialists and their institutions to withdraw from Cyprus, all foreign troops, for the abolition of bases to ensure independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and the non-aligned Republic of Cyprus.

Only on the basis of the united struggle of all Greek and Turkish Cypriots against their common enemy, imperialism, will pave the way for real freedom, social progress, happiness and prosperity of the unblushing and proud Cypriot people.

AFTER THE ARREST AND DETENTION OF P. PASCHALIS IN ISRAEL

The Zionist regime of Israel has unjustly arrested for more than four months and keeps the militant Cypriot journalist under inhumane conditions, Panagiotis Paschalis, photojournalist and special editor of the *Dawn (Haravghi)* for Middle Eastern issues, because he bravely and honestly tried to reveal the truth about the situation in the occupied Arab territories and Israel.

The 14th Congress of AKEL strongly protests and condemns the dishonest effort of the Begin government and the Israeli secret services to victimize an honest Cypriot journalist with false, ridiculous accusations and with a fiasco trial, attributing to his journalistic mission espionage intentions.

We denounce to the international community the efforts of the Israeli government to terrorize and silence foreign journalists who write the truth about oppressive measures, racial discrimination, abuse of human rights in the occupied Arab territories and in Israel and demand that Paschalis be released immediately by the Israeli

authorities in order to return to his homeland, his family and his work.

We congratulate and thank the numerous democratic organisations in Cyprus, Israel and all over the world who mobilised for liberation of Paschalis and we invite them to continue their noble work.

We also call on the Government of the Republic of Cyprus to persistently continue its efforts to release the journalist Paschalis, who was fighting for the truth, the cause of human rights and the ideal of National Liberation.

27/5/1978

ON THE MIDDLE EAST

The 14th Congress of AKEL that met in Nicosia from 25 to 28 May 1978, examining the Middle East problem, with which the Cyprus problem is closely linked, because both were created by the imperialist conspiracy in the region.

It notes with concern that by strengthening and encouraging imperialism, the Zionist state of Israel not only refuses to comply with the relevant UN resolutions, but on the contrary, with all its action and especially with its recent invasion of Lebanon, it is widening and exacerbating the crisis and threatening peace in the region and around the world.

It condemns the racist aggression of the Zionist state of Israel, and US imperialism, which strengthens and encourages it, becomes a bridgehead of the imperialist strategy in the region.

It notes with concern that, with the strengthening and encouragement of imperialism, the Zionist state of Israel and the US imperialism that strengthens it and encourages it, will become a bridgehead of the imperialist strategy in the region.

It expresses its full support for the just struggle of the Arab peoples against imperialism, Zionism and the local reaction to the liberation of their territories occupied by Israel.

It expresses its full support to the heroic Palestinian people led by the PLO and demands the recognition of its inalienable rights, including the right to establish its own independent sovereign state in Palestine.

It supports the solution of the Middle East problem through the Geneva Conference with the equal participation of the PLO and on the basis of the withdrawal of the Israeli troops from all occupied territories, establishing an independent Palestinian state and the securing of the borders of all countries in the region with international guarantees.

It welcomes the high and ever-growing solidarity between the Cypriot and the Arab peoples and the progressive forces of the region against imperialism and its institutions.

It expresses the firm conviction that with the international support of the progressives forces of the whole world and especially of the Soviet Union with the struggle of the peoples of the Middle East and Cyprus the law will triumph.

ON CHILE

The 14th Congress of AKEL, which met in Nicosia from 25 to 28 May 1978, examining the situation in Chile, votes as follows:

It notes with indignation that the fascist Pinochet junta, which usurped power with the help of US imperialism, continues its orgy of terrorism, murder, imprisonment, torture, kidnapping and the disappearance of civilians, turning the country into a vast concentration camp.

It condemns with disgust the fascist junta and imperialism, in particular the United States and its multinational monopolies that plunder the national wealth of the country and oppress the proud people of Chile.

It considers the manoeuvres of the tyrannical regime and its patrons as aimed at giving “democratic constitutional legitimacy” to tyranny as an attempt to ridicule world public opinion and the UN, which unreservedly condemn its horrific crimes.

It expresses full support for the struggling people of Chile and heroic vanguard, the Communist Party of Chile, which together with the Socialist Party and the other democratic forces are forging the anti-fascist front struggle that will sweep the foreign junta and bring freedom and socialism in the country of Pablo Neruda and Allende.

It welcomes the release of the hero G.S. of C.P. of Chile, S. Louis Corvalan as a victory of the democratic forces of Chile and international solidarity.

It firmly believes in the final victory and the bright future of the Chilean people as well as all the peoples of Latin America.

ON AFRICA

The 14th Conference of AKEL that met in Nicosia from 25 to 28 May notes with enthusiasm the rise of the African revolutionary movement against racism, imperialism and neo-colonialism and expresses the full support for the heroic movements of Zimbabwe, Namibia and the South Africa against the shameful racist regimes that by strengthening it imperialism continue the inhuman oppression of the African majority.

It welcomes the triumph of the liberation movements and revolutions in Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde as well as in Ethiopia and the establishment of progressive regimes with a socialist orientation.

It welcomes the international solidarity of the progressive and the socialist powers of the world and especially the Soviet Union and Cuba to the African peoples and especially of Angola and Ethiopia.

It condemns the military intervention of imperialism and especially of the French imperialists in Western Sahara, Zaire and Chad and expresses its full support for the revolutionary forces of Polisario in Western Sahara and the liberation movements of Chad and Zaire.

It expresses its unwavering conviction that with their heroic struggle the peoples Africa, with the support of progressive powers of the world, will crush the last remnants of colonisation and neo-colonisation and the fascist, racist regimes and will build their free and happy future.

WITH KOREA

The 14th Congress of AKEL expresses the appreciation of the Party and the People of Cyprus for the intense and long-lasting

struggle of the Korean people against imperialism and its institutions.

Condemns the international imperialist conspiracy led by the American imperialism, the invading warfare and intrigues, and the continuation of the dismemberment of Korea.

Expressing the full commitment of AKEL, the Workers' Party of the Cypriot people, in the principles of international solidarity within the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism declares the firm solidarity and support for the hard work of the Workers' Party and the people of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea with the enlightened contribution and guidance of the General Secretary of the Workers' Party and head of state, Kim Il Sung.

The 14th Congress of AKEL warmly welcome the socialist conquests of the People's Republic of Korea, unites its voice with the Korean people in their just demand for the withdrawal of all foreign troops and for the reunification North and South Korea, for the benefit of the people of the country, international peace and security in the region and worldwide.

THE FIFTEENTH CONGRESS OF AKEL, 13-16 May 1982

THE DECISIONS OF THE CONGRESS⁹⁰

THE POLITICAL DECISION OF THE 15TH CONGRESS OF AKEL

The 15th Congress of AKEL, which met in Nicosia on 13,14, 15,16 of May 1982 after taking into account the activity report of C.C. and C.E.E. the pre-congress discussion, the introductory speech of General Secretary, E. Papaioannou, and the views of the delegates, decides:

Approves the activity report of K.E. and K.E.E. as well as the introductory speech of the General Secretary of the Party. The Congress expresses its appreciation for the proper handling from C.C. of political and other problems faced by our Party in the period under review. He also expresses his appreciation for multifaceted activity and the pioneering role played by the Party under the leadership of the C.C. within the framework of the line and the decisions of the 14th Party Congress.

A. THE INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS

1. The main feature in the field of international developments in the four years 1978-1982 is the tension in international relations, the revival of the arms race on the part of American imperialism and the steady and persistent struggle of peoples and world peace-loving forces against the policy of tension, to defend the recession, to prevent a thermonuclear war and to guard and consolidate peace.

⁹⁰ *Neos Dimokratis Magazine*, Issue 68, June 1982.

2. The Reagan administration, the head of the most reactionary, pro-war circles of international imperialism, pursuing a dangerous policy, which leads humanity on the brink of a new global thermonuclear war this time, proceeds to the production of new weapons of mass destruction systems, such as the neutron bomb and chemical weapons, finalising the decision to deploy the Pershing II and Cruise missiles on the territory of NATO member countries in Western Europe, support the establishment of new military bases in various countries, in the seas and oceans, the creation of a rapid development force, the signing of new strategic cooperation agreements with reactionary regimes and supports in every way fascist dictatorial governments to suppress the peoples' struggle for independence, democracy, social and economic progress.

3. In contrast to the policy that is dangerous for peace and humanity of the most reactionary, pro-war forces of imperialism, the world peace-loving forces are fighting resolutely for the defence of peace and the salvation of mankind from the danger of a thermonuclear war. The socialist countries, led by the Soviet Union, play a leading role in this struggle.

Guided by the Peace Programme of the 26th Congress of the CPSU, which is a continuation and complement of the previous Congresses of the 24th and the 25th—the General Secretary of the CPSU and Chairman of the Bureau of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR L. I. Brezhnev, expressing the policy of the Soviet Government, is putting forward new concrete and constructive proposals aimed at strengthening the climate of recession, halting the arms race, facilitating the signing of an agreement to limit and control armaments, to ensure a balance of power and mutual security between the US and the Soviet Union, to safeguard world peace and to pave the way for general and complete disarmament.

4. The 15th Congress expresses its deep appreciation for the struggles of the peoples against imperialism and its incendiary pro-war policy and for the defence of peace and welcomes the successes they have achieved during this time by the forces fighting for peace, national independence, democracy, economic and social progress.

In the universal struggle and the unprecedented mobilisations of the forces of peace against the construction of the neutron bomb and for the salvation of humanity from a new, thermonuclear war, the Cypriot people, with all their peace-loving forces united,

regardless of political, ideological and other differences are given a worthy present.

5. At the same time, the democratic forces and especially the forces of the Left in Western Europe during this period made significant progress and success. In France, the cooperation of Communists and Socialists in conjunction with objective conditions of the economic crisis and mass unemployment, led to the defeat of the reactionary right and the rise of the Socialists to power.

6. In Greece the progressive forces, among which the Communist Party plays an important role, they scored a significant victory in the last parliamentary elections. The conservative right was defeated, lost power for the first time in Greece and PASOK won an absolute parliamentary majority. The Papandreu Government, which has a difficult task to accomplish, will succeed in this only with the sincere cooperation of all the progressive, leftist forces of the country and the faithful implementation of the Programme, on the basis of which the Greek people entrusted him with power.

7. In Turkey the chauvinist military reaction with the support of and cooperation of American-NATO imperialism, taking advantage of the anarchy and the terrorist activity of extremist groups, the deep economic crisis, mass unemployment and impoverishment and political unrest and destabilisation, abolished in a coup the constitution, the Parliament and other elected bodies and imposed a fierce military dictatorship on the country.

Under this oppressive regime, the most basic constitutional, trade union and general human rights and freedoms of the Turkish people are being brutally violated, mass arrests, imprisonments, persecutions, torture and expediency trials are being carried out to stifle any resistance to the dictatorial regime of the military junta.

The patriotic democratic forces of the people of Turkey, among which the CCP, the Labour Party and the Workers' Socialist Party, all of which have been outlawed, working together on a common front, play a pioneering role, intensifying their struggle for the overthrow of the military junta and the restoration of a new Republic in country.

The 15th Congress of AKEL demonstrates its full support and solidarity to the people of Turkey and its difficult struggle and expresses its belief that with international support and solidarity democracy will prevail in Turkey.

8. A negative point in the developments in Europe is the situation in the People's Republic of Poland. The negative and worrying developments in this country are not due to the socialist system, but to the fact that the previous leadership of the Party and of the Government, committed serious mistakes in the management of the country's economy and disregarded basic Leninist principles and rules for building socialism. The external enemies, especially the US-NATO imperialists, but also the internal enemies took advantage of the mistakes of the Party and Government leadership of the country and in cooperation with the internal reaction managed to create a state of serious internal turmoil to which considerable masses of Polish workers were lured.

These developments have negatively affected the struggle of the progressive democratic forces, caused confusion among some of them and created problems in the family of socialist countries. The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries fulfilling an internationalist duty towards the tried People's Republic of Poland were charged with extraordinary obligations to help it cope with serious and difficult economic and social problems it is facing.

9. In the Near and Middle East, American imperialism, using as its instrument mainly the Begin government of Israel, creates with its inflammatory policy an explosive and very dangerous situation for the peoples and peace in this region.

In promoting this policy, American imperialism is facilitated by the lack of unity between the Arab countries and the negative and divisive policy of the Egyptian leadership, especially the interests of the Arab world and the Palestinians.

The Arab peoples, led by the patriotic democratic forces and governments of the countries that formed the Stability and Opposition Front, fight against the imperialist conspiracy and the adventurous provocations of American imperialism and the government of Israel, for the liberation of the Israeli-occupied Arab territories, for the restoration of the rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to establish their own state, for the strengthening and enlargement of the Arab unity, the establishment of democracy and for economic and social progress.

Unfortunately, the unity of the Arab peoples is being disrupted and damaged by intra-Arab and other differences fostered by the imperialist centres. The Iran-Iraq war and the Syria-Iraq dispute are of concern to all true friends of the Arab and Middle Eastern countries.

The 15th Congress hopes that these disputes will be settled peacefully and democratically for the benefit of peace between the Arab and the Middle East peoples, as well as their anti-imperialist and liberating aspirations.

10. The 15th Congress welcomes the struggles and important victories of the peoples against imperialism, foreign monopolies, fascism and reaction in a number of countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The people of Iran, Cambodia, Afghanistan in Asia, Zimbabwe in Africa, Nicaragua and Granada in Latin America, have achieved triumphant victories in their struggle to shake off the foreign yoke and foreign custody and dependence and are on the path to independence, democracy, economic and social progress. At the same time, the people of South Africa, Namibia and Western Sahara and other peoples in Africa, as well as the people of El Salvador, Guatemala, Bolivia, Chile and other Latin American countries, are resolutely fighting against American imperialism and enslaved fascist and racist dictatorial regimes, for the conquest of independence, for a free and democratic homeland.

11. The 15th Congress of AKEL expresses its concern about the ongoing policy of the Chinese leadership whose main direction remains anti-Sovietism. For the fact that it simultaneously tightens its skirmishes with the imperialists of the US and NATO, it supports fascist and other reactionaries regimes, creates and strengthens extremist groups and undermines the liberation movements and anti-imperialist forces around the world. For denying the policy of peaceful coexistence and for advocating the production of the neutron bomb. All these are actions that only benefit imperialism and make it difficult for peoples to fight for freedom and social progress.

12. In the field of competition between its two main social systems of our time, socialism and capitalism, the socialist system is increasingly proving its superiority in all areas over capitalism.

The economy of the socialist countries, and first of all of the Soviet Union, based on the social ownership of the means of production and planning, is growing at a faster pace than the economy of the capitalist countries and is experiencing a continuous, stable, crisis-free development, resulting in the increasingly complete satisfaction of the ever-increasing social material and cultural needs of the population. This is of course not without difficulty, some of which are due to the impact of the

global capitalist crisis and increased defence spending as a result of the nuclear arms race, others due to adverse weather conditions, but also sometimes due to incorrect application socialist principles and rules of economic development.

13. In contrast to this uninterrupted progress of the socialist countries, the economy of the capitalist countries, and first of all the most developed of them, suffers from an increasingly acute year, a general and comprehensive crisis. Characteristic of this crisis is the unprecedented unemployment and intra-capitalist antagonisms and rivalries that intensified even more and took on new dimensions.

14. The non-aligned movement, in which Cyprus also participates, is playing an increasingly positive role in international developments. Despite the differences among the participating countries, both in terms of their ideology and level of development, this movement manages to maintain its unity and cohesion and to strengthen constantly and more.

15. Cyprus as a member of the Non-Aligned Movement pursues a stable non-aligned foreign policy. Consistent with the principles of the Non-Aligned Movement, Cyprus supports the struggle for recession and cooperation, for disarmament and peace, and has taken the right position on such controversial issues, such as Afghanistan and developments in Poland.

The 15th Congress expresses its full appreciation and support for the non-aligned foreign policy pursued by the Cypriot Government. It considers this policy as the most appropriate in today's conditions, because it shields the independence of Cyprus and serves the struggle of the Cypriot people. The interests of Cyprus impose as the Government follows in the future with the same consistency and determination this policy in the interest of the struggle of the Cypriot people and the international recession and peace in our region and worldwide.

16. The 15th Congress, assessing international developments, determines the following tasks.

(a) The primary task for our Party is the struggle to prevent the plans of American-NATO imperialism for a new, thermonuclear war, for a new arms race and exacerbation in international relations and the struggle for the consolidation of international recession, peace and peaceful resolution of the disputed international problems, which poison the international relations and create a risk of ignition.

For our Party and the Cypriot people who are waging anti-capitalist, liberation, anti-imperialist struggle for independence, demilitarisation and survival the struggle for international recession, peace and disarmament is of particular importance. Because such a climate can contribute to the struggle for a peaceful, just and mutually acceptable solution to the Cyprus problem.

(b) Our Party has a duty in cooperation with all peaceful forces of our island to intensify the struggle for the liberation of Cyprus from the occupation and all foreign troops and foreign bases, for complete demilitarisation of Cyprus.

(c) In the same way we must contribute to their further strengthening Cyprus's ties with the socialist, the non-aligned, the neighbouring Arab countries and all the peaceful countries, which offer us their valuable solidarity and support in our struggle.

(d) Faithful to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, our Party is resolutely in favour of the unity of the world communist and labour movement and in this direction will contribute according to its capabilities with all its might.

B. THE INTERNAL POLITICAL SITUATION

1. The 15th Congress notes that the main feature that puts its stamp on domestic political developments is the AKEL-DIKO agreement. The AKEL-DIKO agreement for the forthcoming presidential elections is an agreement on principles. The basis of this agreement is the joint minimum programme and measures for its implementation.

The forthcoming presidential elections assume the character of a political battle of the highest importance between the patriotic democratic forces on the one hand and the forces of the far right reaction and imperialism on the other. As such, they are an event of enormous political importance for the future of the people of Cyprus and for the promotion of the correct solution of the problems facing Cyprus and its people, such as the line, the tactics and form of the solution of the Cyprus problem, the non-aligned foreign policy, the democratic rights of the people, economic, social and other problems.

2. The Congress welcomes the cooperation achieved between the two Parties, considers it a superior form of cooperation and

expresses the hope that other democratic, patriotic forces, putting above all else the general interest of the hard and difficult struggle of the people will eventually join it, expanding and strengthening this cooperation.

3. Our Congress considers that the AKEL-DIKO agreement fully meets the highest interests and demands of our struggle and the need to block the way for the far-right forces of the DISY Forces to rise to power and be elected president by the democratic, patriotic forces.

4. Our Congress approving the cooperation of our Party with DIKO, the minimum programme and the declaration as well as the candidacy of Mr. Kyprianou for the forthcoming presidential elections, demonstrates its conviction that the cooperating democratic patriotic forces will give battle presidential elections with all their forces, resulting in a one great victory.

5. The 15th Congress notes that during the period under review our people continued their vigorous and relentless struggle for a just, peaceful and mutually acceptable lasting solution to the Cyprus problem, against the obsession of the American-NATO imperialist circles and their institutions imposition of their own plans for the solution of the Cyprus problem.

The period under review was a period of constant obsession of our Party in the right line and tactical struggle for the solution of the Cyprus problem and its defence against deviations and tendencies to abandon it.

6. During this period, despite the efforts of our Party for maintenance and strengthening the unity of the patriotic democratic forces, there were serious rifts and divisions between these forces.

The main reason for this situation was the efforts of various parties and political and other forces to deviate from the right line and tactics, to set it aside and replace it with an indefinite and adventurous one line and tactics.

7. During the period we are reviewing, there was an upsurge of anti-communism, anti-Sovietism and anti-communism. The far right-wing reactionary forces, those that are mainly concentrated in DISY, which houses and politicises the coup plotters of EOKA B, copying the most reactionary circles international imperialism, were engaged with real fury, and especially in the period parliamentary elections, in a frantic anti-communism. anti-Soviet, and anti-Semitism.

Our Party successfully repulsed this attack of the far-right reaction. As proved by the results of the parliamentary elections, our Party won a significant victory over them. Not only did it succeed in becoming the first in party votes, but also contributed to the emergence, as was our main strategic goal, of a democratic majority Parliament.

8. The 15th Congress approves the decisions of the C.C. and K.E.E. of the Party regarding the various developments of the Cyprus problem during this period and their handling of various related issues.

9. The Congress notes that inter-communal talks have not made substantial progress to date. This is due to the intransigence shown and demonstrated by the Ankara government and the reactionary chauvinist Turkish Cypriot leadership, which are encouraged and supported in this policy by the most reactionary circles of US-NATO imperialism.

Following this policy, Ankara and the Turkish Cypriot leadership show complete disregard for UN decisions and resolutions and the summit agreements, with the main aim of consolidating the current situation, perpetuating and legitimising of the perpetrators of the invasion and of occupation.

This policy is part of the general assault policy of the American imperialist circles and serves their general offensive plans in the region.

10. Our Congress believes that the victory of the democratic forces in Greece and the efforts made to promote and further internationalise the Cyprus problem are a positive factor and can contribute to the struggle of our people for a peaceful, just and sustainable solution to the Cyprus problem.

Our Congress fully appreciates the solidarity and support provided by the Greek people and the Papandreou Government to the struggling Cypriot people. It condemns any attempt to undermine relations between Athens and Nicosia and advocates closer and more sincere cooperation between the governments of Cyprus and Greece.

In order to be mutually beneficial and fruitful, such cooperation must be based on the principles of parity, mutual respect, non-interference in the internal affairs of one another and the strengthening of the entity of the Cypriot state.

Our Congress also believes that neither the efforts to internationalize the Cyprus problem overlook the process of intra-

Cypriot talks, nor the intra-Cypriot talks are in any way an obstacle to efforts to internationalise. We believe that one process complements the other and that two are necessary, one of the intra-Cypriot talks for the discussion and solution of the internal aspect of the Cyprus problem and the other of internationalisation for the discussion and solution of the international aspect

11. Our Congress notes that serious political developments have taken place among the Turkish Cypriot community. The most important of these is steady rise of the progressive forces, which oppose the chauvinist policy of the Turkish Cypriot leadership. These forces are mainly represented by the Republican People's Party and the Communal Liberation Party despite very difficult and adverse conditions in which they struggle, managed to significantly increase their power in the last elections held in within the Turkish Cypriot community, while on the contrary, Mr. Denktash's Party lost more than one third of the seats he had in the previous Parliament and he himself with difficulty garnered 51% of the vote in the presidential election, using to this and the votes of the settlers.

12. Our Congress, by reviewing the internal political situation, determines briefly the following tasks:

(a) To fight for a solution of the Cyprus problem based on the decisions and the resolutions of the UN General Assembly and the Security Council; and the Makarios-Denktash and Kyprianou-Denktash summit agreements.

The solution must secure the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-alignment of a bi-federal Republic of Cyprus and exclude both the Union of all or part of Cyprus with another country, as well as its partition. The Turkish and all foreign troops must leave, foreign military bases to be abolished and to terminate any interventions in the interior of Cyprus.

Refugees should have the right to return to their homes in safe conditions, as provided for in UN resolutions, and to ascertain the fate of the missing. Ensure independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and the commitment of Cyprus to be secured by strong and credible international guarantees through the UN.

(b) To stand firmly and unwaveringly on the right line and tactical struggle for a peaceful, just, mutually acceptable and lasting solution to the Cyprus problem and for the settlement of the internal aspect of the Cyprus issue with inter-communal talks within the framework of the UN based on UN resolutions and the

Summit Agreements. To defend this process from any tendency or attempt to abandon or undermine. At the same time, to strengthen the defence capabilities of the Cypriot state.

(c) At the same time, to continue and intensify the campaign for further internationalisation of the Cyprus problem by promoting it at every international stage as well with by appealing to the UN for the settlement of the international aspect of the Cyprus problem.

(d) To advocate more decisively and to insist on the establishment of an international conference on the Cyprus issue under the auspices of the UN for the settlement of the international aspect of the Cyprus problem.

(e) To make a real change in the approach to the Turkish Cypriots compatriots. With the rapprochement and systematic cultivation of the right climate for the restoration mutual friendship, trust and cooperation to tear down the dividing walls erected between us by the imperialists and their agents, which will be decisive contribution to the solution of the Cyprus problem.

The Government must play a more decisive role and take concrete measures to facilitate and promote rapprochement, such as the payment of pensions to eligible Turkish Cypriot workers, reopening of E / C industrial enterprises, located in the occupied areas and in the dead zones, under the supervision of the UN and employment in them and Turkish Cypriots and others.

(f) To stabilise the cooperation achieved between the Party and DIKO and to continue the efforts for its expansion and strengthening with the participation in it of other parties and patriotic democratic forces.

The cooperation between AKEL-DIKO based on the joint minimum programme is the sure support of the struggle for the election of the candidate of the collaborating parties Mr. Kyprianou in the upcoming presidential; elections and the blocking of the way to the extreme right-wing forces of the DISY to rise to power. The intense outbreak of reactionary circles and their satellites at home, and internationally are strong evidence and confirmation of the correctness of the decision to cooperate.

C. THE ECONOMIC SITUATION OF CYPRUS

1. The 15th Congress notes that although the upward trend of the Cyprus economy has continued, albeit at a slower pace than

before, however, it has been facing serious problems in recent years. The main of these problems, caused both by the economic crisis, the capitalist countries, and the economic policy of the Government, are: The reduction of growth rates, the increase of unemployment, the rise of inflation, the widening of the trade deficit, the decline in investment and the relative restriction of consumption.

2. The persistence of the Government and other circles in the policy of Association of Cyprus with the EEC contributes to the further aggravation of its problems of the Cypriot economy.

3. In order to address the serious problems facing the Cypriot economy and having as an economic policy objective the promotion and implementation of the specific measures mentioned in the chapter of the joint minimum programme on the economic situation, the Congress considers it necessary to take the following measures:

(a) To review the government's policy towards the EEC in a manner which does not damage the trade and economic relations of Cyprus with socialist and non-aligned countries, which are also our natural allies in struggle for survival and justification.

(b) The government should pursue a new economic policy with the aim of increasing the growth rates of the economy, increasing productive investment, the reduction of inflationary trends, the reduction trade deficit and effective price control.

(c) To combat tax evasion and tax evasion with drastic measures and to implement a progressive tax policy that burdens the inactive real estate, large capital, profits and super profits and luxury goods.

(d) The government to proceed decisively in the creation of state, semi-state or mixed industrial units or nationalisation in vital sectors of the economy for the benefit of the people as a whole and of the local economy in general.

(e) In general, the economic policy of the government should aim at guarding and extending the gains of the workers, the peasants and other toilers and the continuing rise in living standards and social benefits to the people, such as:

I. Completion of the Free Education Plan, increase of funds for Scholarships and Student Loans, gradual expansion of pre-primary Education and establishment of a University.

II. Implementation of a General Health Care Plan.

III. Special care for the distressed and increase of benefits and

aids.

IV. Establishment and operation of a sufficient number of state and community nursing homes and nurseries to adequately serve the working mothers.

V. Full implementation of the new state Social Insurance Plan and further improvement of pensions and benefits.

VI. Further improve labour legislation on rest permits and establishment of workers' restrooms.

VII. Protection of life and health of employees at work by improving and strict implementation of the relevant legislation.

D. THE MASS MOVEMENT

1. The 15th Congress of our Party expresses its deep appreciation for the importance of the mass popular movement. Our Party expresses its appreciation and its satisfaction that its policies and decisions are always find a favourable response within the mass popular movement and its organisations, and are supported by them. This makes the promotion and implementation of the decisions and policies of our Party always possible for the benefit of the people's struggles for his political, economic and social problems.

The contribution of the mass popular movement in the struggle of our people for preservation and strengthening the unity of the internal front and their promotion and solution of the economic and other problems of the people has been of crucial importance. A key element of the old patriotic unity and its backbone is the unity of action of the workers and other toilers and the workers' and peasants' alliance.

2. The 15th Congress expresses its deep appreciation for the tireless consistent and responsible work that thousands of members and leading cadres working within the various grassroots organisations. It particularly expresses its appreciation for patriotism, high-mindedness, endurance, courage, the unity and invaluable contribution of both the refugee world and of all mass organisations in the struggle to deal with the consequences the double imperialist crime, the liberating, anti-imperialist, anti-occupation struggle and economic and social progress.

3. Our Congress, appreciating the enormous and decisive role played by the mass popular movement in the struggle for survival and higher standard of living, considers that the basic duty of the

Party and its members and work in various mass grassroots organisations is the further strengthening of mass popular organisations and its consolidation and expansion of its unity.

The Congress invites the members and leading cadres of the Party working in the various mass popular organisations to develop even more activity, to always be at the forefront of agitation and the struggle for the solution the problems faced by refugees, workers, peasants and other toilers.

It calls on our members and leading cadres to promote the line of unity and to educate the people on the basis of the correct line and tactics of our Party, as well as in the struggle to defend and improve the working conditions and the earnings of workers and employees for the rise of their standard of living and cultural level.

4. Our Party must look with special attention and interesting problems faced by the peasants, the middle classes, professional artisans, motorists and others and especially the problems of those affected by the coup and the invasion, such as the tenancy, the solvency, the pre-war debts and more.

5. The Cooperative Movement in Cyprus is one of the most important achievements of our people. Since its establishment it has offered invaluable services to workers, peasants and toilers in general.

The criminal coup and the barbaric Turkish invasion and occupation of 37% of the Cypriot territory have dealt the Cooperative Movement a severe economic blow. The crisis faced by the Cooperative movement in recent years is not only due to this blow, but also to the anachronistic dictatorial law and institutions governing Cooperative, as well as the abuse of power by leaders of the Co-operative.

Given the broader protective economic and social role and character of the Co-operation, our Party will continue its efforts for the consolidation of the movement to modernise and democratise the Law and the institutions that govern the Cooperation and to protect the collaboration from all kinds of risks for the permanent progress and development in the interest of the workers and the people in general.

6. The institution of local self-government, a democratic institution, which began to function with the election of Municipal Authorities and Improvement Councils, must be reinforced. Our Party supports the enlargement of this institution and powers of

the elected authorities of Local Government and the election of Municipalities and Parish authorities in cities.

7. Our Congress, respecting the working, rural and student youth like the golden stock of the people and the Party, calls on the Party to pay special attention to all its problems, from the economic and other problems of the students and its health, employment, as its proper education with the ideals of peace, the struggle for its justification of the struggling Cypriot people and the defence of the homeland and the ideals of scientific socialism.

With the same attention and interest our Party sees the problems of scientists and especially the problem of their vocational rehabilitation and their decent employment according to their specialisation and qualifications.

Our Congress invites party members working among the youth and scientists to lead the way in strengthening their organisations, in unity of action for their problems and in the struggle to advance them problems towards their solution.

8. The Congress calls on the Party as a whole to pay special attention to women's movement. Women, who make up half the population, are one significant economic and political potential, with many and varied problems. Our Party must make a decisive contribution to their solution, which will help in the rise of the Party's influence among women and their attraction in the lines of the Party.

The Party must study new forms and methods of action for a comprehensive turn to work among women.

9. The Congress calls on the Party as a whole to continue working more actively for the further comprehensive empowerment of the mass popular movement.

The unity and united action of the refugees, the trade unions, the peasants and other professional organisations should be guarded and strengthened even more so at all levels and in the struggle for a correct and just solution Cyprus based on UN decisions and summit agreements.

In particular, the Congress calls on the Party members and leading cadres working in the mass popular movement to develop to the fullest their enlightenment work and action so that the mass popular organisations contribute in the most decisive way and play a key role in the great political battle of the forthcoming presidential elections for the promotion of candidate of the

democratic cooperation AKEL-DIKO to the office of the President of the Republic.

10. Appreciating the serious role that art and culture play in general in the life of our people. Like any other people, and the fact that it deeply influences the behaviour and orientations of the popular masses, our Party considers it necessary for the state to formulate and implement an integrated policy of cultural development of the country. For its part, the Party surrounds with affection the people of spirit and art, those engaged in cultural sector and art.

Our Party will continue to offer all assistance to them in the future, within its capabilities, so that they can create comfortably, each in his field, for the good of the country, for the good of the Cypriot people.

In the same way, AKEL will continue to provide all assistance and support for the development of healthy sports.

11. Our Party appreciates the peace and solidarity movement in our country with the Pancyprian Peace Council and the Anti-Imperialist Solidarity Committee. This movement still needs to be strengthened more to play its role more fully.

E. THE PARTY

1. The 15th Congress unreservedly endorses and expresses its deep appreciation for the activity and the pioneering role played by our Party under the leadership of C.C. in the 4 years we review. Our Congress approves the decisions of the Pancyprian Organizing Congress of February 1981.

The correct patriotic political line of our Party and the consistent commitment to it, the prudent and responsible handling of the problems faced by people guided by the general interest of liberation, anti-imperialist, anti-American struggle, the daily action of its leading cadres and members as well of its deputies, all of which contributed to the further strengthening of the Party, in further expanding its influence and to the emergence of AKEL as the first political force in Cyprus.

2. The Congress expresses its deep appreciation for the work and the great successes in the organisational field. These successes are expressed through recruitment of hundreds of new members of the Workers', Peasants' and Artisans' Party, scientists, youth and women the increased activity of grassroots Party organisations, the

increase in the percentage of members participating in Party organisations meetings, the increase in the financial support for the Party, which every year record a new performance, the increase of the circulation of “X” and other publications of the Party and in general the improvement of the Party’s work in all areas of its activity.

3. Considering the results of the organisational work as important, our Congress notes that, nevertheless, there is plenty of room for new successes and new growth of our organisational work.

With a view to overcoming any shortcomings and further all-round strengthening and even more strengthening the monolithic nature of our Party, the Congress decides:

(a) to continue even more decisively in an organised way the recruitment of thousands of new members of the Party among all layers of the Cypriot people, so that our Party can take root and give its present everywhere where the people live and work, in every place of work, as well as in the place of residence, in the village and in the district.

Particularly to continue the shift to recruit new members from among youth, women, employees, scientists and intellectuals.

(b) In parallel with the recruitment of new members, the Party should give a special attention to the assimilation of new members and in general to the elevation of their ideological level.

The Party must plan to take measures to ensure that the Party as a whole and especially new members acquire more and more resources from the theory of Marxism-Leninism and the organisational principles of the Party.

(c) Measures should be taken by the governing bodies of the Party in order to further improve the manner and content of the work of the grassroots Party organisation.

The improvement of the work must be aimed at making the group a more lively, active organisation, which makes the presence of the Party more noticeable, to deal in time with the problems of the people in its place work and housing and to put the stamp of its activity on mobilising the people for their solution.

(d) To achieve the improvement of the work of the Party group can contribute: the collective way of work, the exercise of regular and more effective creative control for the execution of decisions, the exercise of constructive criticism and self-criticism, the appropriate division of work among the members of the group, the

encouragement of free democratic discussion within the group, the initiative of the members take in development of activity.

All these are measures that will undoubtedly help the Party group to improve its work and to play its role even more vividly and actively.

(e) To further improve the work of all leading organisations, upper and lower, as well as the various Offices of the C.C. and of E.U. and to activate those of them that do not meet in their role satisfactorily.

The Offices of C.C. and the E.U. must become even more active and effective instruments of guidance and mobilisation of the Party and the people and ensure even more significant results in the various areas of action of our Party.

(f) To continue with even greater determination the implementation of the cadres policy. Appreciating the progress made in this area, the Congress emphasises that the problem of training and promoting new leading cadres remains the main problem of our organisational policy and work, which must remain the focus of all its governing bodies of the Party, upper and lower.

(g) To preserve like the apple of our eye and to constantly strengthen its unity and monolithic of the Party and its leadership based on principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism of the collective leadership and democratic centralism, as a guarantee for further comprehensive strength of the Party and our Party to continue to play its pioneering role.

(h) To give even greater importance and to develop even more our work in the field of the ideological front. In the specific international and Cypriot conditions, where imperialism and the far-right reaction intensify their ideological attack against socialism, the Soviet Union and our Party internally, work in the ideological field takes on completely different importance.

With our work in this field we must help the Party as a whole to acquire more and more ideological supplies. We must defend militantly the high ideals of socialism-communism and the line and tactics, positions and decisions of our Party. We must be expeditiously, militantly and convincingly expose every demagogy, every distortion of positions and the line and tactics of our Party, and to fight each manifestation of dogmatism, opportunism, sectarianism and revisionism.

The theoretical instrument of the *New Democrat*, Party must to be further improved qualitatively so that it rises to the level of

the requirements of the ideological work and of our Party in general. To effectively illuminate the positions of the Party and the main theoretical problems of our time and to become a real organ of theoretical thought and promotion of Marxist ideology. For this purpose, a necessary condition is the contribution of the Party leading cadres.

In combination with all the above, our work in the field of enlightenment and propaganda, must also be improved, using new leading cadres and new, more modern methods of work.

At the same time, to give great attention and importance for a significant improvement of the *Dawn (Haravghi)* and other publications of the Party. Despite its shortcomings and weaknesses the *Dawn (Haravghi)* played a positive role and responded to the task of promoting, analysing and defending the line and tactics, positions and decisions of our Party. However, there is significant room for further improvement. That is why measures must be taken for a noticeable quality improvement of "X" and to inspire a new spirit work and supply of editorial staff. With such an improvement to elevate even more the role and prestige of "X" among the masses, to raise the quality of the Party's influence.

The increase in the circulation of the *Dawn (Haravghi)* of the *New Democrat* of the International Political Review and the other publications of the Party and the movement and in general of any progressive publication and the utilisation of their content must be seen by the Party as a main political task to be fulfilled with honour.

(i) Based on the experience of our own and the international labour movement to date, to strengthen more and to organise more systematically the political-organisational vigilance The Party as a whole must be educated that the vigilance and safeguarding of the Party from the erosion or penetration of hostile elements into it, as well as the guarding of its unity, is an urgent duty of every member of the Party, of the whole party. By educating the Party as a whole, we will strike any devaluation that exists for this so important field of work of the Party.

(j) In the international arena, to constantly and further strengthen the ties of our Party and to further develop our relations with the brother Communist and Workers' Parties on the basis of principles and on the basis of the commons ideals of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

To develop and also strengthen also the times of our Party with the national-liberation movements and the progressive parties in especially in our region, based on the common positions of the struggle against imperialism, fascism and reaction.

(k) To ensure the continued development of the Party's finances, which is essential for its smooth operation and its staffing with new leading cadres and generally addressing the growing needs of the work of the Party and the struggles it conducts.

By fulfilling the above tasks, we contribute to its all-round empowerment of our party, we raise the organisational work to the level required by the current political situations and developments, and contribute to our Party to play even more decisively its pioneering role in their struggle of the patriotic democratic forces, to block the way to power of the far-right reaction and the election of a President by the cooperating democratic forces.

By fulfilling the above tasks we help our Party to contribute even more actively and decisively to the struggle of the Cypriot people for salvation and vindication and to meet its responsibilities and the expectations of the people as well as its historic mission, the task for a new, peaceful and happy future for the entire Cypriot people—Greeks, Turks, Armenians, Maronites and Latins.

THE ANNOUNCEMENTS OF THE CONGRESS⁹¹

THE DECLARATION OF THE 15TH CONGRESS OF AKEL TO THE CYPRIOT PEOPLE

Patriotic Cypriot people, Workers of Cyprus,

On the occasion of its 15th Congress, AKEL addresses to the whole patriotic Cypriot people, to all the workers of Cyprus, the warmest militant salute. We address the same greeting to our Turkish Cypriot compatriots, giving them a hand a common struggle against the common enemy, of imperialism and foreign occupation.

The 15th Congress of AKEL, meeting at a critical time for world peace, as peoples around the world mobilise to prevent a thermonuclear destruction, calls on the hard-pressed Cypriot people to intensifies its struggle for the demilitarisation of its country and peace.

Patriotic Cypriot people,

In two months, 8 whole years close from the day the junta fascist coup opened the doors of Cyprus to Attila, which still holds 36.4% of the Cypriot territory. Thousands of us are dead. About two thousand are missing. Our appeals are about two hundred thousand. Great is the ordeal of our caged. And the drama of our indolent people continues.

The hard, but unstoppable struggle of our people is still anti-occupation, anti-imperialist and liberation. Struggle for the Turkish occupation and all other foreign troops to leave our country, to abolish the British bases and US spy stations located in Cyprus, to return refugees to their homes and properties under conditions security, as provided for in the relevant UN resolutions, to verify the fate of the missing and end the ordeal of the enclaved.

Cypriot patriots.

The anti-capitalist, anti-imperialist, liberation struggle that we are conducting presents two key aspects. Internal and external.

⁹¹ *ibid.*

The internal aspect of our problem, which is the structure of the Cypriot state, will be resolved by the Cypriots, Greeks and Turks in inter-communal talks under the auspices of the UN Secretary-General on the basis of international resolutions and summit agreements. We reject the solution of this aspect by foreigners. We reject the accomplishments of the invasion and occupation. We reject solution of partition, double Union or Confederation.

The external aspect of the Cyprus problem will be resolved at an international conference within the UN. At this conference we shall discuss and demand the repeal of the Treaty of establishment with Britain, under which that country has acquired its sovereign bases. We will discuss and demand the abolition of the treaties of Guarantee and Alliance, under which Turkey and Greece abstained from the right to station their military detachments on Cypriot soil and, together with Britain, to intervene, supposedly, to ensure the independence and sovereignty of the Republic of Cyprus. We will demand that these treaties be replaced with Security Council guarantees or other credible guarantees.

Cypriot patriots.

The aim of our struggle is the all-round internationalisation of the Cyprus problem, the appeal again at the United Nations in the event of a stalemate in the inter-communal dialogue, with the aim not to abandon the inter-communal dialogue, but to strengthen it and to establish an International Conference on the external aspect of our problem. Our resolute resistance to any divisive, enslaving plans and strengthening our defensive armour, so where, if the need arises, we must stand firm against any new invasion.

Patriotic Cypriot people, Workers of Cyprus,

The most powerful weapon we have in the anti-occupation, anti-imperialist, the liberation struggle we are waging, is the unity of the patriots, democratic forces and the creation of a tight Internal Front.

AKEL, after many months of efforts together with DIKO, came up with a minimum programme of cooperation of the democratic, patriotic forces, as well and measures for its implementation. This democratic cooperation is open for all those who agree with the line and tactics contained in the minimum programme, except, of course, those who prefer to associate their fortune with imperialists and foreign interests.

The democratic cooperation of AKEL-DIKO was already welcomed by the majority of the Cypriot people, who see that with the implementation of the minimum programme a real change will come in favour of the poorer strata of society. Only the democratic forces of change can ensure the salvation of Cyprus and the smooth democratic development of Cypriot affairs.

The candidate of the forces of democratic cooperation, Mr. Spyros Kyprianou, undertook the implementation of the minimum programme and the new government, which is formed, has as its policy the one that is deleted in the programme.

The election, which comes before the Cypriot people in the upcoming presidential elections, is among the forces of democratic cooperation based on the minimum programme, which has been announced and their candidate Mr. Spyros Kyprianou and the forces of the extreme right and the coup leaders, who seek to complete the destruction of Cyprus. The smaller parties and groups only cause a split and every vote given to their candidate, is just a vote lost to the democratic forces and, in essence, vote for the far-right DISY.

Cypriot democrats and patriots,

Resolutely take your position on the lines of democratic cooperation of AKEL-DIKO for the salvation of Cyprus, for a real change for the better. The forces of democratic cooperation are superior and will produce a triumphant victory, will permanently block the way to the far-right and the coup plotters.

Patriotic Cypriot people,

Forward for the victory and triumph of the democratic, patriotic forces of the cooperation AKEL-DIKO, the forces of real change for the better.

Long live the patriotic Cypriot people!

Long live the democratic cooperation AKEL-DIKO!

THE RESOLUTIONS AND MESSAGES OF THE CONGRESS⁹²

TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF CYPRUS

Your Excellency,

The 15th Congress of AKEL, which met in Nicosia on 13-16 May 1982 after discussing the issue of AKEL-DIKO cooperation on the basis on the common minimum programme, decides:

1. It expresses its full support for cooperation with the common minimum programme on which this cooperation is based, and for your candidacy as a joint presidential candidate for the forthcoming presidential elections.

2. It believes that the cooperation between AKEL and DIKO corresponds to the vital interests of the liberation, anti-occupation, anti-imperialist struggle of the Cypriot people, is a barrier to the plans of the far-right reaction to climb to power as well as the plans of various external enemies of the Cypriot people, who seek to attach Cyprus to NATO's marauding chariot.

3. It demonstrates its belief that the forces of democratic cooperation, which is open to other parties and political forces in the democratic space, will win in a triumphant victory in the forthcoming presidential elections.

A. Finally, it declares the determination of the members, the leading cadres and of thousands of friends and followers of our Party to work with faith and enthusiasm and devote all their forces to such a triumphant victory.

⁹² *ibid.*

TO THE G.S. OF UN PEREZ DE CUELLAR

Your Excellency,

The 15th Congress of AKEL held in Nicosia from 13-16 May 1982 discussed the current situation of the Cyprus problem and submits to your Excellency the following:

1. Expresses its deep concern because for 8 years now the occupation of 36.4% of the Cypriot territory by the Turkish troops continues, around 200 thousand Cypriots are still refugees in their own homeland, the drama of about 2,000 missing persons continues and no progress has been made in implementing the resolutions of UN regarding Cyprus.

2. Notes that the intra-Cypriot talks have not made any substantial progress due to Turkish intransigence, as a result of which the Cyprus issue remains unresolved and poses a permanent threat to the people of Cyprus and a danger to peace and security in this key region of our planet.

3. It considers that the only right way to solve the Cyprus problem is to resolve the internal aspect of the Cyprus problem by the Cypriots themselves through substantive intra-Cypriot talks on the basis of UN resolutions, and the summit agreement and its external aspect at an international Congress under the auspices of the UN.

These procedures must aim at a solution to the Cyprus problem that will ensure the end of the occupation and the other consequences of the treasonous coup and the barbaric Turkish invasion, the guarantee of independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus, the withdrawal of Turkish and all foreigners troops, the abolition of British bases, the complete demilitarisation of Cyprus and ensuring its independence with credible international guarantees.

4. It calls upon Your Excellency to act so that the UN to play more active role in finding the fairest solution to the Cyprus problem as soon as possible in the interest of the entire Cypriot people and of security and peace in the region.

TO THE REFUGEES, MISSING OR CAPTURED PERSONS

The 15th Congress of AKEL held in Nicosia from 13-16 of May 1982, after discussing the refugee crisis, the drama of the missing and the living conditions of the enclaved, votes:

1. It condemns the junta-fascist coup and the Turkish invasion led to the violent uprooting of the homes and properties of one third of the population of Cyprus, and demonstrates its sympathy and support for the refugee world in the struggle for return and vindication.

2. Considering the Cyprus issue as a matter of invasion and occupation, declares that its solution must ensure the return of refugees to their homes and properties, as provided by the United Nations resolutions.

3. It declares that as in the past, AKEL will continue to provide its full support to the struggle of refugees to solve housing and other problems, to preserve and strengthen their unity around the District Committees and Pancyprrian Refugee Committee.

4. It was considered a purely humanitarian problem and expresses its sympathy to the thousands of relatives of the missing, who as a result of Turkey's negative attitude, they have not yet been informed for the fate of their loved ones.

5. It calls on the United Nations to make every effort to force Turkey to comply with the decision of the UN Commission to clarify the fate of the missing and undeclared captives.

6. The Congress of AKEL sends a message of sympathy and support to the enclaved, and demands the improvement of living conditions and their movement, the strengthening of their allowances as well as the aids to their children in the free areas.

MESSAGE OF THE 15TH CONGRESS TO THE TURKISH CYPRIOTS

Dear compatriots,

We, the representatives of the 15th Congress of AKEL, on behalf of the thousands of members of the Party we represent at

the Congress and expressing the sincere feelings of the majority of the Greek Cypriot population, address you warm friendly competitive greeting.

We recall the years when Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots lived together friendly in our cities and villages in an atmosphere of trust and cooperation and we work together for progress and prosperity in our country.

This friendship and cooperation was disrupted by various intrigues and conspiracies by the enemies of our people, the imperialists and their institutions. For years now we have suffered as communities of Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots. Our misfortunes grew especially after 1974. They divided us into North and South. We were forbidden to communicate with each other and with this separation you suffer, we also suffer. The cause of our calamities was and is imperialism and its interventions to serve its interests.

But despite our misfortunes, despite our separation, we Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots must solve the Cyprus problem. Because if we do not solve it, others will be solve it to serve their own interests and not the interests of the Cypriot people. We can solve the problem based on UN resolutions, and the Summit Agreements for a independent, united, federal, non-aligned and demilitarised Cyprus.

We as a Party will fight for the rapprochement of our communities, for sincere cooperation between us.

Our 15th Congress invites you to fight together, to join our forces, to thwart the plans of the enemies of the Cypriot people, to build a Cyprus common homeland for all Cypriots in which to work for progress and prosperity of all.

ON TURKEY

The 15th Congress of AKEL that met in Nicosia from 13-16 May notes with particular concern the situation in Turkey.

The representatives of the 15th Congress, condemn with disgust the imposition of the brutal military dictatorship and its crimes against the Turkish people.

We condemn with indignation the persecutions and executions against the progressives and left forces and especially against the

militant vanguard of the Turkish people, the Turkish communists and the trade unionists of DISK.

The Akelists and all the democratic Cypriot people stand in solidarity with the Turkish people, who are fighting for the overthrow of the American junta of Evren.

The differences sown between us by the imperialists, culminating the Cypriot tragedy of 1974, are not capable of beating its spirit international solidarity between the Cypriot and Turkish communists.

We are sure that the Turkish people united in a broad, anti-dictatorship front, with the united front of the left as its core, will overthrow the popular junta. It will bring democracy to the country and give the Turkish people their true freedom and independence. Without foreign bases and imperialist suzerainty and dependence.

The representatives of the 15th Congress, our Party and all the struggling Cypriot people, address to the Turkish patriots and fighters a message of solidarity and support.

The Turkish people will win!

ON THE MIDDLE EAST

The 15th Congress of AKEL held in Nicosia on 13-16 May 1982, notes with concern the deterioration of the situation in our neighbouring Middle East with which the Cyprus Problem is closely related.

This is due to their imperialist all-round support and encouragement of the USA to the Zionist invading state of Israel with which it has concluded strategic alliance making it the strike force of imperialism in the region.

- Stresses that the imperialist Zionist Cob David agreement not only failed to solve the Middle East but also further complicated it by the direct presence of US troops in the Sinai Peninsula.
- Condemns the continuation of the occupation of Arab territories and the intensity of its occupation brutal oppression of the Palestinians in the occupied West Bank and the Gaza Strip as well as the Syrians in the occupied Golan Heights illegally whose

incorporation has been condemned by the UN and all progressive humanity.

- Condemns Israel's barbaric incursions into southern Lebanon aimed at the genocide of the Palestinian people and the partition of Lebanon. It condemns the provocations and threats against Syria and the Libyan Jamahiriya that support the Arab peoples in their just struggle against imperialism, Zionism and the local reaction.

- Welcomes the courageous struggle of the Arab masses in the occupied territories, whose heroic resistance is supported by the progressive forces throughout world and in Israel itself.

- Expresses full solidarity with the Arab peoples who, led by the forces of stability and opposition to imperialism, Zionism and the reaction, are fighting for the liberation of the Arabs occupied territories.

- Expresses full support for the heroic Palestinian people, led by the leadership PLO—its only representative—are fighting for the realisation of their inalienable national rights including the establishment of an independent sovereign Palestinian state in Palestine.

- Expresses solidarity with the people and Governments of Syria and Libyan Jamahiriya who are at the forefront of the anti-imperialist, anti-Zionist struggle of the Arabs for liberation, peace and progress.

- Expresses solidarity with the Lebanese people, especially the progressives and their patriotic forces fighting against imperialism, Zionism and their institutions for the unity of their country in defence of the Palestinian Revolution.

- Declares the opposition of the Cypriot people to the use of British bases in Cyprus against the friendly Arab peoples and demonstrates their will to fight for their abolition and its complete demilitarisation of Cyprus, which will contribute positively to a just solution and lasting peace in the Middle East.

ON CHILE

The 15th Congress of AKEL that met in Nicosia between 13-16 May demonstrates once again its solidarity in the struggle of the martyred people of Chile against the bloody junta.

It calls on all states and peoples of the earth to do everything possible to overthrow Pinochet's American-made fascist clique.

We are convinced that the people of Chile united in a broad, popular, anti-dictatorship front with the core of the working class and the left popular movement and at the forefront of the C.P. of Chile, will fight with all the means at its disposal and will succeed in overthrowing the junta.

We shake the hand of the fighters of democracy and freedom from afar of the Chilean people and we promise them that the Akelists will in future stand in solidarity with the militant people of Chile!

ON EL SALVADOR

The 15th Congress of AKEL notes with indignation the war policy of the Reagan administration and against the peoples of Central America and the Caribbean. Mainly the policy of interference in the internal affairs of independent sovereign countries such as Cuba, Nicaragua, Granada, etc., whose peoples have already got rid of the American imperialist domination.

The Congress especially welcomes the people of the heroic El Salvador, whose the revolutionary forces are waging a titanic struggle, under the guidance of the legitimate representative of the Farabuto Marti Front, to rid the country of the fascist tyranny of the military junta and for a real national independence. The recent electoral parody of imperialism and its organs directed in El Salvador failed miserably. Nothing is able to stop the victorious advance of the revolution of the people of El Salvador, despite the brutal mass terror and the countless murders of thousands innocent women and children and others.

A real solution to the El Salvador's problem can only come on the basis of the principles put forward by the Farabuto Marti Front for negotiations.

AKEL declares that it will continue to provide its full support to the people of El Salvador and the other struggling peoples of Latin America, until the final victory.

100th ANNIVERSARY OF THE BIRTH OF GEORGI DIMITROV

The 15th Congress of AKEL met in Nicosia on 13-16 May 1982.

It pays tribute to the immortal memory of the eldest son of the Bulgarian and International Communist and Workers' Movement, Georgi Dimitrov on the occasion of the 100 years since his birth.

Georgi Dimitrov, the working leader of the Bulgarian and later of the International Movement as General Secretary of the Communist International, with his life and work became one of the most prominent leaders of the World Proletariat.

And he left immortal mortgages that illuminate the path of his own people and all the workers of the world.

His relentless anti-fascist struggle and his courageous stand in the copperplate trial of Leipzig will remain an immortal example of courage, faith and worthy defence of the ideals of the working class and human dignity.

The historical presentation at the 7th Congress of the Communist International, on the formation of the Broad Democratic Front against fascism is not only a classic work of Marxism-Leninism but also remains alive and extremely relevant today, that again neo-fascist imperialist circles and their local institutions plot against the freedom of the peoples and threaten world peace and humanity with a nuclear holocaust.

Georgy Dimitrov left immortal mortgages to his people, as a true patriot, and to the world proletariat as a rare internationalist and indomitable fighter for the unity and development of the International Communist and Workers' Movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

HONOR AND GLORY TO GEORGI DIMITROV.

THE SIXTEENTH CONGRESS OF AKEL, November 26-30, 1986

THE DECISIONS OF THE CONGRESS⁹³

THE POLITICAL DECISION OF THE 16TH CONGRESS

The 16th Congress of AKEL, which coincides with the 60th anniversary of KKK-AKEL met in Nicosia from 26-30 November 1986. The Congress discussed the Report of Activity of the C.C, the introductory speech of the General Secretary of the Party, and the Report of K.E.E. and approved them. The Congress also approved necessary amendments to Statute of the Party.

The 16th Congress, concluding its work, approved the following political decision setting out the main directions of Party's policy up to the 17th Congress.

A. THE INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS

1. The main features in the field of international developments in the period that we are reviewing are: The escalation of the pro-war invasion policy of the international imperialist circles led by the Reagan administration. The increase in the risk of a thermonuclear war. The increasingly decisive peace attack of the countries of the socialist community, led by the Soviet Union. The growing mass mobilisation and struggle of the world peace movement and peace-loving humanity in general to prevent war and establish peace in the world.

2. The Reagan administration, as the main representative of the most reactionary, anti-communist and anti-Soviet pro-war, militaristic circles American and international imperialism, follows

⁹³ *Neos Dimokratis Magazine, Issue 92, January 1987.*

stubbornly and deliberately a policy of tension and escalation of the arms race, pushing humanity to the brink of a nuclear abyss.

As part of this policy, American imperialism violated the SALT 2 Agreement and proceeded to produce, test and refine new weapons of mass destruction systems, culminating in its programme for the so-called “Star Wars”.

In parallel with the above measures and in the context of his hegemonic policy for world domination and for the “destruction of communism”, American Imperialism is strengthening the old and creating new military bases in various countries, creates new military forces for immediate intervention-DELTA force. It supports and reinforces in every way fascist dictatorial governments and racist regimes to stifle the struggle peoples for independence, democracy, economic and social progress and socialism. Organizes, finances and supports in every way subversive movements and coups against progressive governments. Under the pretext of the so-called fight against terrorism, American imperialism, with its most loyal ally, British imperialism, undertakes adventurous military operations at the expense of progressive states, with the aim of overthrowing progressive regimes, thus turning terrorism into a formal state policy.

3. The policy of the socialist countries, led by the Soviet Union, is diametrically opposed to the inhuman pro-war reactionary policy of international imperialism, and especially of the American.

The Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community are following and implementing with faith and exemplary consistency a completely humanitarian peace-loving policy, fully consistent with and responsive to the ideals of socialism, the vital interests of their peoples and of all humanity.

In the context of this ongoing peaceful policy, the Soviet Union elaborated and promoted the proposals of the Secretary General of the General Secretary of the USSR, M. Gorbachev on 15.1.1986, a realistic broad programme of disarmament and ratified and concluded by its historic 27th Congress USSR. This programme includes:

- Termination of all nuclear tests with on-site inspection.
- Gradual, balanced and controlled reduction of nuclear weapons and launchers and their final elimination by the year 2000.
- Simultaneous and parallel reduction of troops and conventional weapons.

With full consistency towards its peace-saving policy for humanity, the Soviet Union announced and implemented unilaterally from 6 August 1985 a suspension of nuclear tests which was extended until the end of December 1986.

This concrete and important peace initiative of the Soviet Union was enthusiastically welcomed by the whole peace-loving humanity and by many governments even NATO countries as important, firm and decisive step towards recession and peace.

As a result of the stable peaceful policy of the socialist countries led by the Soviet Union and the pressure of the world peace-loving forces made possible the summit meeting of the Secretary General of the C.C. of the USSR, M. Gorbachev and US President Ronald Reagan in Geneva in November 1985, as well as their meeting in Reykjavik on 11-12 October 1986. At the Geneva meeting it was established that a nuclear war cannot be won and must not be allowed to begin. At the Reykjavik meeting, thanks to the realistic proposals of the Soviet Union, the differences of opinion on nuclear weapons reduction issues have been narrowed. However, President Reagan committed the US military-industrial complex by sticking to The "Star Wars" program became a reason that the meeting did not come to an agreement as the peace-loving humanity expected.

4. The 16th Congress condemns, in the most decisive way, the dangerous for humanity pro-war policy of international imperialist circles, led by American imperialism. The Congress welcomes with enthusiasm and expresses its deep appreciation for the peaceful actions of the Soviet Union. It welcomes the numerous concrete and realistic proposals made by the countries of the socialist community. Welcomes the well-known initiative of the leaders of 6 countries—Mexico, Argentina, India, Sweden, Tanzania and Greece. It also welcomes the decision of the Congress of the Non-Aligned conference in Harare aimed at creating a climate of recession, guaranteeing world peace and saving humanity from a thermonuclear war.

5. During the period that we are reviewing the world peace movement took new dimensions and developed into an important factor in curbing the war imperialist policy. This movement became more massive and made its presence and influence felt in the struggle for peace with many and varied events and mobilisations in all countries of Europe and other continents as well as in the U.S. itself.

In this universal struggle, the unprecedented mobilisations of the forces of peace against the war policy, the adventurism and military interventions of the imperialist powers in various countries and for salvation of humanity from a thermonuclear war makes its remarkable contribution and our own people with mass mobilisations and other events.

6. The socialist countries that are the main and leading force of the world revolutionary movement are making a steady economic and social rise. In the field of the competition between socialism and capitalism, the socialist system is increasingly proving its superiority in all areas over capitalism. In the field of economic development the socialist countries and, above all, the Soviet Union, free from crises, unemployment and exploitation, are growing faster than the capitalist countries and note a continuous and steady growth, steadily improving the living and cultural level of their peoples.

The 27th Congress of the USSR is a decisive milestone in world developments and in the building of developed socialism in the Soviet Union.

The grandiose programme of the 27th Congress of the CPSU to accelerate social development based on the achievements of science and modern advanced technology, will contribute even more to the progress of the economy, as well as the further deepening of socialist democracy in the Soviet Union and the socialist countries. This will result in an increasingly complete satisfaction of the growing socio-economic, material and cultural needs of the peoples of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, in securing the supremacy of socialism over capitalism and strengthening the influence of existing socialism with the power of example on to the other forces of the world revolutionary process.

7. In contrast to the continuous progress of the socialist countries, the capitalist countries, and first of all the USA, and the EEC countries, are facing a year-long, deep, all-out crisis that erupted at the expense of workers.

The main features of this crisis are the stagnation in the growth rates and the reduction of production, the militarisation of the economy, the permanent mass unemployment that is reaching alarming proportions, the exchange rate crisis exchange rates and in the monetary system of capitalism. The huge exterior debt, the ever-widening gap in the level of development of the developed

capitalist and developing countries, unequal trade conditions, escalating intra-capitalist contradictions and rivalries, the moral collapse, the scourge of drugs and rising crime.

8. The 16th Congress notes that the struggle of the peoples for peace, independence, economic and social progress is intensifying and growing more and more. At the head of this struggle in every country are the democratic and progressive forces with the Communist and Workers' Parties at the forefront.

(a) In Greece, the democratic forces, led by the KKE, are fighting for real change, for liberation from the dependence of imperialism, for removal of US bases and withdrawal from NATO and EEC, as well as against the traditional reactionary right. They support the position of the Prime Minister of Greece for the denuclearisation of the Balkans and its participation in the efforts of the 6 countries to end the nuclear tests. At the same time, they demand a consistent, independent foreign policy and oppose austerity measures, state interventions in the internal trade unionism and efforts to create a bi-partisan system. These forces are fighting for real change, for the expansion of democratic institutions, for establishment of a simple proportional electoral system, for the consolidation and expansion of democratic and socio-economic gains of the Greek people.

The Congress expresses its full solidarity and support for the struggle of the KKE and the democratic progressive forces of the Greek people.

(b) In Turkey, which has become NATO's gendarme in the Middle East, despite the semblance of a parliamentary government, dictatorial regime continues. The human rights of the people are being violated and trade union freedoms. The bloody persecutions of the Kurdish people are intensifying.

At the same time, the struggle of the people, led by the KKE intensifies on a common front with other democratic forces for the overthrow of the dictatorship and imperialist dependence and for the restoration of a real democracy in the country.

The Congress expresses its full solidarity and support for the Turkish Communist Party and the people of Turkey and in its just struggle and its conviction that this struggle with international support and solidarity will be crowned with success.

(c) In the Near and Middle East, US-NATO imperialism uses the government of Israel as its main strike force. Taking advantage of the contradictions that it incites between the various Arab states,

it follows a provocative and inflammatory policy. It creates an explosive and a very dangerous situation for the Arab peoples and peace in the region, which exacerbated by the Reagan administration's gang raids against Libya and the planned terrorist attack against Syria.

The Arab peoples, led by the patriotic democratic forces and the governments of Syria, Libya and other countries, are vigorously fighting the imperialist conspiracies and Israeli provocations, for the liberation of the Israeli-occupied Arab territories and restoring the rights of the Palestinian people.

At the same time the catastrophic Iran-Iraq war, that continues unabated for seventh year, intensifies the split of the Arab front in favour of imperialism—Zionism, while the people of the region are seriously concerned by the danger of a wider war conflict.

Our Congress expresses its solidarity with the just struggle of the Palestinians and the Arab peoples in general for the liberation of the Israeli occupation their territories, for the recognition of the rights of the Palestinian people together and its right to establish its own independent state and to defending and strengthening the independence of the Arab States from imperialist intrigues. It supports the Soviet Union's proposal to convene an international conference on the Middle East.

9. The 16th Congress welcomes the struggles and victories of the people against imperialism, fascism and reaction in various countries of Latin America, Africa, Asia, Near, Middle and Far East and expresses its solidarity with all these peoples.

In the period we are considering, Latin America, and especially Central America and the Caribbean, became the focus of confrontation of the popular forces against the invasion of US imperialism. This aggression proves to be crude, immediate and unchallenged in the case of small Granada where US troops invaded, overthrew the progressive regime and established a puppet government based on US military presence and financial support.

In Latin America and the Caribbean as a result of struggles and struggles of the peoples bankrupt American slaves, dictatorships and bloodthirsty regimes collapsed that oppressed the peoples of Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay, Bolivia and elsewhere. The struggle is of particular importance of the people of Nicaragua in defence of independence, democracy and the gains of the revolution by the

counter-revolutionary forces that are led, funded and equipped by the Reagan government.

At the same time, the revolutionary movement “Farabudo Marti” erupts in Salvatore to overthrow the hated dictatorial regime, while in Chile the struggle of the people, led by the patriotic democratic forces with the C.P. of Chile in the forefront, growing and intensifying despite the oppressive measures of dictator Pinochet.

In Haiti, the struggle for the overthrow of the American slave dictatorship is escalating which continues after the replacement of dictator Duvalier.

Socialist Cuba, despite being undermined by the United States, is growing and strengthening. Through its example and its international solidarity, it inspires and strengthens the struggles of the peoples of Latin America and Africa.

In South Africa, the racist regime, based on brutal violence and the support of the US, Britain and West Germany, continues its bloody oppression of the people of the country, its provocations and conspiracies against the neighbouring peoples, even to state terrorism, at the expense of state leaders of neighbouring countries. The struggle of the people against this regime erupts and takes new dimensions and develops the struggle of the people and evolves into an uprising, led by African National Congress.

At the same time, the international solidarity movement demands the release of the heroic leader of the African National Congress, Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners, and the abolition of racist regime.

The struggle of the people of Namibia, led by SAAPO, is also intensifying the independence of their country, which despite UN resolutions remains under the illegal rule of the South African racists.

The peoples of a number of other African countries, such as Libya, Sudan, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Ethiopia, Angola and others, despite the attacks and subversive action of American imperialism, the racist regime of South Africa’s and its internal enemies and the economic and other difficulties they face securing their independence and gains and steadily advancing towards socio-economic progress and development.

In Asia, the struggle of the peoples against the militaristic policy of American imperialism and the governments that support it is intensifying.

In Japan, the movement against the government's policy of reviving the militarism that lured the country into President Reagan's plans for the "Star Wars".

In the Philippines, as a result of the old struggle, the American slave, corrupt regime of dictator Marcos was overthrown and the struggle for a smooth democratic development continues.

In the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, socialist development and the struggle against American imperialism and for the peaceful reunification of Korea continue.

In South Korea, the struggle against the American slave regime is intensifying for democracy, for the withdrawal of American troops, for reunification of the country.

In Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, independence and democracy are being established. Under the leadership of the Communist Parties, the peoples of the three countries are rapidly rebuilding their countries and creating the conditions for the implementation of socialism.

In Afghanistan, the forces of the democratic people's regime, with the internationalist help of the Soviet Union, repel the invasions of the US mercenaries and reactionary forces and proceed to the development of the country with socialist orientations.

Our Congress notes as a positive development the improvement of transnational relations between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China. It hopes that this improvement will continue and go further for the benefit not only of the two countries but also of world peace, the world workers' and revolutionary movement.

10. The Non-Aligned Movement in which Cyprus also participates plays an ever more important role in international developments. Despite the fact that countries with different social systems and significant differences in the level of their economic and social development, political orientations and ideology participate in this movement, overcoming its difficulties, manages to maintain its unity and cohesion, to strengthen its forces and to play a generally positive and progressive role in global issues. Cyprus plays its part in this movement. The role Cyprus in the Non-Aligned Movement is positive as long as the government remains committed to the principles of the movement, supports the struggle for recession and cooperation, for disarmament and peace and takes positions at international conferences on the key issues that are in line with the principles of the movement.

The Congress notes that in recent years several positions and actions of the Government—decision of President Kyprianou to grant the known facilities to NATO forces, granting permission to the US to build spy station in the territory of the Republic of Cyprus, the decision on Customs Union of Cyprus with the EEC, the tolerance for the use of British bases in Cyprus by US-NATO imperialism for offensive purposes and others—constitute a violation of the non-aligned foreign policy of Cyprus and the principles of the Non-Aligned Movement. Violation of the sovereignty of Cyprus is the construction of new modern US attack bases in the occupied territories.

Our Party will fight for the implementation of a consistent, non-aligned foreign policy that serves the interests of all our people and its anti-imperialist, anti-occupation liberation cause.

11. The 16th Congress, assessing the international developments, determines the following tasks:

(a) in the face of the danger of a global nuclear war towards which humanity is being pushed by the pro-war incendiary policy of the international militaristic circles, led by the Reagan administration, the ultimate task for the peoples of the world, as for our own people, is the intensity of the struggle to prevent a global, thermonuclear war, preventing the militarisation of space, the denuclearisation of the Mediterranean and other regions, the termination and abolition of nuclear weapons, and general and complete disarmament.

(b) In the context of this global struggle for recession, disarmament and peace, our Party has the task of contributing more decisively, so that the peaceful forces of the people are organised into a strong mass movement, to intensify the struggle for the abolition of all foreign bases existing on Cyprus territory, for the withdrawal of the Turkish occupation and all foreign troops and complete demilitarisation of Cyprus.

In order for our people to be able to increase their contribution to this struggle, it is necessary that the peace movement, while maintaining its anti-imperialist character, become more massive and broader and embrace all layers of the people regardless of ideological, political or class status.

(c) Our Party, appreciating the international support and solidarity must contribute even more to strengthening as much as possible the ties of friendship and solidarity of Cyprus with all peaceful and democratic forces that offer us their solidarity and

support to our struggle and especially with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries and our progressive Arab neighbouring countries.

(d) Our Party is faithful to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and its proletarian internationalism, is strongly in favour of its unity of the world communist and workers' movement and will contribute in this direction with all its forces.

B. THE INTERNAL POLITICAL SITUATION

The Cyprus Issue

1. The 16th Congress of AKEL notes that the main characteristics that put their stamp on the internal political situation and the developments of the Cyprus in the period under review are:

(a) The continuation of the occupation of 37% of the Cypriot territory by the Turkish occupation troops, the continuation of the expansionist policy of the chauvinist military circles of Ankara and their encouragement of the intransigence of the Turkish Cypriot leadership and its permanent cultivation of chauvinism on the part of the latter.

(b) The creation of new accomplishments, such as:

- The declaration of the illegal separatist Turkish Cypriot state on 15.11.83 and its recognition by Turkey.

- The holding of a referendum on the constitution of the so-called "TRNC".

- The holding of "presidential" and "parliamentary" elections in the occupied territories the participation of settlers.

- The transfer of thousands of new settlers and modern armaments from Turkey.

- The effort to unify the economy of "TRNC" with the economy Turkey.

- The formation of a coalition government of the "National Unity" Party of Denktash with the "Renaissance" Party of the settlers.

- The construction of a military airport in occupied Lefkonikos intended primarily for US-NATO offensive of the imperialists.

(c) The intensifying imperialist subversive activity with the interventions in various ways inside Cyprus and the various moral and material support of the chauvinist military rulers of Ankara

and their expansionist policy against Cyprus and the encouragement of its indifference of the Turkish Cypriot leadership.

(d) The continuing impasse and the stagnation of the Cyprus problem despite repeated efforts by the UN Secretary General, to set the process in motion of the inter-communal talks.

(e) The split of the unity on the internal front as a result of the unilateral unjustified termination of the AKEL-DIKO Democratic Cooperation by the President and the resignation by the President of DIKO and President of the Republic, Mr. Kyprianou of the Minimum Programme.

(f) The rise of chauvinism in Greek Cypriot circles, including government officials.

(g) The granting of facilities by the Kyprianou government to 4 NATO countries to use Larnaca airport and ports, as well as the granting of a permit for the construction of a new USA spy station.

These actions of the Kyprianou government constitute a political turn towards the right, which violates the declared non-aligned policy of Cyprus.

2. In the period we are reviewing the UN Secretary General in the context of the mandate of the Security Council for offering its good services and effort to promote a peaceful, just, mutually acceptable and sustainable solution to the Cyprus problem, developed its well-known initiatives: "Indicators" 1983, "Working Points" 1984, "Agreement Framework" 1985, "Consolidated" document of 1985, "Draft Framework Agreement" for the Cyprus issue 1986. All these Cuellar initiatives were fruitless and yielded no results.

Our Party welcomed the various initiatives of the UN Secretary General and supported as the appropriate procedure for seeking a solution to the Cyprus problem. The Congress notes that the greatest weakness of all initiatives and the plans of the Secretary General were that they did not recognise the necessity of convening a special international conference within the UN to discuss and resolve the international aspect of the Cyprus problem. The Congress believes that without convening such a conference, a comprehensive and integrated solution to the Cyprus problem is not possible.

The Congress finds that the wreckage and the uselessness of the initiatives of UN Secretary General and the consequent

continuing impasse in the Cyprus issue are due to the following factors:

(a) In the negative and subversive policy of the imperialist factor led by the US government. The US-NATO factor with its bases and spy stations in Cyprus turns our island into its main spy centre, considering Turkey as its loyal organ in our region, reacts in various ways to the efforts to resolve the Cyprus problem within the framework of the UN and in the interest of Cyprus and its people. The American-NATO circles, having established strategic aspirations in the region of Near and Middle East, seek to detach the Cyprus issue from the UN framework and procedures, complicate it in the Camp David-type proceedings to enforce a solution that mainly serves their own strategic interests.

(b) The expansionist policy and the intransigence of military-political leadership of the chauvinist circles of Ankara and the Turkish Cypriot leadership. Having as their immediate goal the finalisation of the division and the strengthening of the so-called "T.R.N.C." and as an ultimate goal the occupation of the whole of Cyprus, the leading circles of Ankara and the Turkish Cypriots show and follow a rigid intransigence, consistent with their expansionist goals. This intransigence is expressed in their refusal to respect and implement the UN resolutions and decisions on Cyprus. Their obsession with the stay of occupation troops in Cyprus and after the solution of the Cyprus problem. Their refusal to accept credible international guarantees through the UN, insisting on guarantees and unilateral intervention rights of Turkey and finally with their reaction to the convening of a special international conference on with UN on the Cyprus issue.

(c) In the mishandling of President Kyprianou towards various initiatives developed by the UN Secretary General in the period under review. These manipulations were exploited by the imperialists and Ankara for promotion of their anti-Cypriot plans.

3. The 16th Congress welcomes the proposals of the Soviet Union for the "principles for resolving the Cyprus problem and ways to achieve it" of January 1986 as positive and decisive contribution to the efforts for a solution of the Cyprus problem.

4. The 16th Congress emphasises that in the conditions of the impasse and the stalemate of the Cyprus problem and the combined subversive policy and the pressures of the enemies of Cyprus, the main task is to struggle for overcoming the impasse and paving the way for a peaceful, just, a mutually acceptable and

sustainable solution to the Cyprus problem based on the UN decisions, the Summit Agreements and the proposals of the C.C. for the "Principles of the solution of the Cyprus problem and the way of achieving it" of January 1986.

The Party in the struggle for the solution of the Cyprus problem determines the line and the tactics taking into account the objective fact that the stage of struggle carried out by our people are anti-imperialist, anti-occupation, liberation.

Under these circumstances the specific tasks that come before us for the Cyprus issue are:

(a) Struggle for a solution to the Cyprus problem based on UN resolutions and Summit Agreements, such as to guarantee independence, sovereignty, the territorial integrity and non-alignment of a bi-communal, federal Republic of Cyprus. To exclude both the Union of the whole or part of Cyprus with another country, as well as its division and the creation of two separate states. The Turkish occupation and all foreign troops must withdraw, the foreign military bases must be abolished and the interventions and subversive activities of the imperialist factor at the expense of Cyprus must end. The solution to the Cyprus problem must also include the departure of the settlers, the securing of the three basic freedoms and especially the right of refugees to return to their homes and property in safe conditions and the fate of the missing, as provided for in UN resolutions. Independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and the non-alignment of Cyprus to be ensured with reliable international guarantees through the UN.

(b) for the promotion of a fair and comprehensive solution of the Cyprus problem, a proper tactical struggle is necessary that combines the solution of the issues of the internal aspect with the solution of the international aspect of the Cyprus problem.

For the solution of the internal aspect to insist firmly on conducting substantive inter-communal talks within and under the auspices of the UN using the good services of its Secretary General. Based on this position our Party opposes any attempt to abandon or undermine the process within the framework of the UN and the confinement of the Cyprus problem in NATO, the EEC or Five-Party Conference.

At the same time, to firmly insist on the establishment of a special international conference within the framework of the UN to settle all issues that constitute the international aspect of the

Cyprus issue, and we call on the Cypriot government to insist on convening such a conference by any means at its disposal. The talks for the solution of the internal and international aspect of the Cyprus problem, which is interconnected and interdependent, to be conducted in parallel as long as it is practically possible.

(c) In the struggle for a total solution we must make the most of both the proposals of the Soviet Union for the “principles for resolving the Cyprus problem and ways to achieve it” of 21 January 1986, which determine the correct frameworks for resolving both aspects of the Cyprus problem, as well as in general steady interest and solidarity and support of the Soviet Union, of all socialist countries, the Non-Aligned Movement and the general world democratic forces.

(d) To continue and intensify the campaign for further internationalisation of the Cyprus problem, promoting it both at the UN and at every international forum.

(e) To continue and intensify the efforts for unity and cooperation of patriotic, democratic forces and for a tight internal front.

The genuine and meaningful unity must be based, first on a common line and tactics and a common anti-imperialist, anti-occupation objectives and on mutual respect and implementation of what has been agreed, to ensure the implementation of a pro-people economic policy and second to operate on the recognised democratic principles of collectivism and co-responsibility.

(f) In the context of the struggle for a peaceful, just, mutually acceptable and sustainable solution to the Cyprus problem, to make a real turn and move forward with practical and concrete measures the rapprochement with the Turkish Cypriots and in particular with their democratic forces fighting against division, the annexation of occupied Cyprus to Turkey or the unification of the so-called “T.R.N.C.” with Turkey as well as against the solution of the existence of two independent States or the double union. With these forces we must find a way to coordinate our struggle with a common goal of a mutually acceptable and sustainable solution on the basis of a Federation of Cyprus. Our policy, our tactics, our positions against the problems presented, and our propaganda should not to make it more difficult, on the contrary, they must facilitate the struggle of these forces for rapprochement. This will require the fight against chauvinism wherever it occurs. Only by re-approaching and the systematic

cultivation of the appropriate climate for the restoration of mutual trust will tear down the dividing walls erected between them Greek Cypriots and the Turkish Cypriots by the imperialists and their chauvinist agents, which will be a decisive contribution to the solution of the Cyprus problem. Besides with the above let us fight for the Government to face creatively and positively the issue of rapprochement.

5. The 16th Congress in relation to the 1988 Presidential elections determines the following as the main political objectives:

(a) Pursue the widest possible cooperation of the patriotic democratic forces to elect a President who will inspire confidence that he will pursue a policy that will lead to a peaceful, just, mutually acceptable and a viable solution to the Cyprus problem based on UN resolutions, the Summit Agreements and the proposals of the Soviet Union—a solution based on an independent, non-aligned, bi-communal, federal, demilitarised Cyprus—and will actively promote the unity of the patriotic democratic forces and the creation of a strong internal front based on democratic principles.

(b) To exclude the possibility for the seizure of power by DISY, that represents the extreme right-wing reaction and EOKA B. Any rise of DISY to power will be at the detriment of the struggle of the Cypriot people, for the Cypriot, for economic and social progress, for the rise of the vital and cultural level of the popular masses, will hit the democratic and trade union freedoms and will lead to the abandonment of non-aligned politics and tying Cyprus to NATO.

(c) The duty to exclude the rise of the DISY to power does not imply support for President Kyprianou, who unilaterally and unjustifiably dissolved the Democratic Cooperation and renounced the Minimum Programme both in relation to the Cyprus issue and its handling for the solution, as well as issues related to the non-aligned policy of Cyprus and economic and social policy. Our party will also not support either the possible candidacy of Mr. Lyssaridis.

For the democratic cooperation of AKEL-DIKO

1. The 16th Congress considers the Democratic Cooperation of AKEL-DIKO that was achieved on the basis of the Minimum Programme in April 1982 as one of the achievement and political event of the utmost importance for Cyprus and internationally.

The Democratic Cooperation excluded the rise of DISY to power and thus preventing all the negative effects that this would entail. Moreover, the Democratic Cooperation expressed the possibility and willingness of those democratic forces of the Centre and the moderate right it representing DIKO to cooperate with the forces of the left led by the Marxist-Leninist Party of the Working Class-AKEL. From this point of view approaching this achievement is of great international importance in the sense that it adds to the experience of the international Communist Movement in terms of unity of action.

The Minimum Programme was a programme based on principles and corresponded to the vital interests of the anti-imperialist, anti-occupation, liberation struggle of the Cypriot people, as well as in the interests of an economic and social populist policy and development of Cyprus.

2. The Democratic Cooperation faced problems and difficulties in its course, which were not insurmountable at all. For our part, our Party did everything possible for a constructive discussion with the leadership of DIKO to resolve any disputes that arose in the course of the Democratic Cooperation without, unfortunately, succeeding.

3. The end of the Board was the unilateral and unjustified complaint on 22.12.84 by the President of DIKO and President of the Republic. This complaint was a catalytic blow to the unity and cooperation of the patriotic democratic forces and, in conjunction with the collapse of the summit, led to the fragmentation of the Internal Front and adversely affected them developments in the Cyprus issue and the efforts for a peaceful, just, mutual acceptable and viable solution to the Cyprus problem based on UN resolutions and Summit Agreements.

4. The responsibility for the complaint of the Board is mainly borne personally by President of DIKO and President of the Republic, Mr. Kyprianou and in addition the leadership of DIKO, who used the Board to rise to power. Mr. Kyprianou and the leadership of DIKO showed inconsistency in terms of their respect for the Board, and the observance and implementation of the Minimum Programme.

Mr. Kyprianou succumbed to the urgings of the imperialist factor in particular of the American-British, as well as other circles in Greece and Cyprus and in promises that by complaining to the

Board, would supposedly have their help for solution to the Cyprus problem and in securing cooperation with DISY.

5. The 16th Congress of AKEL believes that the Board, despite its failure it was not at all wrong. The acceptance by our Party of the Board, with DIKO with based on the Minimum Programme is in line with our Party's policy on the unity of the patriotic democratic forces of the people at the present stage struggle waged by the Cypriot people.

The 16th Congress, putting above all the supreme interest of the people's struggle, declares that in the future it will seek and fight for unity and cooperation of the patriotic democratic forces and for a tight Internal Front based on a common line and tactics, common anti-imperialist, anti-occupation goals and democratic principles for its operation.

Early Parliamentary Elections

The 16th Congress underlines the importance of the decision of the C.C. of January 1986 "On the results of the parliamentary elections of December 1985". The Congress calls the C.C. as well as all governing bodies, executives and party members to be guided by the lessons of the December 1985 election campaign and ensure their implementation in practice.

Municipal elections—May 1986

The Municipal elections of May 25, 1986 were the result of long struggles of our Party for the abolition of the illiberal anti-democratic nominating system and the election of local government bodies.

The results of the municipal elections are a great triumph for our party and the popular movement, which was expressed with the election of 9 communists from the 18 Mayors and another who had the support of AKEL as well and 74 City Councillors. In these elections, our Party basically recovered the ground it lost in the parliamentary elections.

The Congress appreciates the handling and the work done in the municipal elections as an important step in the implementation of the January 1986 decision.

Appreciating this victory of the Party in the municipal elections, the Congress underlines the need to create the necessary mechanisms at all levels for the elaboration and implementation of an integrated Party policy for local government. Through the struggle to resolve the municipal and community problems the Party and the popular movement in general can and should gain the trust of even wider working masses of the people.

Community elections

The results of the elections of Local Authorities and Improvement Councils were very satisfactory. We have increased the number of Community Leaders compared to previous period. We increased the number of members in the Local Authorities and the Improvement Councils and where elections were held on several occasions, in particular in large polling stations, we had an increase in votes.

C. THE CYPRUS ECONOMY

1. The 16th Congress of AKEL appreciates the fact that the upward course of our economy that was achieved thanks to the policy implemented by our Party and our Trade Union Movement, thanks to the sacrifices and hard work of workers, continued in the period reviewed by the Report, despite the fact that the world capitalist economy has faced one of the more serious economic crises.

2. It notes that in the period under review, economic growth has resulted in the further accumulation and concentration of capital and has financially strengthened the positions of the bourgeoisie. At the same time, it notes with concern the declining trend that characterises the growth rates of the Cyprus economy in recent years. Especially in 1986 this rate is expected to be the lowest since 1975. A significant decrease in value is also expected of domestic exports.

In relation to the above, it is very worrying that the observed increase in recent years is due almost exclusively to its growth tertiary sector (services), while the sectors of material production (industry, agricultural economy, construction) are characterised by decline, stagnation and slight increase.

This phenomenon is not healthy, as it reinforces the distorting tendencies of the Cyprus economy.

3. The Congress underlines the structural weaknesses of the Cyprus economy. Such are: (a) The disproportionately large share of the tertiary sector, compared to the primary and secondary, (b) The delayed technological infrastructure of the Cypriot industry in particular, (c) The small size and the family nature of Cypriot businesses.

The above structural weaknesses are at the root of the difficulties that the economy is going through this period and especially the slowdown in growth and the reduction of exports.

For these structural weaknesses of the Cypriot economy, the government's economic and development policy and in particular the government's failure to introduce the necessary institutions for technological progress is a serious responsibility.

4. The Congress attaches great importance to such problems of the economy, such as the large and growing deficit in public finances, the also large and growing public debt, primarily external, but also internal and the large trade deficit. These serious problems, while connected with the structural weaknesses of the Cypriot economy, are mainly due to government policy of squandering public finances and expanding the state mechanism to serve the purely interests of the ruler party.

The Congress emphasises that the growing trend of deficits in public finances and public debt should be stopped, a responsible policy of economic reflection should be implemented, and the fragmentation of public finances should be stopped. Otherwise Cyprus will face a serious risk of crisis and financial bankruptcy.

5. AKEL, as the Party of the working class and the toilers in general, expresses concerns about the growing unemployment trend, especially in 1986. Unemployment is the worst scourge for workers, it suffers the standard of living of the unemployed and the working class and toilers in general and those in work. The observed alarming increase in unemployment in 1986 is the result of the general downturn in the economy, particularly in the material production sectors as well as the significant reduction of domestic exports. The Congress emphasises the need to implement a policy aimed at reducing and eliminating unemployment, ensuring full employment. It especially emphasises the need to give the attention to combating unemployment of Higher Education graduates.

6. The 16th Congress of AKEL in relation to the Cypriot economy emphasises the following:

(a) The main objective of economic growth must be the continuous and steady improvement of the living standards of workers and the people in general.

(b) Immediately review the government's economic policy, with the aim of reviving the economy, maximizing growth rates and narrowing the gap that separates us from the level of the developed countries.

(c) In the context of a policy of revitalising of the economy, priority should be given to the development of the sectors of material production. The government to strengthen the development of local industry and local agricultural production and to adjust its trade policy with the aim of ensuring stable markets abroad for Cypriot products.

(d) The long-term development strategy must be based on democracy planning and targeting the rational structure of the economy, with the predominance of the growth rates of the branches of material production. Both the immediate revival and the long-term development of the Cypriot economy, must be based on achievements of science and technology.

(e) AKEL reiterates that its ultimate goal is the socialist transformation of society. However, at the present stage of struggle, it gives primary importance to the solution of the Cyprus problem. In the context of capitalist conditions prevailing in our country, the Party emphasises the need for strengthening the role of the state in the economy. This must be pursued not only through of state intervention to prevent super profits, protect competition and consumers, but also through more active intervention state in production processes. The state should move forward with the construction of industrial units for the utilisation of national wealth, purely state or jointly with cooperative and private capital, but with decisive participation of the state. It must be fully nationalised immediately the refinery, as well as the import and wholesale of petroleum products. Also, the state must acquire a decisive participation in the banking capital and in the insurance sector. The state must expand its role in the field of social benefits, such as the implementation of the national plan health and addressing the housing needs of workers.

(f) The 16th Congress emphasises that it is imperative to address immediately the most serious and burning problems of the

Cypriot economy, which is the large deficit in public finances and public debt. For this purpose the government has an obligation to elaborate and implement an effective public finance consolidation policy and reduction of public debt. The main element of this policy must be the implementation of a system of economic recovery and combating the disintegration of public finances.

As for the government's efforts to increase state revenues this should be pursued through a radical overhaul of fiscal policy of the State, with the aim that the main part of its revenues come from direct taxation. For the consolidation of public finances the government should introduce new forms of direct taxation, such as, for example, wealth taxation, which is borne exclusively by the wealth. The Income tax law needs to be further amended, with aimed at tax relief, especially for the low and middle class income.

(g) the 16th Conference of AKEL stresses that the political response to the problems of the economy in no case should not bring unpopular character, in no case should not burden the workers. The burdens must be borne by the bourgeoisie and the affluent classes.

AKEL believes that, while the main responsibility for the development and implementation policy to address the problems of the economy is the responsibility of government, all parties and organisations must contribute to success such a policy. This imposes the interest of Cyprus and the competitor of the Cypriot people. AKEL states that, realising its responsibilities, it is ready to contribute to the elaboration and successful implementation of such a policy.

7. The 16th Congress of AKEL declares its categorical opposition to the decision of the government for customs union of Cyprus with the EEC. This union is contrary to the economic, social and political interests of Cyprus. The customs union will have serious negative consequences for both Cypriot industry as well as in the agricultural economy, will cause massive unemployment and will exterminate the Cypriot farmers. In addition, it will undermine and, ultimately, will neutralise the non-aligned foreign policy of the Republic of Cyprus. Cyprus, through the EEC, will be anchored to the NATO chariot.

AKEL believes that the economic, social and political interests of Cyprus demand that the Cypriot government conclude the negotiations for a customs union, as well as the Cyprus-EEC

Association Agreement and seek economic policy relations with the EEC, through trade and economic agreements.

AKEL will lead the struggles of workers, toilers, peasants, artisans and calls on all in general who suffer the destructive consequences of the customs union to fight against it.

AKEL believes that the expansion of the economic and trade relations of Cyprus with the socialist countries is in the interest of Cyprus and the people and contributes to the proper development of the Cypriot economy, because it is based on reciprocity and the common interest.

D. THE MASS MOVEMENT

1. The 16th Congress expresses deep appreciation for the role and activity of the mass popular movement. It expresses its appreciation that the political line, positions and decisions of the Party correspond to the interests of the popular masses and decisions of the Party are in the interests of the popular masses.

2. Our Party expresses its appreciation for its decisive contribution of the mass popular movement in the struggles of the people for the unity of the interior front and the promotion and solution of economic, community, social and other problems of the Cypriot people, as well as for the defence and improvement of the occupations and working conditions of workers and employees and rising their living and cultural standards.

3. Our Congress, honouring the very important and decisive role of the mass popular movement in the struggle for a peaceful and just solution of Cyprus for survival and for a higher standard of living, it considers as the primary task of further massification and strengthening of mass popular organisations and calls on Party executives and members to work actively towards its fulfillment.

In particular, our Party calls on the members and executives who work in the mass organisations to work even more actively, to be always at the forefront, at the head of the masses, in the struggle for the solution of problems of workers, peasants and all toilers. It calls on the members and executives of the Party acting within the mass organisations to promote, implementing flexible tactics and appropriate handling, the line of the unit and its joint action and educate workers and the general public on the basis of the line and tactics of the Party, as well as in the spirit of their connection its immediate and ultimate goals.

The forging of the workers' and peasants' alliance is powerful and decisive factor in promoting common problems. This alliance we have a duty to protect because it will be the basis for the further expansion of the United Front of the working class and other toiler in the struggles for the correct solution of the Cyprus problem and even then in socialist transformation of Cypriot society. This is imperative today more than ever because there are political forces that want to confront peasants against workers and vice versa.

The forging of the workers' and peasants' alliance is achieved in the struggle for a better standard of living on the basis of sound and balanced claims.

4. Our Party, recognising the importance and role played in the struggle of our people the workers, peasants, middle classes, artisans, motorists and others, must pay special attention in the problems they face. With particular interest for our Party to see the multiple and varied problems faced by those affected by the coup and the invasion, which have not been dealt with to date satisfactorily.

5. Our Party expresses its appreciation for the contribution and struggles to the refugee world, as well as all the mass organisations in the struggle for dealing with the consequences of the coup and the Turkish invasion and occupation, as well as in the anti-imperialist, anti-occupation, liberation struggle of the Cypriot people. Our Congress values the unity of the refugee world and calls on its executives and members to safeguard and further strengthen more this section, which is the most important factor for the success of the struggle waged by the refugee world, both for the special, their own his problems, as well as the struggle for justification, survival and return, as provided by the UN resolutions.

6. Our Party considers that the Cooperative Movement in Cyprus is one of the most important gains of our people. This Movement, with the various forms and its action in various fields, has offered and continue to offer invaluable services to all strata of workers.

The Congress welcomes the adoption of the new Law on Cooperation and welcomes the decisive role played by our Party and the AKEL-Left Parliamentary group in the adoption of this law, as well as in addressing the problems of the Cooperative Movement. The Congress expresses the deep concern of the

thousands of members of the Cooperative Movement that almost two years after the adoption of the New Law on Cooperation has not yet entered into force. Our Party and the executives and members who work in the Cooperative Movement are called to continue to lead the way in strengthening and in the promotion and proper resolution of any problems that faces.

7. The Congress is regarded as an important conquest of the Party and the mass popular movement, the enlargement and strengthening of the institution of local self-government by the emergence of elected municipal authorities. Our Party must continue the struggle for the further extension of this institution by the emergence of elected parish authorities in the cities. School Tax Offices and other local authorities and by expanding the powers of all elected authorities and especially Municipal Councils.

8. The Congress expresses its appreciation for the work and contribution of EDON and organised progressive youth in general—working, rural, student and pupil—in the various struggles of our people and especially in the struggle for the defence of the homeland and salvation, justification and survival, as well as for the proper education of young people in the ideals of peace and scientific socialism and in the spirit of proletarian internationalism.

The Congress calls on the Party as a whole to pay even more attention to help EDON even more in the organisation and mobilisation of the youth and in its struggle for the specific problems it faces, financially, problems of study and healthy employment. To give even greater attention to student youth.

The Congress calls on the Party as a whole to contribute to the transformation of the clubs and other mass organisations into centres of healthy intellectual and cultural employment and development.

Our Party to further contribute to the refutation and resolution of the problems of scientists, such as the problem of their professional rehabilitation and decent employment according to their specialty and qualifications.

9. The Congress appreciates the role and activity of the progressive organised women's movement, in the various mass political struggles of the people. It calls on the Party to pay even more attention to women's movement and contribute more decisively to the solution of the problems that faced by women, including their ratification and implementation of international conventions on equal pay, maternity and others.

10. The 16th Congress sets out the following tasks for executives and members working in the mass popular movement.

(a) Continue to work even more actively for comprehensive support of the mass popular movement, with the recruitment of hundreds of new members, its extreme activity in a way that respond to the new social and economic conditions.

(b) To continue the line of unity and united action between in trade unions, agricultural, and other professional organisations and to guard the unity of the refugee world.

(c) To develop decisively their enlightening work for the education of workers, peasants and all workers with the ideals of peace, socialism, international solidarity and proletarian internationalism.

In order to achieve the above objectives, the 16th Congress considers it necessary to create the conditions for the transformation of the people's factor into a more effective lever of pressure, both for the implementation of a good line and tactics and the handling of the Cyprus issue, as well as a popular economic and social policy.

Such conditions are the achievement of mobilisation and unity of action in workplaces, communities and municipalities to address daily problems of workers. The work of the Party and the masses of the mass popular movement with the mobilisations for the solution of the daily problems must convince of the need to apply an anti-imperialist, anti-occupation line and tactics for a solution to the Cyprus problem and for the effectiveness of defending this line and tactic and ensuring its implementation through militant mobilisations that unite all patriotic popular forces regardless of their party affiliations.

11. The Congress welcomes the increased activity observed in field of art and culture, which is a serious part of the ideological front. Taking into account the important role that art and culture play and taking into account the special circumstances in which our people are fighting as well as the fact that art and culture profoundly influence orientations and shaping the character of the popular masses, our Party is called to give even more attention and help people even more of spirit and art and the various cultural institutions that with their offer promote the social and other goals of the working class. The Party must set up a Cultural Office and study and define a comprehensive cultural policy. Also to speed up

the establishment of a university based on the resolution of the Parliament of 1981.

At the same time, our Party calls on the government to define and implement a comprehensive policy of cultural development of the country and deal with interest and the affection the various economic and other problems of the people of art and culture.

12. Our Party appreciates the Peace and Solidarity Movement that expressed by the Pancyprian Peace Council and the Anti-Imperialist Solidarity Committee. It values as important the role it plays in the struggle for the abolition of foreign bases and the complete demilitarisation of Cyprus and in the anti-imperialist and anti-war education of the Cypriot people.

It is the duty of our Party to contribute to the further development of the peace and solidarity movement so that it plays its role even more decisively and effectively.

13. The Activity of the AKEL-Left Parliamentary Group

Our Party gives great attention and importance to the role played by Parliament. It is an important bulwark combined with the mobilisations of the people is used and exploited by our Party and Parliament AKEL Group-Left for the improvement towards more progressive existing laws or the enactment of new popular laws, for exercising of Parliamentary control of the Executive, the agitation of various problems with questions or registration of issues and for the promotion of the Party's positions on various issues general and specific issues with their discussion in Chapter D.

The 16th Congress appreciates the work of the AKEL-Left Parliamentary Group as satisfactory. The Congress taking into account the needs and interests of the people calls on the deputies AKEL-Left to develop even more intense activity, to better organise their visits to communities, refugee settlements and the general public and develop more initiative in shaking up various related problems of the workers, the peasants, the working classes and the broad masses in general of the people. The struggle of AKEL-Left in Parliament must be combined more and more with the struggle of the popular masses outside Parliament.

14. For Expatriates our Party emphasises the need for its creative utilization of Cypriots Abroad for a fair solution to the Cyprus problem. The AKEL will always be on the side of expatriates to promote the multiple problems they face.

E. THE PARTY

1. The 16th Congress expresses its appreciation for the work and the results achieved in the organisational, ideological and other fields, expressed:

- with the recruitment of hundreds of new members to the Party
- with the increased activity of party organisations.
- the best results in the members' response to the financial their obligations (subscriptions, fundraising).
- the increase of the circulation of HARAVGI and the other publications of the Party.
- the rise of work in the ideological field.
- the general improvement of the Party's work in all areas of its action.

2. The Congress, while appreciating the important results of the organisational work, also notes that there are still serious shortcomings and weaknesses in our organisational work from top to bottom. The shortcomings and weaknesses must be addressed in the context of the increased demands of socio-economic development and political struggles, as well as the intense activity of the parties of the right and the centre in the field of fans, even of our members, with the aim of deploying US forces and to reduce the influence of our Party.

In order to overcome any shortcomings, the decisive overcoming of our organisational weaknesses, the fullest utilisation of the existing possibilities, the further improvement of organisational work and in general the comprehensive strengthening of the Party, the Congress calls on the C.C. and the whole Party in the performance of the following duties:

(a) To continue the recruitment of new members of the Party from the lines of the working class and working people. Particular attention should be paid to the recruitment of members from youth, working women, scientists and intellectuals and in setting up Party groups in workplaces, communities and neighbourhoods that do not currently exist.

When recruiting new members to the Party, we must also pay special attention to the observance of the organisational and statutory principles of the Party, the correct selection and education of new members in order to raise the quality level of the Party. We must equip new members with necessary ideological

supplies, to be able to delve deeper into the world-historical mission of the working class, assimilate the principles of Marxism-Leninism, be closely associated with the Party and assimilate by it.

(b) To take specific measures by the governing bodies of the Party aimed at addressing the weaknesses and improving the way and the content of the work of the Party base organisation. By elimination the weaknesses and improving the content and way of working of the party group we will succeed in making it a living and active organism, which plays a significant, decisive role for the problems of the area in which it works and leading the mobilisation and the struggles of the people for their solution.

(c) The Congress suggests the following measures that can contribute to the improvement of the work of the party group: the proper preparation for the Group meeting, the implementation of measures for participation significantly of a larger number of members, the collective way of guidance and work, the Regular control in a creative, constructive way, the exercise of constructive and based on the principles of criticism and self-criticism, the free exchange of views and democratic debate within the Group, the initiative of the members for activity in the context of the decisions of the party group and others party organisations and the proper division of labour among all the members according to the abilities of each.

(d) To further improve the work of all leading organisations, senior and junior as well as the Offices of C.C. and the E.U. To activate those of the Offices that do not respond satisfactorily to their role and to set up new Headquarters and District Offices—and especially the Office of Studies and Research of C.C. which will be considered necessary for improving the work of the Party.

(e) The Congress assesses as measurable the progress made in promotion of new executives in the Party. Appreciating this progress the Congress emphasises, at the same time, that the problem of training and promoting young people remains the main problem of organisational policy and work of the Party. This Congress invites the C.C. to continue still more decisively implement the policy of renewal and promotion new executives.

(f) To pay special attention to the preservation and strengthening of the unity and monolithic nature of the Party from below to the C.C., which is the target of all its enemies, local and foreign. The unity and monolithicity of the Party lines and its leadership must be strengthened and forged with the faithful

adherence and application of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and especially democratic centralisation and collective leadership, principles that constitute guarantee for the comprehensive strengthening of the Party and its response to its pioneering role. The strengthening of its unity and monolithicity of the Party is the best answer to their subversive efforts of its enemies.

(g) The Congress underlines the great importance of the ideological front. In the specific conditions in which our Party lives and works, international and Cypriot, with imperialism and local far-right forces intensify their attack on the progressive forces and the theory of scientific socialism, developing anti-communism and anti-Sovietism, work in the ideological field takes on a completely different significance. In the new socio-economic conditions, Cypriot and international, we must strengthen our ideological and political work within the broad strata of workers. It is on the basis of these new economic and social conditions that the task for new forms of work, new language and methods in our propaganda.

Realising the enormous importance of the mastery of consciousness of workers and toilers with the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, our Party sets as a permanent and main task of the dissemination, the promotion, propaganda and defence of the purity of the theory of Marxism-Leninism from any distortion and falsification, the defence of the existing socialism, the repulsion of anti-communism, anti-Sovietism, and any form of ideological deviation. The popularisation of its line and tactics and the defence of its decisions and raising their ideological level its members and executives.

The theoretical organ of the Party, the *“New Democrat”* which has improved considerably, it needs to be improved even more. The *“N.D.”* must meet the requirements of our ideological work and policy of the Party. To effectively illuminate the positions of the Party and the major theoretical problems of our time and become truly an organ theoretical thinking and projection of our ideology. For that reason a prerequisite is the contribution of the Party executives.

The Congress starting from the findings that the *“DAWN”* (*“HARAVHI”*) despite the improvement noted, still has serious shortcomings and weaknesses, defines as a basic task the taking of the necessary measures for overcoming and for its substantial improvement.

The increase of the circulation of “X”, of “N.D.”, of the “*International Political Review*” and other publications of the Party and the Movement and in general any progressive publication and especially the utilisation of their content must be seen by the Party as a main political task to be executed in the best way.

The C.C. should also take all appropriate measures for the regular edition (bi-monthly or quarterly at the latest) of our English organ “*AKEL NEWSLETTER*” because this gives us the opportunity for regular information of the international progressive movement and greatly facilitates the work of our Branch of our Party in England.

(h) Based on the experience of our own and the international labour movement to date, to strengthen more and to organise the political-organisational vigilance more systematically. The Party as a whole must be educated that the vigilance and safeguarding of the Party from the erosion or penetration of hostile elements into it as well as the guarding of unity its unity, is an urgent duty of every member of the Party. By educating the Party as a whole, we will strike any devaluation that exists for this so important field of work of the Party.

(i) In the field of international relations, in view of their enlargement, to continuously and further strengthen the Party’s ties and to further develop our relations with the Communist and Workers’ Parties on the basis of principles and the common ideals of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

To develop and strengthen also the ties of our Party with the national-liberation movements and progressive parties especially in our region, based on the common positions of the struggle against imperialism, Zionism, fascism and reaction.

(j) To ensure the continued development of the Party’s finances, which is essential for its smooth operation and its staffing with new executives and generally addressing the growing needs of the work of the Party and the struggles it conducts.

(k) The 16th Congress taking into account the great importance for our Party of the further development of the work of our Branch in Great Britain, should continue in an even more systematic way to provide assistance to our Party organisation so that it can achieve better manning of its mechanisms to be able to respond better to the tasks it has to perform.

Such tasks are primarily to strengthen the struggle of our people for a sustainable acceptable solution to our political

problem, the preservation of the identity of our Parish in England which is directly related to the educational problem, the problem of fares, etc.

In general, the C.C. to ensure the most frequent contact and assistance to the Annex.

By fulfilling the above tasks, we contribute to the full strength of our Party, raise the organisational work to the level required by the current political situations and developments, and we contribute to our Party to play even more decisively its pioneering role in its struggle of the Cypriot people for a peaceful and just solution to the Cyprus problem, to achieve of the main political goals of the Party in relation to the presidential elections and for their immediate and long-term economic and social interests of workers, peasants and toilers of our island.

The 16th Congress declares once again that it is the ultimate goal of the Party remains for us the socialist transformation of Cypriot society based the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

By fulfilling the above tasks, we help our Party to contribute even more actively and decisively to the struggle of the Cypriot people for salvation and justification and to meet its responsibilities and the expectations of the people as well as on its historic mission on duty for a new, peaceful and a happy future for the entire Cypriot people—Greeks, Turks, Armenians, Maronites and Latins.

Nicosia, 30.11.86

THE ANNOUNCEMENTS OF THE CONGRESS⁹⁴

THE DECLARATION OF THE 16TH CONGRESS OF AKEL

Patriotic Cypriot people,

AKEL, which this year celebrates its anniversary, on the occasion of its 16th Congress. Addresses to the entire Cypriot people a message of patriotic unity and faith. It addresses a warm militant greeting to all the workers of Cyprus and calls them to a common struggle against the common enemy, imperialism and foreign occupation.

Compatriots. The 16th Congress convened at a crucial time for world peace, is fully aware of the dangers posed by the activities of the leading circles of NATO countries and especially of the United States, with their obsession for military supremacy over socialist countries and especially with President Reagan's obsession with the so-called "Star Wars".

The Congress enthusiastically welcomes the ever-expanding global peace movement. It particularly welcomes the "peace attack" of the Soviet Union that on the one hand exposes the pro-war aspirations of the militaristic invasions cycles and on the other opens the way for the salvation of humanity, the way to a world without wars.

We also welcome the struggle of our people and their contribution to the universal struggle for peace and the struggle of life. Realising the dangers that Cyprus is going through from the existence and use of British bases, the Congress calls on our people for a more intense struggle for the demilitarisation of our island.

Compatriots, women compatriots,

The 16th Congress highlighted the serious dangers posed by the impasse in which the Cyprus issue finds itself and which are pushing for solutions contrary to the desires and interests of our people—Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots. In the face of these dangers,

⁹⁴ *ibid.*

we emphasise the need for an audience struggle to get the Cyprus issue out of this dangerous impasse.

Our Congress reaffirmed our belief in the possibility of finding a correct and just solution to the Cyprus problem within the framework of the UN, which is possible with international support and solidarity, which was unequivocally demonstrated once again times by representatives of sister parties. The solution to the Cyprus problem is possible within the UN, with two parallel procedures. An international conference for the resolution of the international aspect and an essential inter-communal dialogue for the solution of the internal aspect of the Cyprus problem. In this connection, the Congress welcomed the proposals of the Soviet Union for the “Principles for the solution of the Cyprus problem and ways to achieve it” as an essential contribution to the efforts for the right solution to the Cyprus problem.

The Congress demonstrates its obsession with these processes and rejects attempts to trap the Cyprus problem in NATO or EEC barriers, wherever they come from. A solution to the Cyprus problem can only be achieved by removing the Turkish occupation troops and settlers as well as all others foreign troops.

The Congress notes the worrying cases of nationalism and chauvinism that facilitates the plans of Ankara’s imperialist circles and its expansionists. In these sermons and in this catastrophic course, our Congress opposes the line of rapprochement of Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots and the common struggle of their democratic and progressive forces for a peaceful, just, mutually acceptable and sustainable solution, for a common homeland of Greek Cypriots, Turkish Cypriots, Armenians, Maronites and Latins.

Patriotic Cypriot people,

The 16th Congress sends a message of unity and joint action for common goals and objectives. Throughout its life and action, AKEL has always been the standard-bearer of the unity of the patriotic, democratic forces of our people in the struggle for freedom, democracy, economic and social progress, for the advancement of the people.

The Congress welcomes the coordination of action and the common struggles trade unions, agricultural, professional and other organisations for defending their gains and improving their living and cultural life standards. It calls on organisations to safeguard and further strengthen its unity and joint action to address the difficulties and problems of the Cypriot economy and especially to

prevent the Customs Union of Cyprus-EEC that will have irreparable consequences for the Cypriot economy.

Compatriots,

The 16th Congress coincides with the 60 years since the founding of Working Class Party and the workers of our island. Our Party in these 60 years held aloft the flag of the ideals of Marxism-Leninism and its proletarian internationalism and fought hard under any circumstances—legal or illegal.

As a result of these struggles, the working conditions, life, the living and cultural level of the people changed radically. On the occasion of its birthday and of the 16th Congress, we declare that, faithful to the ideals of our Party, we will continue the struggle for “bread and freedom”, the struggle for socialism. At the end of this struggle will be a Cyprus completely independent, sovereign, united, non-aligned, federal, demilitarised, a Cyprus common homeland of Greeks, Turks, Armenians, Maronites and Latins. A peaceful, happy socialist Cyprus!

Long live the unconquerable Cypriot people!

Long live the 60 years of KKK-AKEL!

Long live the 16th Congress of AKEL!

THE RESOLUTIONS AND MESSAGES OF THE CONGRESS⁹⁵

THE RESOLUTION TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF CYPRUS

Mister President,

The 16th AKEL Congress, which met in Nicosia, from 26-30 November 1986, after discussing the political and other problems facing the country, decides:

1. It demonstrates its full support for the fight for an independent, sovereign, integral, unified, federal, non-aligned and fully demilitarised Cyprus and calls on the government to follow this strategic line with faith and consistency. In this context, he condemns any action that violates non-aligned foreign policy and which tends to degrade or cripple Cypriot independence.

2. It emphasises its unwavering commitment to the solution of the Cyprus problem, which provides for peaceful procedures, within and under its auspices of UN. It supports the parallel process of inter-Cypriot talks to resolve the internal aspect of the Cyprus problem and convening an International Conference to resolve the external aspect and demands reliable international guarantees. Calls on the government to realise the fact that without an International Conference the Cyprus problem is not solved and, therefore, to take all measures for its implementation.

3. It categorically declares that the solution of the Cyprus problem must be based on UN resolutions and decisions and summit agreements. The Soviet Union proposals for a solution to the Cyprus problem, which must be taken advantage of, make a significant contribution in this direction. It is emphasised that no solution can be understood or accepted without the withdrawal of the Turkish and all other foreign troops and settlers.

4. It declares the wholehearted support of AKEL to every measure that promotes patriotic, democratic unity among Greek

⁹⁵ *ibid.*

Cypriots and the rapprochement of Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots.

5. It demonstrates the unwavering and militant support of the Akelists towards the demands of workers, peasants and other social strata of toilers and calls on the government to pursue a pro-people economy and social policy and to end the process towards the Cyprus-EEC customs union.

The 16th Congress of AKEL

TO THE G.S. OF UN PEREZ DE CUELLAR

Your Excellency,

The 16th Congress of AKEL, which met in Nicosia, from 26 to 30 November 1986, discussed the current situation of the Cyprus problem and submits to your Excellency the following:

1. It expresses deep concern and strong protest because, in violation of the resolutions of the United Nations and the Security Council, Turkey for the 13th year continues the military occupation of almost 37% of the Cyprus' territory, resulting in the continuing drama of 200 thousand refugees and especially the relatives of the missing.

2. It is particularly concerned and strongly condemns the ongoing illegal separatist actions of the Turkish Cypriot leadership regarding the establishment of an illegal "state" in the occupied territories of Cyprus with the support of Turkey, despite their condemnation by the United Nations and the Security Council.

3. It condemns the growing militarisation of Cyprus, with the aim of using it by NATO countries as a military bridgehead against the surrounding peoples. This is evident from the construction of American bases in the territories occupied by Turkey, intended for the "Rapid Development Force" and "Delta Force", the construction of a new US spy station, the British "sovereign" bases and port and airport facilities at Larnaca airport by the French and American forces, as well as recent transfer of British military force 5A5 to the bases of Akrotiri.

4. It insists on a peaceful and just solution within the framework of the UN, which will ensure the withdrawal of all Turkish occupiers and all other foreign military bases and facilities on the island, the departure of settlers, the fate of the missing and the right of return of refugees, Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots, in security conditions in their houses and properties. A solution that will ensure a fully independent, sovereign, united and territorially integral, federal, non-aligned and fully demilitarised Cyprus. A democratic and prosperous Cyprus for all its inhabitants and a bridge of peace in the region.

5. It expresses the belief that such a solution can and should be found within the framework of the UN and its decisions. For the inner aspect we insist on solution through intra-Cypriot talks, within the framework of the UN, on the basis of decisions and the Makarios-Denktash and Kyprianou-Denktash agreements, 1977 and 1979. For the international aspect of the Cyprus problem, we insist on convening an International Conference within the UN.

6. It expresses its appreciation for the efforts and the solution of the Cyprus problem, based on the mandate of the Security Council, calls on you, Your Excellency, to step up your actions for parallel procedures to resolve the aspects of the Cyprus problem, provided that they are interrelated and interdependent. A fair solution to the Cyprus problem will benefit not only the Cypriot people as a whole, but also the surrounding peoples and the cause of peace in our sensitive region and in the world.

The 16th Congress of AKEL

THE MESSAGE TO THE TURKISH CYPRIOTS

Dear compatriots,

On the occasion of the 16th Congress of AKEL, we address you on behalf of representatives and the thousands of members, represented at the Congress the sincere friendly feelings of the majority of Greek Cypriots and we express you a warm friendly greeting.

We know that the separation and the walls of hatred and division that set up by the enemies of our people, the imperialists and their institutions, separating our small common homeland in

the north and south, they created troubles for all of us, huge difficulties and problems that continue for over 12 years.

The main culprit and cause in the ongoing drama in Cyprus is imperialism and its interventions to serve its interests.

They are the ones who organised and maintain the Cypriot tragedy, with various conspiracies and intrigues maintain the situation and insert obstacles in the way of our people.

We consider it our duty to emphasise on this occasion as well, that despite our separation, despite our misfortunes, despite ongoing conspiracies and intrigues of the enemies of our country and people, we Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots have a historic duty and obligation to resolve the Cyprus problem, in the context of the real interests of our common homeland, Cyprus and the entire Cypriot people.

Relying on the undisputable fact that for centuries we lived together in friendship in our cities and villages in an atmosphere of trust and cooperation for progress and prosperity in our country and properly utilising our bloody common experience of recent years, we believe that we can and must solve our problems based on UN resolutions and summit agreements.

AKEL permanently supports and fights for the rapprochement of Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots in order to bring down the walls of hatred and division.

Our 16th Congress sends you a message of friendship and cooperation and invites to the common struggle, to thwart the plans of the enemies of the Cypriot people, to break the deadlock, to make good use of the possibilities of the help of the United Nations and the good services of the UN Secretary-General, for proper fair and a viable solution to the Cyprus problem, to build a Cyprus without military bases and foreign armies, common homeland of all its inhabitants in to build a peaceful, happy and prosperous future for all.

The 16th Congress of AKEL

THE RESOLUTION ON REFUGEES-MISSING- ENCLAVED

The resolution of the AKEL Congress on the missing, enclaved refugees, states:

The 16th Congress of AKEL that met in Nicosia from 26-30 of November 1986, after discussing the refugee, the drama of the missing and the conditions living conditions of the enclaved decides:

1. The refugee, which is the result of the double imperialist crime of the junta fascist coup and the Turkish invasion July 1974 is one of the most serious aspects of the Cyprus problem.

2. The Congress rejects them as non-existent and misleading the claims of representatives of the Turkish government and the Turkish Cypriot leadership, that there is no refugee problem in Cyprus. The refugee problem has existed since 1974 when Turkish troops forcibly uprooted a third of the island's population from their homes and property.

3. The 16th Congress considers that the continuation of the refugee problem for the 13th year is due to the refusal of Turkey, encouraged by imperialism to comply with the UN resolutions on the Cyprus issue, which provide for the withdrawal of the occupying troops and voluntary return of refugees. It is due to Turkey's reluctance to find a solution that guarantees the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus.

4. The 16th Congress considers that the refugee solution is directly linked with the solution of the political problem, which it supports in continuing the UN Secretary-General's efforts to end the current stalemate, to promote the procedures of intra-Cypriot talks and convening of an international conference within the UN, to seek a comprehensive solution to the Cyprus problem based on UN resolutions and summit agreements.

5. AKEL, as in the past, will continue to fight in the future for the guarantee of the right of return of refugees, for the solution of refugee problems, for their unity and solidarity around the Pancyprian Refugee Committee.

6. The 16th Congress supports the continuation and acceleration of efforts to determine the fate of the missing and to improve the living and handling conditions of the enclaved.

ON THE MIDDLE EAST

The 16th Congress of AKEL that met in Nicosia from 26 to 30 November discussed the situation in our neighbouring Middle East, with which the Cyprus issue is directly connected.

Expresses deep concern at the escalation of the ongoing Israeli-led invasion with the support of the US and its NATO allies against the Arab peoples, particularly against the Palestinian people and the people of Lebanon, where direct military intervention continues alongside the use of their reactionary armed instruments, pandering to civil war and fratricidal bloodshed.

Condemns the continued occupation of Arab territories and the brutal oppression of the Palestinians in the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip, as well as the Syrian occupation of the Golan Heights.

Condemns the US invasion of Libya by Jamahiriya, which violated the sovereignty of the country, international law and endangered peace in Mediterranean and the world.

Condemns the recent Israeli-British conspiracy. US against Syria which aims to isolate and strike this country which is the main resistance force of against imperialism, Zionism and the reaction in the Middle East.

Expresses concern over the ongoing Iran-Iraq war for the 7th year, which destroys the two peoples, benefiting only the imperialists and the Zionists, and especially the US arms monopolies, and calls for its immediate end.

It expresses its full solidarity with the Arab peoples who are fighting for the liberation of their territories.

Expresses support for Syria and Libya, which are the target of the Zionists imperialists because of their constant resistance to their invasion plans.

It expresses its full solidarity and support for the heroic Palestinian people and its legal representative, the PLO, in the law of the struggle for return and recognition of its national rights, including the right to establish its own sovereign state in Palestine. It expresses the hope for an end to the intra-Arab conflict in Lebanon and in particular for an end to the attacks on

Palestinian settlements and consolidate of the unity of the Arabs in the struggle against imperialism, Zionism and reaction.

Declares the constant opposition of the Cypriot people to the use of the British bases and Cypriot territory in general by the imperialists against to the friendly neighbouring peoples of the Middle East. The struggle for the complete demilitarisation of Cyprus is at the same time the best contribution in the struggle of its peoples and lasting peace in our region for a just solution in the Middle East.

The 16th Congress of AKEL

ON SOUTH AFRICA

The 16th Congress of the Progressive Party of the Working People, AKEL, with deep appreciation and admiration greets the heroic people of South Africa led by the African National Congress (ANC) and the rise of its liberation struggle against the racist regime of apartheid racial discrimination.

It notes with indignation and disgust the criminal orgy in which the regime of the white minority, which resorts to brutal violence and brutal oppression and indulges.

It demands an end to the regime of barbarism and anachronism, violence and the violation of human rights and all human rights dignity.

Condemns US-British imperialism and reactionary Western governments that silently or openly support the bankrupt Pretoria regime, while hypocritically stating the opposite.

It unites its voice with all the other voices of democratic humanity and demands the immediate release of the imprisoned heroic child of the South Africa and leader of the African National Congress, Nelson Mandela, who is today the undisputed moral force of resistance, courage and strength.

The 16th Congress of AKEL expresses the solidarity and conviction of the whole of the Cypriot people, the wish and hope for a short, happy victorious end to the unparalleled rugged struggle of the people of South Africa under its leadership, African National Congress. With each passing day, victory is closer.

The 16th Congress of AKEL

ON NICARAGUA

The 16th Congress of AKEL echoing the feelings of the Cypriot people, expresses deep concern about the continuing—in violation of the decision of the International Court of Justice and UN Resolutions—aggressive policy of American imperialism against the small but heroic Nicaragua.

It condemns this policy, which is expressed in support—militarily and financially—of the reactionary mercenaries “against” and that seeks to overthrow the legally and democratically elected government of the country.

Condemns any intention of immediate US military intervention, which seeks to enslave the country politically and economically, and to impede its independent democratic development.

The 16th Congress of AKEL expresses its full support to the heroic struggle of the people, who and under the leadership of EAM, Sandinista, and its leadership, fight for the building of a new society that seeks prosperity and happiness of the people of Nicaragua, and inspires the struggle of the peoples of Americas, for independence from US imperialism and for social progress.

The Cypriot people, who are fighting for their own independence and democratic development, give their full support to the struggling Nicaragua, welcomes the efforts of the Condadora group and calls on the entire peaceful progressive humanity to stand by the defenders of the national, national independent dignity, and the right of peoples to freely choose their own path of development.

Faithful to the ideals of peace, democracy and progress, the Cypriots Democrats stand by struggling Nicaragua until the final victory.

—Nicaragua will win.

—American imperialism will not pass.

The 16th Congress of AKEL

THE SEVENTEENTH CONGRESS OF AKEL (3-7 October 1990)

THE DECISIONS OF THE CONGRESS⁹⁶

THE POLITICAL DECISION OF THE 17th CONGRESS OF AKEL

The 17th AKEL Congress, which met from 3 to 7 October 1990 in Nicosia, has taken on particular importance from the particular international and local conditions in which it took place and from the fact that it was a milestone in the historical course of the Party.

The 17th Congress of AKEL was the culmination of many months of internal and public debate whose main goal was to shape its new face within the framework of new thinking, transparency and the modern perception of political life.

This ambitious goal was achieved by the 17th Congress after five days of reflection, a high-level debate, and most importantly, with democratic and transparent procedures in which the media also attended.

The delegates discussed freely expressing their will and approved the introductory speech by the General Secretary of the C.C. of AKEL, the “Positions to the Congress” the “Our Perception of Socialism “, the Report of the Central Audit Committee and the Report on the Party Finances. The Congress discussed and approved extensive amendments to the Party Statute, discussed and approved the Operating Regulations and finally elected C.C. and Control Audit Commission (C.A.C.) of the Party.

Concluding its work the 17th Congress discussed and approved the following political decision defining the main directions of party policy until the 18th Congress:

⁹⁶ Publications C.C. AKEL, *Materials and Other Documents*, 1990.

International Developments

1. The 17th Congress of AKEL notes with satisfaction the positive developments in international relations that lead to the end of the Cold War. The improvement of the international climate, the removal of the threat of a thermonuclear war and the development of international cooperation in the field of ecumenical and regional problems are a result of the new political thinking introduced into international relations by the Soviet Union and the long-standing and the unceasing struggle of the peoples for recession, peace and disarmament.

The new thinking with the new data it has created has an effect on developed western countries. The initiatives of the Soviet Union are also being echoed in the West, leading to the conclusion of concrete agreements and taking concrete practical measures in the field of disarmament, strengthening international security, consolidating world peace and developing international cooperation.

The process of international recession has not yet become irreversible. This requires the creation of a system of universal security, based on international law, capable of leading to the solution of universal problems and ensure lasting peace. Within the same framework, the prestige and effectiveness of the United Nations must be further strengthened.

2. The process of international recession and cooperation has created favourable conditions for resolving local and regional disputes. Some of them have already been resolved, or procedures have been launched that lead to their resolution.

The Cyprus issue is also an unresolved regional problem. The 17th Congress AKEL expresses the belief that the recession in international relations will ultimately have its favourable effects on the efforts made to solve our problem. It calls on the Government and the Parties to make even greater use of the new opportunities.

3. It is rightly given priority today to universal values and cooperation to solve the universal problems that threaten the destruction of civilisation of our planet. Universal values do not conflict with ideals of socialism. On the contrary, they are in line with them. And the solution of the ecumenical creates more favourable conditions for the realisation of socialist ideals.

Giving priority to universal values and cooperation for their solution does not mean that we abandon the class approach of issues, that we deny the class struggle or that we abandon our Marxist worldview. We reject the ideologicalisation of transnational relations as dangerous to international peace and the free expression of the will of the peoples, but at the same time we stand firmly on the principles of international solidarity. It does not escape our attention that imperialism has not changed its character. The peoples continue to fight against imperialism, neo-colonisation, racism, Zionism and reaction. The struggle of the democratic progressive forces for democracy, national dignity and social progress continues and intensifies. International solidarity was and remains vital to the success of these struggles. The 17th Congress reaffirms AKEL's international solidarity with the struggling peoples, the workers of all of the world and the progressive socialist forces in all countries.

4. The 17th Congress of AKEL, welcoming the positive developments in the international arena points out at the same time that some circles in the leading countries of the West, particularly in the United States, have not given up their pursuit of world domination. These circles seek to exploit to their advantage their political and economic instability in Eastern Europe and the great problems faced internally by the Soviet Union.

These aspirations pose great dangers to world peace and threaten to reverse the progress made in the post-war years on national independence and social justice.

5. In the more than 70 years of its existence, socialism has contributed a lot to the progress of the peoples who built it but also to humanity as a whole. This offer was expressed in their social gains of these peoples, in the development of science and culture, in the exploration of space, in the victory against Hitler fascism, in support of national liberation movements, in the development of the labour movement in the capitalist countries. Our Party rejects the tendency to nullify the 70-year course and offer. At the same time, however, it must be noted that socialism has not been able to develop the enormous possibilities it has objectively. The specific administrative-authoritarian model that was built was characterized by distortions of both theory and practice of socialism, the departure from democracy and Leninist values. The administrative-authoritarian model was gradually led to a deep crisis. The need arose for a revolutionary renewal of

socialism with directions of democratisation and transparency, the rejection of dogmatism and distortions, the restoration of Leninist values.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union realised this need under its new leadership, who inaugurated the policy of perestroika and the new thinking. Perestroika follows a difficult and contradictory course. In this course along with the full unfolding of democracy came to the surface and negative phenomena that threaten the unity of the Soviet Union, the perestroika and the future of socialism.

6. In the countries of Eastern Europe where the administrative dictatorial model had also prevailed, there was the same need for the renewal of socialism.

Unfortunately the leaderships of the Communist Parties in these countries have failed to see the need for democratic reforms in a timely manner. The administrative-authoritarian model collapsed and the initiative in some of these countries passed into the hands of forces that are methodising the restoration of capitalism. The conservatives anti-socialist forces are under attack while the socialist forces are retreating.

7. AKEL welcomed and supported from the beginning perestroika and new thought as a path of renewal of socialism. AKEL declared its readiness to creatively assimilate the new introduced by perestroika and implements this declaration with concrete measures. The 17th Congress of AKEL reaffirms our support for perestroika and new thinking. It expresses the solidarity of the Party with the CPSU and those forces of the Soviet Union society struggling to find solutions to current problems in the interest of socialism. The 17th Congress also expresses its solidarity with the forces of democracy and socialism in the countries of the Eastern Europe, which from the position of government or opposition are fighting to defend the ideals of socialism and the gains of the workers.

The 17th Congress also expresses the deep concern of the Party for the negative phenomena in the Soviet Union. We are optimistic that they will overcome the current problems quickly and the country will follow the path of renewed, democratic and human socialism.

8. The crisis of so-called existing socialism cannot, despite all the efforts made, the impasses faced by capitalism in overcoming its own unresolved contradictions. Capitalism despite the

adaptability it has shown and the use of achievements of the scientific and technical revolution, has not succeeded, nor can it solve its chronic problems. It remains at its core an exploitative, unjust social system suffering from permanent wounds such as economic crises, unemployment, deteriorating quality of life.

In developing countries, which are an integral part of the capitalist world, poverty, misery, hunger, illiteracy prevail. The prospects for these countries they deteriorating daily. Even in developed capitalist countries one third of the population lives below the official poverty line. The gap between developed and developing capitalists countries is constantly expanding at the expense of the latter creating an explosive situation that threatens world peace.

The omnipotence of international monopolies distorts bourgeois democracy. The selective and hypocritical application of human rights demolishes the myths of the apologists of capitalism.

Capitalism fails to answer the problems of the modern of humanity. It is for all these reasons that millions of people on our planet reject capitalism as the future of humanity.

For the same reasons, our Party rejects capitalism as eternal fate of our homeland. The 17th Congress declares once again that the ultimate goal of AKEL is to build a democratic society and of humane socialism in Cyprus.

Our Party, to the best of its ability, will contribute to the development of dialogue between the communist, socialist and workers' parties aiming at convening regional and wider meetings.

9. The crisis in the Arabian Gulf proves that the process of recession has not yet embraced the entire planet. At the same time, it demonstrates how dangerous regional conflicts can still be for world peace.

The 17th Congress of AKEL condemns in the most decisive way the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait and the annexation of that country. The Congress calls for the immediate withdrawal of Iraqi troops from Kuwait and rehabilitation of the independence and territorial integrity of the country. It considers removal of foreign troops from the region as a component of the solution to the crisis.

The Congress welcomes the resolute and practical way in which UN Security Council addresses Iraq invasion. At the same time, the Congress point to the hypocritical policy of the two measures and two stations, which Western powers follow in the Gulf crisis. In the case of Kuwait, they rush to defend even with

arms the authorities, as they claim, of International Law and the UN Charter, unreservedly condemning the attacker. In the case of Cyprus, occupied Palestine and elsewhere, they not only forget the same principles but they also maintain with their support invasion and the occupation of foreign territories.

With the crisis in the Arabian Gulf, it has upgraded the prestige of the UN. The importance given to the decisions of the International Organisation has also been upgraded and the need to implement these decisions in practice is now becoming more widely known. A favourable precedent is being set for the promotion of UN resolutions and other problems that remain unimplemented for years. The 17th Congress of AKEL calls on all UN member states, and in particular the permanent members of the Security Council, to work for the stabilisation and further enhancement of the prestige and efficiency of the UN.

10. The 17th Congress of AKEL welcomes the results of the Gorbachev-Bush meeting in Helsinki. It particularly welcomes the orientation of the two superpowers towards a peaceful solution to the Arab Gulf crisis and the commitment of the two Presidents to address the other problems in Middle East.

The 17th Congress expresses its fervent wish for a peaceful solution to the Arabian Gulf crisis on the basis of the implementation of the principles of the UN Charter, the rules international law and Security Council resolutions. The huge concentration of troops and ammunition in the Arabian Gulf raises legitimate concerns. The US effort to play the role of self-appointed observer of UN decisions and international gendarme is also a matter of concern.

CYPRUS

1. The 17th Congress of AKEL reaffirms the Party's position on the Cyprus issue, which it considers correct.

The Cyprus issue is a problem of invasion, occupation and foreign intervention. The treacherous coup d'état of the junta and EOKA II paved the way for the Turkish invasion and occupation. Of course, there is also the problem of normalisation of relations between the two communities and the joint formation of the federal structure of the State of Cyprus. We must not lose sight of

the fact there are forces that consciously promote the perpetuation of partition or double union.

The solution to the Cyprus problem must provide:

(a) The restoration and respect of the independence, sovereignty, unity, territorial integrity and the non-aligned Republic of Cyprus.

(b) The removal of the Turkish occupation troops, all foreign troops and the demilitarisation of Cyprus.

(c) The removal of settlers and the restoration of demographic composition of the Cypriot people, which today is dangerously altered by the mass settlement.

(d) The restoration and respect of human rights and fundamental freedoms of the Cypriot citizens. It is of paramount importance to safeguard the right of all refugees to return and to secure the right of free movement, establishment and property.

(e) The creation of a federal bi-communal, bi-regional Republic of Cyprus on the basis of internationally accepted principles and rules governing the functioning of the federal states.

(f) Ensuring expanded reliable international guarantees within the framework of the UN, excluding unilateral invasive rights.

(g) The creation of security conditions for all inhabitants without exception.

2. The Cyprus issue must be resolved on the basis of the principles of the UN Charter resolutions and decisions of the International Organisation and summit agreements of 1977 and 1979. The only acceptable framework for finding a solution to the Cyprus problem are the framework of the United Nations. Any other initiative should be in support of the UN efforts and be based on the resolutions of the International Organisation for Cyprus.

The proposals of the Greek Cypriot side of January 1989, in the elaboration of which AKEL played an essential and creative role, are the right one basis for seeking a solution to the Cyprus problem. The 17th Congress reaffirms the support of the Party to the principles of the solution of the Cyprus problem, which unanimously formulated by the National Council in December 1988 and the proposals of the Cyprus side of January 1989.

3. The Cyprus problem is a political problem and as such must be resolved by peaceful political means. Defensive armour is necessary. However, It should not absolutise the military factor and be an obstacle in the rapprochement and the peaceful solution of the Cyprus problem. The two aspects of the problem, namely,

domestic and international, have their own peculiarities, but at the same time. they are connected in such a way that they must be promoted in parallel. Any progress in resolving one aspect has a positive effect on the other and vice versa. The only way to resolve the internal aspect, which concerns the relations between the two communities and the structure of the federal state, is the inter-communal dialogue. The inter-communal dialogue, in order to be effective, must be substantial and not be conducted for the sake of dialogue.

Defensive armour is necessary. However, it should not absolutise the military factor and be an obstacle to rapprochement and peaceful solution of the Cyprus problem. In order to resolve the international aspect, the comprehensive internationalisation of the problem with the aim of convening an international conference on the Cyprus issue within the framework of the UN. In the context of internationalisation, assistance and support to the struggle of the Cypriot people must be sought every possible direction. The one-sided orientation towards certain countries or groups of countries pose enormous risks for the cause of our people for this and is rejected by AKEL. In the context of the further internationalisation of the Cyprus problem we must seek:

(a) The most active involvement of the Security Council in the search for a solution to the Cyprus problem.

(b) The stable recognition and treatment of the Cyprus problem as international regional problem and its permanent inclusion in the daily agenda of the USSR and USA talks at all levels.

(c) The shaking of the Cyprus problem in all international steps and organisations.

4. A necessary condition for the success of the struggle waged by the Cypriot people for the restoration of their independence and reunification of their homeland, but also a necessary condition for the viability of the desired solution, is the re-rapprochement of Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots. AKEL has been fighting for years to make the need for a rapprochement widely accepted and to be promoted in practical ways. Today, the need for rapprochement is accepted by almost the entire Greek Cypriot community, while it is also supported by large masses of Turkish Cypriots.

Cyprus is the common homeland of Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots. Cyprus can be saved with the joint struggle of Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots. AKEL faces our Turkish Cypriot

compatriots, especially those broad popular democratic masses, who oppose chauvinism and division, as rivals in the common struggle for the salvation of Cyprus and call on them to build together with the Cypriots a common front of struggle.

The 17th Congress reaffirms the Party's positions on rapprochement, the strengthening of our state entity, the common struggle front of the Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots, the political and economic equality within the Federation, as elaborated in the decision of the Plenary Session of the C.C. of AKEL in February 1989.

The 17th Congress of AKEL calls on the Party and the Cypriot people in general, Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots to continue and intensify the struggle for rapprochement and common struggle. The 17th Congress also calls for a struggle against chauvinism and for the isolation of those chauvinist forces in both communities, which continue to cultivate division, hatred and suspicion.

5. Obstacle to the solution based on peaceful, just principles of the Cyprus problem is Ankara, and the Denktash occupation regime.

Turkey, which has held 37% of the Cypriot territory for 16 years, has not abandoned the expansion, dichotomous policy to the detriment of Cyprus. The Turkish intransigence that led to the wreckage of the February 1990 meeting in New York is backed by those circles in the United States and other leading NATO countries that see Turkey as their loyal and valuable ally in the region.

The crisis in the Arabian Gulf has shown how wrong and hasty were the assessments of some to downplay Turkey's geostrategic importance in today's world. The West has not stopped considering Turkey as the guardian of their interests in the Middle East and as their base for the oil-rich countries of the Arab world. Turkey is for some Western circles a factor that can be exploited in relation to the unstable internal situation in the USSR, especially in the Republics inhabited by Muslim and Turanian populations.

Turkey is taking advantage of the role assigned to it by the leading countries of the West and, among other things, is intensifying it. The 17th Congress underlines the need for a realistic, pious and delusional analysis of the current role of Turkey and its alliances. The policy and the manipulations of the Greek Cypriot side, as well as the search for bases for our case in the international arena, must be guided by this analysis.

6. The Cyprus issue is in a dangerous impasse since the wreck of the meeting of the President Vasiliou with Mr. Denktash in New York. The Cyprus issue is in a dangerous impasse since the wreck of the meeting between President Vasiliou and Mr. Denktash in New York. The situation is further aggravated by the creation of new ones by Ankara and Denktash and the measures taken to consolidate the division, the assimilation of the occupied north by Turkey and the torpedoing of any possible solution. In order to prevent a new recurrence of the Cyprus problem and to create the conditions for progress, we must:

(a) The Turkish side to abandon the dangerous process of creating new accomplishments.

(b) Ankara and Denktash to annul their irrational conditions for the existence of two peoples in Cyprus with a separate right of self-determination.

(c) To abandon their dichotomous philosophy and politics by giving tangible samples that they are ready for a meaningful and effective dialogue on the basis of the UN resolutions and summit agreements.

7. The crisis in the Arabian Gulf has resulted, among other things, in upgrading the role and prestige of the UN. The principles of the UN Charter and international law came to the fore—even if Western interests were motivated. The need to respect UN resolutions was highlighted, and for the first time in decades, practical steps were taken to comply with the requirements of these resolutions. During their last meeting in Helsinki, Presidents Gorbachev-Bush pledged to address the other unresolved problems in the Middle East after the crisis in the Arabian Gulf. All this seen through the prism of the recession, which is embedded in international relations, create favourable conditions and precedents, which is the duty of Cyprus to use for the benefit of the cause of our people.

The 17th Congress of AKEL draws everyone's attention to the fact that there should be no illusions and it is expected that the same measures will be automatically adopted for Cyprus as those taken in the case of Kuwait. This is because, unfortunately, it is the interests that determine the policy, especially of the leading Western powers, and not the principles of law.

However, those conditions are being formed in the international arena that give us new foundations for claiming the

rights of our people. We have a duty to take advantage of these conditions.

8. The most tragic aspect of the Cypriot drama is the problem of the missing persons and the anguish of their relatives for the fate of their loved ones. It is cruel and inhuman 16 years after the tragedy of 74 to have people tormented with unanswered questions of life or death. The 17th Congress of AKEL, expressing the support and sympathy of the Party to the relatives of the missing, calls on the Party to continue working and contributing so that the process of determining the fate of the missing is finally efficient and to put an end to their anxious uncertainty.

The 17th Congress, expressing the feelings of solidarity and support of AKEL to the enclaved, calls on the Party to continue its efforts to defend their human rights, even now, to implement the relevant Vienna Agreement and to support them in their struggle to remain rooted in the land that gave birth to them.

The 17th Congress, expressing its solidarity with the refugees and victims of the coup and the invasion, calls on the Party to continue its efforts for a humane and dignified life of refugees for as long as they are away from their homes and for the relief of the suffering of the Cypriot tragedy.

9. Despite the adversity and the criticality of the times, the 17th Congress of AKEL addresses a message of optimism and faith to the entire Cypriot people that the Cyprus problem can be solved fairly in a way that meets the desires and interests of our people—Greek Cypriots, Turkish Cypriots, Maronites, Armenian and Latin. We can turn this feature into a reality, political leadership and people, with our own decisive, consistent and responsible struggle.

The 17th Congress calls on the leadership and the Party as a whole to be full of faith and self-confident struggle for the promotion of our Party's policy in the Cyprus issue.

The Foreign Policy

1. Cyprus was one of the founding member states of the Non-Aligned Movement. The Republic of Cyprus accepted the great support and solidarity of the Non-Aligned Movement in its struggle to repel foreign intruders and for survival. The Non-Aligned Movement were the mainstay of the struggle of our people and unimaginably strengthened the state entity of Republic of Cyprus.

In modern international conditions, the Non-Aligned Movement is looking for its own new face. AKEL believes that the Non-Aligned Movement has a lot to offer, especially in the case of recession and peace, but also in overcoming the enormous problems facing the "third world". Cyprus, with its pending problem, is in dire need of support of the great world of the Non-Aligned Movement.

The 17th Congress of AKEL, reaffirms the position of the Party that Cyprus should remain a member of the Non-Aligned Movement playing an important role in this, as in the past. AKEL will continue to consistently defend the non-aligned Republic of Cyprus and the non-aligned foreign policy and to fight against any attempts to abolish them.

2. For political, economic and social reasons and having in mind the interest of Cyprus and the workers, AKEL opposed the Customs Union and the accession of Cyprus to the EEC. The 17th Congress of AKEL reaffirms the correctness of this position.

Our position does not mean Cyprus' refusal to participate in the process of building a common European home. However, we do not equate the concept of the common European home with the EEC. We believe that a non-aligned Cyprus can make a more active contribution to building the common European home.

The submission by the Vasiliou government, with the consent of all political parties except AKEL, of an application for the accession of Cyprus to the EEC was a wrong and untimely action.

The submission of an application for membership, while it is not going to differentiate the positions of the EEC in favour of Cyprus, gave rise to Turkey and Denktash to methodise new accomplishments, which consolidate the division and torpedo the possibilities of a solution to the Cyprus problem.

3. The struggle of the Cypriot people is best served and the socio-economic progress of Cyprus is ensured by maintaining a non-aligned policy and developing multilateral, equal relations with all States and the various groups of States, including the EEC. The unilateral orientation towards the EEC carries risks for the struggle of the Cypriot people.

THE INTERNAL FRONT

1. Unity on the internal front is a precondition for the success of the anti-occupation struggle we are conducting. All Cypriot have patriots have a place in this struggle, with the sole exception of

those who have connected or consciously identified their interests with the enemies of Cyprus. AKEL has worked and is working consistently to build a solid internal resistance front and struggle of our people. The 17th Congress calls on the Party as a whole to continue to working on the cause of unity.

The unity can take many forms. It can be a unity of action on the handling of the Cyprus problem, it can take the form of wider programmatic convergences. One form does not contradict and does not exclude the other. The two forms may operate in parallel when there the conditions appropriate for this exist.

Unity of action is achieved within the National Council. With the given political forces on the Greek Cypriot side, AKEL believes that there is a potential for broader programmatic convergences in the democratic and progressive space. There is a special possibility of programmatic convergences with EDEK which is the closest ideological party to AKEL.

DISY's relations with the coup plotters and the far-right extremist elements, as well as the great political, ideological and class differences between AKEL and DISY make impossible a broader and very programmatic cooperation between the two Parties.

The 17th Congress expresses concern and condemns the revival of Grivism, Eocabidism and Unionism as well as attempts to distort historical reality.

AKEL will work consistently on the basis of the principle of parity and mutual respect both for the greatest possible consensus within the National Council and for the unity of the progressive and the wider democratic forces, believing that the achievement of programmatic convergences in this area will strengthen to a large extent the unity within our internal front and will contribute to the social and economic progress of the country and especially the workers. AKEL will also continue to work for the existence of a mild political climate on our internal front and the development of a civilized dialogue between political forces.

2. The election of the independent candidate G. Vasiliou for the office of President of the Republic, is a victory for the democratic and progressive forces of the country. AKEL played a pioneering role in this great victory. AKEL supported the G. Vasiliou on the basis of his election program. We judge and we will continue to judge the President Vasiliou and his government from the degree of implementation of its program, which in its first 2

1/2 years governance, basically, follows and implements successfully. The 17th Congress notes that President Vasiliou applied a new approach to the handling of the Cyprus issue, which won the trust of the international public opinion and contributed to the more active rapprochement of the two communities. New procedures for the operation and effectiveness of the National Council were adopted. Remarkable steps have been taken to overthrow the principles of meritocracy. An economic and social policy was launched, which promises more attention to problems of the popular strata.

At the same time, the 17th Congress points out that some actions and contradictions in the policy of the President and the government are contrary to the feelings and expectations of the workers and the democratic world.

Our Party's goal is to help President Vasiliou implement his programme and thus create the conditions for his re-election.

AKEL will continue to build friendship and cooperation relations with the President Vasiliou, always having as its sole guide the case of Cyprus and the interests of workers.

3. Since its reestablishment, with the election of George Vasiliou, the National Council has played a positive role in policy-making and decision-making on the handling of the Greek Cypriot side in the Cyprus issue. Despite the differences of opinion, it is natural that there are some problems that arise from time to time, with the contribution of all parties and the creative consensus stance of the President Vasiliou, the necessary consensus has been achieved for the efficient operation of the institution. AKEL has always maintained, a responsible, positive and creative attitude in the National Council. Our Party will continue to follow the same policy in the future, strengthening with all its might the institution of the National Council, which is proving necessary in the struggle that we are waging.

THE PARTY

1. AKEL, in its 65 years of life and activity, has offered invaluable services Cyprus and its people. The seal of our Party is found in the liberation struggles of our people and in the socio-economic struggles of the workers. AKEL with its offer was established in the consciousness of the Cypriot people as a national

force that is highly valued and beyond the space of the Left among the broadest democratic forces.

The Akelists, the friends and the followers of our Party have every reason and every right to feel proud of their Party. The 17th Congress addresses everyone with a militant, comradely greeting and invites them to work with renewed vigour for the further strengthening of the Party, realising that in this way they are performing a very serious political and patriotic task.

2. The AKEL, in its 65-year history, it was natural it to make mistakes in his policy and to have shortcomings in his work. The Party, however, had the power to see its mistakes in a self-critical spirit and is ready to continue to analyse its history in the same spirit. AKEL, recognising the shortcomings in its work, has fought and continues to fight to overcome them and to constantly improve. But neither the mistakes nor the shortcomings are the main feature of the life and history of the Party. On the contrary, AKEL is the only political party that has offered so much to the Cypriot people and especially to the workers. The 17th Congress resolutely rejects the efforts of the few those who try to reduce or even zero its 65-year offer, indulging in indiscriminate misconceptions. The 17th Congress categorically rejects the efforts made to identify the Party with other Parties abroad and shoulder responsibilities that do not belong to it.

3. The AKEL has always kept alive its ties with the popular masses, serving the interests of the workers. Democracy in the Party has not stopped working. Nevertheless, the situation that prevailed in the countries of Eastern Europe and that influenced to one degree or another the international communist movement did not leave our Party intact. This fact, together with the new demands that life incessantly creates, urgently highlighted the need for renewal and modernisation the Party as well as the expansion intra-party democracy.

The Party as a whole, leadership and base, realising this need, we have undertaken in recent years a great effort of renewal and modernisation of the Party.

- Based on the principles of Marxist-Leninist thought, free from distortions of the past and adapted to the present conditions,
- With an open mind ready to accept the new perestroika and new thought introduce into the theoretical thought and practice of socialism,

- With a creative approach based on our needs and circumstances.

- Without mechanistic, dogmatic copying of foreign experience.

AKEL is advancing steadily and surely on the path of renewal and modernisation. It expands internal party democracy, is exempt from prejudices and stereotypes, from outdated methods and mentality. It shapes his new face.

4. The 17th Congress welcomes the process renewal and modernisation as expressed in the concrete measures taken and the changes that have taken place in recent years.

- as expressed in the “Positions for the 17th Congress” and “Ours Perception of Socialism”.

- as it is expressed and institutionalised in the Articles of Association and the Rules of Procedure of the Party.

The 17th Congress emphasises that renewal and modernisation is an ongoing task that life itself and the needs of the struggle constantly place before us. Consequently, the 17th Congress completes a stage in the process of renewal and modernisation that will continue uninterruptedly on the basis of new data.

5. The 17th Congress underlines the vital importance of proper functioning of the governing bodies and the organisational mechanism, which must be based on collectivism, the rules of internal party democracy, the development of initiative, the collective and personal responsibility of each executive, the acceptance and exercise of responsible criticism and self-criticism.

The 17th Congress welcomes the upgrading of the role of the Party Group Base in shaping the policy and decisions of the Party and in dealing with local problems. The Congress emphasises the need to encourage the further development of the initiative in KOV and increased organised contact of Party bodies and executives with the people, in clubs, organisations, workplaces and other places.

The 17th Congress welcomes the progress made in the policy of the Party executives. At the same time, however, it points out the great and growing needs for executives, especially at the current stage of renewal, and emphasises the task for a planned and methodical policy, for the short term and long-term solution of the capital's staffing problem of the Party. It emphasises that the executives must be formed—and highlighted through the daily activity of the Party. The executives must be characterised by

pioneering thought and action, dedication to the principles and policy of the Party, the ability to assimilate the new, to guide and be also be taught by workers. The executives must be distinguished by integrity of the character and objectivity.

Phenomena of unworthiness, nepotism and familialism have no place in Cypriot Workers' Party.

In the field of ideological activity, the 17th Congress underlines the need to develop our own theoretical thinking based on the principles of Marxist-Leninist ideology but free from dogmatism. The development of theoretical thought will allow us to properly deal with the new problems that arise, to scientifically substantiate our positions and to present them convincingly. The development of theoretical thought can only take place in conditions of free dialogue and reflection, with respect for opposing views and with creative assimilation and exploitation of Marxist theoretical analysis in the international arena.

The 17th Congress welcomes the progress made in modernising the Party mechanism and the rise of science in our work. New sections have been created in the Party mechanism and new ways of working are being introduced. Despite the progress and in view of the growing needs, the 17th Congress considers that the procedures and the pace of modernisation of the Party mechanism should be accelerated.

The 17th Congress expresses its satisfaction for the utilisation of a wider circle of scientists-volunteers. The result of this utilisation combined with the best staffing of the mechanism is a series of scientifically substantiated studies on various issues, which help the Party to take the most correct positions in the hot problems of the people. Such a study concerns the social changes and the structure of Cypriot society. This study must be completed with its discussion in the Party bodies and its conclusions to be given to be used in our daily political-ideological work.

We are obliged by the evolution of life itself to constantly improve the media we have, not to be complacent with any successes we have in the field of self-government and we are constantly looking for new ways of mass enlightenment and information of the people. The 17th Congress of the Party notes with satisfaction the further improvement of the "**Dawn**" of the "**New Democrat**" and other publications of the Party. At the same time, it points out the vital need, even in view of the parliamentary elections, to further improve the printed

enlightenment and propaganda of the Party. Taking into account the current data and needs, the competent bodies of the Party must deal after the Congress with the issue of circulation and its further improvement "Haravghi" and the rest of the popular press, and the issue of exploiting the potential of private radio.

6. In the last year, AKEL suffered and its unity was tested by the well-known separatist group, which eventually withdrew from the Party. The 17th Congress notes with satisfaction that the efforts to divide and weaken the Party have failed. A small group of executives and members left AKEL. The Party, however, not only did not disintegrate but on the contrary, it is consolidating and continues the course of its renewal and modernisation, which its leadership and base have laid. The workers, the people of the Left, stood by their Party at the time of the ordeal, defended it as something of their own, and embraced with warmth and enthusiasm in the struggle for its further strengthening.

The Party, in a creative and fully democratic spirit, has dealt with the causes and reasons that caused these events and, drawing the necessary conclusions, is confidently proceeding with its renewal and modernisation.

The 17th Congress addresses a warm comradely greeting to the members, friends and sympathisers of AKEL. It congratulates them on the decisive and from a position of authority that faced a divisive movement. At the same time, it calls on them to continue to safeguard the unity and effectiveness of the Party, defending its ideological and organisational principles, defending its truly democratic function and political arguments. The 17th Congress welcomes the membership of the Party from March 1990 until today, of 735 new members and calls on the Provincial Organisations to intensify their action with the aim of further admission of members to the Party.

7. AKEL with its Parliamentary Group actively and constructively participates in the parliamentary life, defending inside and outside the Parliament the interests of the workers and the broad popular strata. The active and creative presence of AKEL in the House of Representatives must be continued and upgraded.

Parliamentary elections will be held in 1991. Our Party must prepare in time for the election. The 17th Congress instructs the competent bodies to proceed immediately with the procedures provided by the regulations for parliamentary elections and to prepare the Party mechanisms for pre-election work. The lists must

be drawn up in a timely manner of the candidates of the AKEL Left and to prepare the electoral programme. In new Parliament the AKEL Left will be represented by a renewed and strong group of MP.s. The democratic processes of selecting our parliamentary candidates would provide us a renewed, broad and strong ballot. The appreciation of the people towards our Party guarantees a strong presence of AKEL-Left in Parliament.

The 17th Congress invites the Party group, the friends and supporters of the Party, invites the Democrats who value AKEL and its offer to give with enthusiasm, faith and self-sacrifice the battle of the parliamentary elections.

THE MASS POPULAR MOVEMENT—THE MASS INSTITUTIONS

1. The Mass Popular Movement is a great conquest of the workers of our country. The mass popular organisations are claiming and defending the rights and entitlements of manual workers and intellectual work. They are the places of education of the popular fighters. Through them, the positions and politics of the Left reach the wider strata of the people while at the same time becoming the daily recipients of problems and concerns, concerns and expectations of the people.

In the mass People's Movement, the members of the Party must play a role pioneering role. A role they must conquer on a daily basis through their work, consistency and commitment to defending the public interest.

The 17th Congress sets the task for the Akelists to upgrade their presence and contribution to the mass popular movement. At the same time, the 17th Congress imposes on the Akelists the task of joining and intensify the creative presence and contribution to the various mass organisations in addition to organisations of the popular movement.

2. The 17th Congress appreciates the action and the successes of the progressive class trade union organisation of PEO. The Congress expresses its appreciation and his satisfaction, for the fact that the PEO remains stable in its class and its ideological positions. Facing the efforts for its disintegration successfully, it remains an independent and autonomous trade union organisation but at the same time, an integral part of the Popular Movement, as it has been since its inception and as its tens of thousands of members want it.

The Congress noting the great socio-economic changes that takes place in Cypriot society calls on the Akelists—its members and executives of the wider trade union movement to adapt their work to the new conditions. In particular, it calls on them to pay more attention to the approach of workers and employees that must be done in a way that responds to new data and perceptions.

The 17th Congress emphasises the primary task of the Akelist trade unionists is to vigorously and consistently defend of the gains of the working class, to organise the struggle for new demands and the class education of workers. Toxicity in the approach to problems should distinguish the Akelistis-trade unionist. At the same time, special emphasis should be placed on the question of the unity of action of all trade unions, which is a powerful weapon of the workers.

3. The Congress expressing the appreciation of the Party for the activity of EDON, emphasises that the effects of the rapid socio-economic changes are particularly felt among the youth. Consequently, the Party must pay more attention to youth issues and provide even more assistance to EDON for more effective activity. The organisational independence as well as the initiative of EDON organisations must be strengthened so that their activity better meets the modern requirements and the promotion of the problems faced by the new generation.

4. The Union of Cypriot Peasants carries out a very important work among Cypriot peasants defending their interests. With its own contribution the class and political alliance of workers and peasants is forged.

The Akelist members of the agrarian movement must concentrate their attention on the proper treatment of the problems of the rural world. The Party will should provide more assistance in analysing these problems and in looking for the most appropriate solutions.

5. The 17th Congress, appreciating the activity of POGO among democratic women, finds that the current conditions require more attention and assistance to the women's movement. The Party must assist POGO in trying to adapt and upgrade its work to meet modern conditions and requirements. Women must be encouraged and helped to take their rightful place in Party bodies and public life.

6. The interest that our Party has always shown for the middle classes and its struggles to defend their interests is the solid

foundation on which the alliance of workers and middle class is built, so necessary for the political, social and economic struggles of our people.

The task of the Party and the Popular Movement is:

(a) To affirm the community and affinity of the interests of the middle classes with the working class and the peasantry.

(b) To contribute through Party members to the further massification of the organisations and layers of the middle classes in the study, classification and prioritization of their problems.

(c) To raise these issues to the competent bodies, inside and outside Parliament and to fight together with the middle class to claim their just demands.

(d) To carefully take into account their own interests in shaping the general policy and tactics of the Party.

7. AKEL played a pioneering role in the establishment of the Cooperatives Institutions. He fought for the further development of the Cooperative Movement and its democratisation.

The main task of AKEL and its executives who work in this field in the current conditions is to defend and develop the Cooperation, its further democratisation and consolidation for its benefit of the broad strata of the Cypriot people.

8. For 16 years, AKEL executives play a decisive role in the mobilisations of refugees a solution to the Cyprus problem and for return, in the organisation of the refugee world, in the promotion and solution of refugees problems. The 17th Congress of AKEL invites the refugee members and friends of the Party to make their creative presence and contribution to the Pancyprian Refugee Committee, the Local Committees and the refugees associations.

For the more democratic representation of refugees in the refugee committees at all levels, AKEL has elaborated and submitted a specific proposal based on the simple analogue. The Congress calls on the Party to work for the implementation of this proposal.

9. Our Party stands firmly on the Marxist-Leninist principle of internationalism. We gratefully accept international solidarity and consider it our honour to express our solidarity with our workers of other countries and the struggling peoples. In the current conditions characterized by rapid changes in international relations should help the Peace and Solidarity Movement to adapt its ways and its working methods so that it continues to meet its

destination. The Peace and Solidarity Movement must remain at the centre of our attention.

10. Local and neighbourhood associations are a great legacy of the Popular Movement with a significant contribution. In modern conditions, their work needs to be drastically adapted to meet the current demands of the youth and workers, in order to become places of healthy employment and living centres for the promotion and solution of local problems.

THE ECONOMY OF CYPRUS

THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS

1. The economy of Cyprus, especially in recent years, has grown at a very fast pace. The country was led to a stage of development that ranks among the countries with average capitalist development. The material and technical base of the production was greatly expanded and modernised. Cyprus' participation in the international division of labour has increased. The standard of living of the people rose significantly, a fact that was achieved thanks to the class struggles of the workers in whom the contribution of our Party and the Popular Movement is invaluable.

2. Although the various sizes of the Cypriot economy show a positive development, there are nevertheless serious problems, some of which are chronic and acute. Such problems are the distorted structure of the economy with the one-sided development of services and tourism, the deficit of public finances and trade balance, the competitiveness of our products that is not at the desired levels.

3. The main and decisive factor in our assessment of the course of the Cypriot economy is the degree of satisfaction of the economic, social and intellectual needs of the people. Our Party is not just a spectator of economic developments. To continue to propose its own solutions with its own contribution and intervention to positively influence the course of the Cypriot economy always guided by the general interest of the country but especially the interests of the popular strata.

The 17th Congress declares that we are ready to contribute to the elaboration of a broader policy that will contribute to the

consolidation of the public finances, to the fairer distribution of all economic burdens and to the solution of other problems.

The 17th Congress demonstrates the Party's opposition to the efforts of certain bourgeois circles for a method of complete privatization of the state sector and semi-governmental organisations.

4. The debate on tax reform has recently begun in Parliament. Our Party, after an internal Party dialogue, taking into account the state of the economy and the positive elements of the tax reform proposed by the government, decided to support it, but setting certain conditions. The 17th Congress calls on the AKEL-Left Parliamentary Group to work so that the popular proposals and conditions submitted by our Party find their place in the tax reform.

5. It does not mean economic growth without a satisfactory solution of the economic and social problems faced by the people.

- the provision of satisfactory housing in terms of quantity and quality for all.

- securing employment for the unemployed and underemployed of young scientists.

- the revision of the minimum wages and the upgrading of the standard of living of the low paid,

- lowering the retirement age for workers in heavy and unhealthy occupations for women in the 60th year,

- the expansion and quality upgrade of the provided health services, in order to serve all the people to the greatest possible extent,

- the improvement of social benefits and the resolution of just demands of the pensioners,

- the modernisation of general, secondary and technical education and the short operation of the University,

- the protection of the cooperative movement,

- taking measures to revitalise life in the countryside,

- taking measures to protect competition and consumers.

AKEL will continue to work inside and outside Parliament to promote and solve the above social and economic problems facing our people.

The 17th Congress expresses its support for the position of trade unionist movement on introduction of labour. It also notes that the problem can be addressed with the employment of Turkish Cypriots workers. Our Party will constantly monitor the situation on

this issue and in cooperation with the trade union movement will form the corresponding position based on the conditions that will be created.

EDUCATION

AKEL views the problems of education through the prism of the goals that the Cypriot education must have. To shape, that is, tomorrow's responsible democratic citizens, tomorrow's creators of material goods and intellectual wealth. At the same time, our education must form fighters for the struggle against the occupation and for the reunification of our homeland and our people.

Through this confrontation, AKEL proposes specific measures for the upgrading of the education of the country. We attach special importance to the cultivation of democratic perceptions and healthy patriotism, to the fight against chauvinism and to the cultivation of the rapprochement of Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriots from school desks.

The 17th Congress welcomes the announcement of the Ministry of Education for the writing of an objective school aid for the modern history of Cyprus.

The 17th Congress welcomes the progress made in the establishment of the University and at the same time expresses its concern about the complications that arise in this matter, especially with regard to its construction site. AKEL believes that a place can be found for the construction of the university without burdening the State with exorbitant costs. It will fight for the University to be finally shaped in a way that serves all the inhabitants of Cyprus.

There is a need to upgrade secondary and technical public education and the institutionalisation of free student unionism, an issue for which an AKEL bill is pending in the House of Representatives. The Congress is in favour of the election of the School Euphrates and at the same time of the overall study of the institution in order to better serve its important mission.

The Party must complete the proposal it is working on for the education of the country without delay.

THE SPORT

Sport is a broad and diverse social phenomenon for which all social actors, including the Parties, have a duty to be interested in and work towards its proper development.

We are faced with the task of upgrading and modernising the presence and the interference of our Party in the sport of the country in order to contribute to its development. With our intervention we do not seek partisan benefits from sports. On the contrary, AKEL declares that it will continue to work for the de-partisanship and consolidation of Cypriot sports. At the same time, we will continue to work for the democratisation of the Cyprus problem breaking the closed circuits and the guarantee in practice the right of every citizen to engage freely in sport.

The 17th Congress invites the AKEL-Left Parliamentary Group to work for the promotion of the bill submitted by our Party to the Parliament for the democratisation of Sports and to support other legislative regulations that aim in the same direction.

The 17th Congress invites the competent Office of the C.C. to complete as soon as possible the study it is preparing for the organisation, cultivation and development of sports so that its conclusions can be used for sports policy of the Party.

THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT

The institution of local self-government is a conquest in which AKEL's contribution was special. Through the local self-government and the work of the elected representatives of the Left in it, our Party implements its social policy. The primary goal of the elected Akelists in the local government must be the implementation of programmes on the basis of which people honoured them with their vote.

The 17th Congress urges the task of our own contribution to the effort to further democratisation of local self-government and secure its independence through the necessary legislation, as well as to ensure the necessary financial strength.

A study on the finances of the Municipalities has already been prepared in this direction. The 17th Congress, expressing its appreciation for the progress made in our work for the local self-government, invites the competent Office of C.C. to complete the

study on the necessary changes to the existing legislation on local self-government to proceed with the submission of a relevant bill.

THE CULTURE

AKEL's contribution to the development of culture in our country has been important. The cultural contribution and creation of Akelist artists and intellectual people is invaluable.

As in all areas of our action, so in culture, it is necessary to upgrade our intervention and contribution, something that has already begun to take place. The needs of our time impose the task of organising cultural affairs in Cyprus and especially the organisation of the progressives creators.

The 17th Congress welcomes the dialogue that our Party has begun with the creators. The Congress, expressing the feelings of the Party as a whole, reaffirms the commitment that AKEL will stand close to the creators, embracing them with love and understanding, in a common effort of cultural rebirth of the country.

The 17th Congress expresses its appreciation for the initiative of our Party to prepare a comprehensive proposal for the creation of a Central Body of Culture as well as for the dialogue that is developing with the creators on this issue. At the same time, the Congress criticises the Government, which, despite its pre-election commitments to establish a Central Body of Culture has not fulfilled its promises.

THE ECOLOGY

The environmental and ecological problems are now among the universal problems facing humanity. The untimely and effective treatment will result in ecological destruction of our planet and consequently of human civilisation.

Cyprus is also facing ecological and environmental problems that are constantly emerging and intensifying despite the growing interest of the Government of Vasiliou. The situation requires the upgrading of the declared interest of the Party and its most decisive intervention for the protection of the environment, for the further improvement of the living conditions of our people.

Specific objectives of our Party are the formulation of a proposal for an alternative development programme, the adoption

of integrated legislation on the environment as well as the creation of an effective mechanism for its control and implementation, the development of environmental awareness, its implementation of urban planning and spatial planning law, to regulate the working environment and factory pollution as well as other measures to upgrade the environment.

The Party should cooperate with the of environmental and ecological organisations in the issues of preservation and protection of the environment and involve wider the masses of the people in the promotion of this serious and urgent task.

THE RESOLUTIONS AND MESSAGES OF THE CONGRESS⁹⁷

THE MESSAGE TO THE CYPRIOT PEOPLE

Male and female Compatriots,

On the occasion of the 17th Congress of AKEL, we cordially address all of you a fighting greeting.

With this Congress, through our goals and orientations, we believe that we express the working people, all of you, who with the hard and unceasing work you produce the material and spiritual wealth of our country.

Applying full democratic procedures, transparency and meritocracy, AKEL emerges from its historic 17th Congress, renewed, strong and with such institutions that promote democracy and new thinking. A fruitful and constructive dialogue was developed at the Congress, the main feature of which was reflection, conscientious criticism, appropriate suggestions and respect of the opposite point of view. AKEL is on the path of modernisation and a renewed course.

AKEL, a pioneer in all the struggles of the people for democracy, prosperity and freedom, has left its mark on all its victories. That is why today we can express as much as any other political force in the country, the new demands for democratic education, for a national health plan, for affordable housing, for cultural-artistic creation, for free mass sports, for environmental protection, for strong local self-government, for new forms of self-government, for upgrading citizens' rights, for social benefits and meritocracy, for a new quality of life.

The great changes that took place in the Soviet Union with perestroika brought about a global convocation for peace, cooperation and understanding. AKEL has always been and is in favour of peace and cooperation between peoples and nations.

Concern for the fate of humanity is growing and justifiably people around the world are waiting for developments for the

⁹⁷ *ibid.*

better. This does not mean that the dangers disappeared. The forces of war and oppression remain strong.

But we are sure that the struggles of the peoples will be justified, along with our struggle for a Cyprus that is territorially integral, federal, independent, and demilitarised. This will be done both with international support and in connection with the liberation of the peoples of the region from oppression and dependence, as well as with unity and understanding of the internal front.

Our Party, deeply committed to democracy and democratic methods, which are a long tradition for the popular movement, extends a hand of friendship and cooperation to all our working compatriots—Greek Cypriots, Turkish Cypriots, Armenians, Maronites and Latins.

In the struggle to find a just and sustainable solution that will consolidate sovereignty and independence of Cyprus and that will solve their serious problem of refugees, with the right to return missing and enclaved, everyone has a place—everyone who have not associated or identified their interests with the enemies of Cyprus.

Today, as never before, new perspectives of cooperation of the progressive, democratic forces are opening up all over the world, in their struggle for a more just and more humane society, worthy of the socialist vision that always remains alive and unfulfilled. This is the great desire of all workers for a world free of exploitation, oppression and injustice, for political and social equality, for respect and guarantee of human rights and freedoms, for peace, democracy and progress.

We are throwing all our forces in this fight. Our long-term and consistent offer guarantees continuity. A continuum enriched with new thinking, the correct assessment of reality, the experience of mistakes and omissions. United, renewed and strong as never before we continue.

AKEL, the Party that was born from the people and fights for the people, will always be its shield and its spear in the great struggle.

The Bureau Nicosia, 7/10/1990.

THE MESSAGE TO THE TURKISH CYPRUS

Dear Turkish Cypriot compatriots.

The 17th Congress of AKEL, which meets in Nicosia from 3-7 October 1990, sends you a warm greeting.

Our Congress, bearing in mind the serious risks posed by the impasse in which the Cyprus issue is located and which lead to solutions contrary to the wishes and interests of our people, Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots, underlines once again our determination to continue to stand on the ramparts of the fight against the common enemy.

- To tear down the walls of hatred and division that of imperialism and the enemies of Cyprus erected between us.

- To justify the common goals and aspirations that are none other than an independent, united, non-aligned, federal and demilitarised Cyprus, a Cyprus of prosperity for all the people—Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots—without the dangers posed by the foreign military presence.

The Congress considers the success of this struggle for a peaceful, just and a lasting solution within the UN framework depends on the reunification and the promotion of reconciliation and cooperation between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots.

AKEL is proud because, in its 64 years of life and activity, it has consistently fought against the conspiracy efforts of Great Britain, the United States and other NATO forces. It clashed with nationalism and chauvinism and worked tirelessly for the peaceful coexistence and cooperation of the two communities on the basis of the objective need for a common struggle.

In the critical days that our country is going through, let us join forces and with one voice let us demand:

Take all necessary measures to re-approach and isolate chauvinism.

Let us join hands to save our homeland.

To bring peace, happiness back to our martyr island.

To ensure to all future generations a common, peaceful prosperous homeland, in which friendship and cooperation reign.

The Bureau Nicosia, 7/10/1990.

TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF CYPRUS

Your Excellency, The 17th Congress of AKEL that met in Nicosia from 3 to 7 October, 1990, reaffirms the Party's position that it will continue to support every effort towards the implementation of the electoral programme of your Government.

The Congress considers that we are going through a particularly difficult period for our political problem as a result of the failure of the inter-communal talks following the unacceptable dichotomous positions and conditions of Denktash and Ankara. We believe that Security Council Resolution 649 is a reaffirmation at a critical juncture in the international community's firm position for a just and a lasting solution to the Cyprus problem based on UN Resolutions and decisions and summit agreements. The resolution is a clear rejection of Denktash's demands for recognition of his illegal state.

We are convinced that the international community can play an essential role in the effort to resume a meaningful dialogue, aimed at a just, sustainable and comprehensive solution to the problem. A new dialogue would have no meaning without the Denktash's withdrawal of irrational claims and his substantial commitment, on the agreed principles.

We firmly support the full implementation of the action plan approved by National Council, including an appeal to the Security Council and the UN General Assembly in due course, with the aim of the Security Council more actively intervening to resolve the Cyprus problem.

We do not agree with the one-sided orientation of our international mobilisation in the context of the West. Given the negative role that leading Western countries have played and continue to play in the Cyprus issue, as the importance they attach to maintaining their good relations with Turkey, we believe the natural orientation of Cyprus must be to take advantage of the support of all peaceful forces, especially of our traditional friends.

We are convinced that the application of Cyprus to join the EEC both in terms of the time of its submission and in terms of its substance will not contribute in strengthening the position of Cyprus. Instead of moving away from their non-aligned area which

is the natural orientation of our country will have negative consequences. At the same time, there will be negative effects on the economic and social sector that will break out at the expense of workers' standards of living.

We are convinced that the efforts rapprochement and joint action with the democratic forces of the Turkish Cypriots must continue and intensify based on the common desire and the common goal of an independent, federal and democratic Cyprus with guaranteed human rights for all its citizens. To this end we consider it necessary for your government to take concrete measures without further delay, with perseverance and patience.

In such difficult conditions that our country is going through, the strengthening of the internal front is a vital necessity, we consider the reopening of the National Council that was achieved after your election is a significant success that serves the interests of our struggle. Of particular importance in the unanimity reached in the proposals given by the Greek Cypriot side for a solution to the Cyprus problem, which in our opinion is a strong basis for unity of action on the internal front.

At the same time, however, we are seriously concerned about the efforts of the far-right to bring back to the political life of the country, situations related to the treacherous coup of July 15, 1974, reviving the chauvinistic slogans that brought so much misfortune to our country. We declare categorically that unity on the internal front has nothing to do with the atonement of the coup leaders in the name of a misunderstood "national reconciliation". On the contrary, such a thing could only upset the feelings of the democratic people of Cyprus.

Considering it very important for a people not to forget its history but much more to have the opportunity for young people to get acquainted with it, we believe that the requirement for objective writing and teaching in our schools of modern Cypriot history, must be immediately implemented.

Your Excellency. Despite the progress of our economy and the gains of the Cypriots workers as a result of their many years of struggle, we believe that many problems still remain unresolved. It would be an omission if we did not point out that the continuous improvement of the standards of living of the people is at the same time important factor in strengthening the hard struggle that we are waging.

The tax reform must take seriously the need to alleviate the tax relief of the lower paid strata of the people. AKEL has already formulated its proposals and will fight hard for their adoption.

We believe that the government must take more decisive social policy measures in health, education, housing, transport and other areas of social life to relieve workers and improve their quality of life. The social policy of the state must take into account the modern needs of the people for an integrated cultural and intellectual development, for the establishment of democratic institutions of participation, for transparency and meritocracy in the general functioning of public life.

The government must take bold and comprehensive measures to protect the environment so that development is not done to its detriment and without financial interests coming higher than the quality of life of the Cypriot citizen.

Appreciating your efforts against bureaucracy in the state apparatus with the aim modernising and upgrading it, we point out the need to implement specific measures. We consider that the recourse to the privatisation of public sector is not a solution to the problems of the public sector.

The 17th Congress of AKEL appreciates all the positive steps taken by your the government both in the handling of our political problem and in the upgrading of the quality of life of Cypriot workers. We assure you that AKEL will actively support every effort of your government in the direction of strengthening the popular gains and for a just and sustainable solution of our political problem, for the withdrawal of the occupying and all foreign troops and the safeguarding of human rights within an independent, federal Cyprus common for all its inhabitants.

The Bureau
Nicosia. 7/10/1990.

TO THE UN SECRETARY GENERAL JAVIER PEREZ DE CUELLAR

You excellency.

The 17th Congress of AKEL that met in Nicosia from 3 to 7 October 1990 submits the following to you:

1. Welcomes the positive changes in the international climate and the new political thinking which tends to dominate in dealing with international affairs. The reconciliation and joint action of all the countries of the world is today more than ever necessary for addressing the acute ecumenical problems that threaten the very existence of life on our planet.

In the new international climate that is being created, it is hopeful that political, peaceful methods of dealing with problems are constantly gaining ground at the expense of the military confrontation. Particularly important is the improvement in US-Soviet relations, which has significantly removed the threat of nuclear war, which raises hopes among the peoples for a just and peaceful solution to regional problems based on the principles of international law and the UN Charter.

2. In the new conditions, it looks forward to a substantial upgrade of the role of the UN and its bodies for a universal security system for all the peoples of the world based on the universally accepted principles of international law.

The crisis in the Persian Gulf has confirmed the vital need for such an upgrade and expects that the UN will act in Cyprus in a similar way as and in the case of Kuwait to ensure the practical implementation of its decisions on Cyprus.

3. It condemns in the strongest terms and expresses deep concern at the continued occupation for 16 years of 37% of the Cypriot territory by Turkey, which defiantly insists on refusing to comply with successive UN and Security Council resolutions.

It considers that the continuation of the occupation of part of a UN member state by another country is an obvious anachronism that undermines efforts for the establishment of international peace and security and is in line with the new international climate that is being created.

4. It is particularly concerned about the continuing impasse in the Cyprus issue due to the intransigence of Denktash and Ankara and the unacceptable conditions they set.

It considers that Security Council Resolution 649, which rejects the terms of the Turkish side and reaffirms all previous resolutions on Cyprus, must be accepted in practice by the Turkish government and the Turkish Cypriot leadership. The withdrawal of unacceptable terms and the return to agreed basis that are the UN Resolutions and the Summit Agreements are a prerequisite for a new dialogue to have a chance of success.

In this direction, more active involvement of the UN Security Council is necessary, which can play a serious role in the resumption of a meaningful dialogue that will lead to real progress on the Cyprus problem.

5. It expresses deep concern about the continuing settlement of the occupied territories as well as with the recent actions of Denktash and Ankara aimed at annexing the occupied territories to Turkey.

It particularly points out the threats for the immediate settlement of Famagusta and the taking further separatist measures that will create new completed and serious complications in the effort for a fair and sustainable solution to the Cyprus problem.

The unacceptable attitude of the Turkish side in relation to the highly humanitarian issue of determining the fate of the missing intensifies the drama of their relatives in an unacceptable manner and contrary to international law and new thinking.

6. It insists on a peaceful solution within the framework of the UN on the basis its decisions, 1977-1979 Summit Agreements and the proposals of the Soviet Union in January 1986 to ensure the withdrawal of all Turkish occupation troops from Cyprus, the withdrawal of the settlers, and the right of refugees to return to their homes and properties.

The solution it seeks must ensure an independent, non-aligned, territorially integral, federal and demilitarised Cyprus with guaranteed human rights for all its citizens.

7. It believes that an international conference under the auspices of the UN in which the Security Council will play an important role, can play a decisive role in the settlement of the international aspects of the Cyprus problem and in the peaceful settlement of the problem.

8. It expresses its appreciation for your many years of efforts for the solution of the Cyprus problem and calls on Your Excellency to continue and intensify your actions based on the mandate of the Security Council to offer good services for a just, permanent and sustainable solution to the Cyprus problem.

THE SPECIAL DOCUMENT OF THE CONGRESS

OUR CONCEPT OF SOCIALISM⁹⁸

PROLOGUE

Humanity is walking through a difficult path full of contradictions in the 21st century.

As we move towards 2000 we are witnessing radical changes all over the world, in all areas of life. Changes in the economic, political and general social spheres. Changes in the means of production, in the natural environment and in human consciousness. Particularly shocking are the changes in the world that have historically been recorded as existing socialism.

Beyond the opposition between peace and war, beyond the opposition between of the two social systems, and between capital and labour, new contradictions have been brought to their peak, such as the opposition between man and the world that surrounds him. Between developed and developing countries. Between two-thirds and one-third of the population of developed countries and others.

Through all these changes, the hot questions inevitably arise: What is the place of socialism in the world and what is its future course? These questions are inextricably linked to the related question, what is our perception for socialism?

The diversity of socialist development is both inevitable and understandable, due to the diversity of life and the peculiarities of each country and people, but also the complexity of this course. A complexity that is a fruit of the thinking and action of millions of people.

Having in mind all this the peculiarities of the Cypriot reality, we will present our own conception of socialism without missing a single moment of the current phase of our political problem and

⁹⁸ Publications K.E. AKEL, *Our Perception of Socialism*, 1990.

the primary need for a permanent, just and lasting solution to the Cyprus problem.

Forming our own conception of socialism we cannot forget the realities of the world. That is, socialism and capitalism do not exist in a vacuum, but are two different components of a single world.

In addition, we cannot miss the fact that on the one hand socialism must incorporate what humanity has created best to date and will create in the future and on the other hand, gives a new perspective, a new one quality of life centred on man himself.

Before proceeding to formulate our own conception of socialism, we emphasise that beyond certain basic principles the other points made in this proposal are subject to enrichment and change based on the experiences and the theoretical elaboration that will be accumulate over time.

In formulating our own proposal we consider it necessary to consider the theoretical, historical background of the socialist idea. This can be done by giving our assessment of the ideological roots of socialism, its historical position of capitalism and socialism as they appeared in their practical application and of the complexity and rivalry of the modern world.

A. THEORETICAL AND HISTORICAL APPROACH

1. IDEOLOGICAL SOURCES OF SOCIALISM

(a) Marxism and world culture

The emergence and development of Marxism was not a random historical event but an objective law. Marxism emerged as a result of the development of the capitalist social system and the formation of the social classes, the appearance on the historical stage of the working class, the great discoveries made in the field of science in the late 18th century, early 19th century and the development of the social sciences and humanities.

Marxism appeared as a direct continuation of the teachings of the greatest thinkers in the fields of philosophy, political economy and utopian socialism. Marxism is not just a synthesis of already existing theories, but a qualitatively new stage in human thought that is not a dogma given once forever, but a theory that develops

creatively. The most important stage of its development was Leninism.

Marxism as a worldview helps in the analysis and understanding of the social becoming, while as a methodology it is a weapon in the hands of the workers in their daily economic and political struggle, in the struggle to change the exploitation system and building a new society.

(b) Social Democracy

Social democracy as a current in the labour movement unites in its lines various tendencies from consistent supporters of the socialist vision to simple managers of the capitalist economy.

We appreciate the contribution of social democracy to the development of values and dissemination of the ideas of socialism. We appreciate its contribution to the implementation social reforms, which have helped to increase prosperity and social protection of workers in some capitalist countries.

It is in this spirit that we study the rich and multifaceted, though contradictory, experience accumulated by social democracy, and we try to make use of everything positive, both in daily practice and in the formulation our own conception of socialist society.

Although the power of social democracy did not lead to qualitatively new stage in the development of society, because it did not lead to the liberation of workers from exploitation in the face of social democracy we see allies in the struggle for peace and disarmament, environmental protection, social progress and the transition to socialism.

(c) Leninist conception

Both the social democracy and in general the whole knowledge and practice of the labour movement but also of the wider global progressive movement is for us a source of reflection and experience. Undoubtedly, however, a dominant point in this field is Leninism, which is a qualitative stage in the development and enrichment of Marxism. The critical examination of Leninist conception of socialism but at the same time the pointing out of its divergences and distortions are a necessary vital component of the

theoretical and historical approach as well as the questions which this proposal is called upon to answer.

The Leninist conception of socialism is the most important source of the modern dialectical view of socialism. The main elements of this perception are the following:

1. Strategy and tactics of social change.
2. Workers power.
3. Leadership of the workers' party through political leadership, won on the basis of daily struggles for the working people.
4. Planning the national economy within the framework of the laws of planned development and full utilisation of the law of value and the market in the context of socialism.
5. Application of the basic principle of socialism to the distribution on the basis of rationally calculated labour offered.
6. Diversity of social, that is, socialist property.
7. Recognition of cooperatives as a socialist productive form.
8. Active participation of citizens in governance and workers in financial management.
9. Existence and operation of a state apparatus but without its transformation into a self-existing force.
10. Correct solution of the national problem.
11. Steady expansion of democracy with the full democratisation of society.
12. A socialist rule of law with a consistent foreign policy in favour of peace and the rights of the peoples.
13. Utilisation of human resources on the basis of meritocracy.

Over time, especially under Stalin, many of these points were replaced by positions that distorted and deformed this perception. The main distortions of the Leninist and more generally of the scientific conception of socialism, can and must be studied and analysed for the purpose of avoidance. The most important were the following:

1. The socialisation of the means of production is identified with nationalisation while at the same time other forms are rejected or degraded.
2. The expansion of democracy has been replaced by authoritarianism and infallibility of the leader and the leadership.
3. The utilisation of the planned economy with the parallel use the law of value and in general the financial methods of management, were replaced by authoritarianism, administrative

bureaucratic methods that led to uneven growth and critical situations.

4. The lack of democratic regulation and self-control in the political, social and economic life, led to the gradual alienation of the people from political power, the means of production and its management and the distribution of material and cultural values.

5. The enormous difficulties created by the hostile environment with him economic exclusion and the objective difficulties that existed, formed the basis for the closure of the socialist state to itself and at the same time justification this action. This tendency was due to subjective shortcomings and weaknesses in both the theoretical and practical approach of issues.

6. The identification of the party with the state and the predominance of one-party rule as a model of governance.

7. Dogmatism in various spheres of life.

8. The departure of the leadership from the party base and by extension from working class and the people.

9. The identification of the interests of the bureaucratic mechanism with the general ones interests of the party, the class and the people.

10. The distortion of the principle of democratic centralism up to the point of its transformation into bureaucratic one.

11. The misinterpretation and application of internationalism led.

(a) In mechanistic copying of model and perceptions.

(b) Lack of adequate communication between the Communist Parties.

(c) The disintegration of the world socialist system and the world communist and revolutionary movement.

(d) Weakening the ability of the communists to take united action against the attacks of international imperialism.

12. Delay in the creative development of Marxist thought and levelling tendencies in the confrontation of issues.

These distortions affected to one degree or another all communists parties and led to the current critical phenomena in the international communist movement.

2. THE MODERN WORLD AND ITS OBSTRUCTIONS

As stressed from the beginning, our proposal cannot be out of line with modern reality. It is therefore necessary to analyse this reality in all its complexity.

(a) Contradictions

The modern world is diverse, complex, dynamic, full of competitive trends and contradictions. At the same time, however, it is interdependent and united. We have unity of diversity. It is the interdependence and unity of the world that give a new interpretation and classification to modern contradictions.

The main contradiction is the contradiction between the possibility of saving humanity and the danger of its extinction. Its solution presupposes the joint efforts of all mankind.

The basic opposition of our time remains the opposition between socialism and capitalism, between capital and labour. Because resolving the main conflict will be a long process, the two opposing socio-economic systems need to coexist in a spirit of peaceful cooperation and rivalry.

Today the contradictions between the countries of the capitalist world, especially between the imperialist centres remain in force.

The inequality between the developed capitalist countries is particularly and the “third world” particularly acute, which leads to the escalation of the contradictions between them.

The contradictions between the “third world” countries themselves have been and remain a serious threat to world peace and stability.

All these contradictions, the interdependence, the complexity and of the world are exacerbated by the enormous development of the Science and Technology Revolution (MIP) that gives an increased dimension to the problems of a universal nature facing the world.

In these circumstances, it is an immediate legislative necessity to reconsider, redefine and reconstruct international relations on the basis of political and economic equality.

That is why in our time the revolutionary reconstruction (perestroika) is a new stage in the movement of humanity forward.

In the modern and critical spirit of the new thought we examine the historical position both capitalism and socialism.

(b) Capitalism

Modern capitalism is a special phase in the development of this social system and today is an overdeveloped system state monopoly capitalism. Modern capitalism is the system that to date manages to adapt to the new conditions, even through contradictions and to the detriment of other countries, mainly in developed countries.

The process of adaptability of capitalism is a new phenomenon in the history of this socio-economic system. Historically, adaptability has become a feature of modern capitalism after the Great October Socialist Revolution.

Revolution and the great economic crisis of 1929-33. The new feature of capitalism is the denial of its outdated forms and at the same time a means preserving capitalist society in life.

The reasons for the existence of this phenomenon are its own contradictions and the emergence of the new social system of socialism, which was the main stimulus and lever of pressure on capitalism and gave impetus to workers' struggles. The struggles of the working class for better living and working conditions to improve its standard of living. The use of the achievements of the EIB for the frightening development of the productive forces, the new role of the capitalist state, the international capitalist organisations and associations, etc.

Despite its adaptability, capitalism today faces a stalemate in overcoming its contradictions. The social and other impasses old and new are such that it cannot deal with them. Nevertheless, the capitalist world did not abandon the ideology and politics of hegemony. The bourgeois economists and theorists have argued and continue to argue that capitalism is the only system that offers a high standard of living, freedoms. They forget that capitalism does not exist only in the developed capitalist countries but also and in the developing ones, where the majority of the people live in conditions of poverty.

That in this society live not only the wealthy and businessmen, but also the unemployed, homeless, the starving, the illiterate, etc., created by the system. A creation of modern capitalist society is the one phenomenon that one third of the population is the most

impoverished part of society. This phenomenon is observed mainly in the developed capitalist countries. Consequently the class antagonisms and class struggle in its developed countries capitalism did not disappear.

In addition, the fact that the state system in the countries of capitalism perpetuates discrimination between citizens, deprives the masses of basic human rights, is deliberately ignored.

At the same time it is necessary to emphasise that a key support in the development of capitalism is the continued for many decade the predatory exploitation of third world countries.

All this proves that capitalism has not overcome the phenomena of crisis that characterise it and is not the way out of the impasses of the modern world.

Of course, this truth would be universal consciousness today if socialism, in its first test of practical application, unfolded the real possibilities of the system. Unfortunately this has not happened.

(c) Socialism

It is now absolutely necessary to be critical of specific way in which socialism has been implemented.

The Great October Socialist Revolution was a historic event of global and timeless significance because it ushered in a new era in history of mankind. It ushered in the era of transition to socialist society. With the October Revolution the lofty ideals of socialism for a society of free people free from all forms of exploitation and oppression began to materialise.

The social and other gains of the workers in the socialist countries served as an example in the class demands of the workers in capitalist countries. During the Second World War, the USSR's contribution to the defeat of Hitler fascism was decisive. In the post-war years, wider warfare was avoided, mainly thanks to the peaceful policies of the socialist countries. The national liberation movement in its titanic struggle against colonisation and neo-colonialism relied on help and solidarity of the socialist world.

The gains and achievements of socialism in all spheres of life as well as its contribution to world progress and peace can in way be ignored and much more to be nullified.

Nevertheless, socialism has failed to develop enormous possibilities it objectively has. The reality formed in the countries of so-called existing socialism does not correspond to the goals set

by the socialist revolutions. Apart the objective difficulties, this is mainly due to the way in which the building of socialism evolved, to the specific model that was formed in the USSR and prevailed in all socialist countries.

After Lenin's death and especially in the years when Stalinism prevailed, such a course was followed, such choices were made in theoretical thought and practice, which led to distortions of the Leninist conception of socialism. This particular administrative dictatorial model of socialism gradually led to crisis and bankruptcy. As a result, the insurmountable historical necessity of the revolutionary renewal of socialism arose.

The revolutionary reconstruction of socialism is being attempted through perestroika which started on the initiative of the CPUSB. Perestroika aims at restoring the Leninist conception and the humanitarian content of socialism, freeing it from distortions, dogmatism and bureaucracy. It condemns the crimes committed in its name, and with a broad spirit, discusses and tries to find solutions to modern problems. Respect for universal values, democracy and transparency are at the heart of the renewal of socialism.

Competitive antagonisms in the modern unified and interdependent world underline the vitality and necessity of internationalism and its anti-imperialist solidarity. **Internationalism** and anti-imperialist solidarity are important weapons in the hands of the forces of peace and progress in their struggle against the nostalgia of the Cold War and the hot war and hegemony that continue to be reborn and operate within imperialism.

These forces pursue a reactionary, anti-popular policy expressed through the oppression and suppression of liberation movements, with neo-colonialism and racism, neo-fascism and the intensification of the exploitation workers in the countries of developed capitalism.

Bearing in mind the objective picture of today's world, we express our opposition to the voices that question the necessity of internationalism and of anti-imperialist solidarity. What is needed is not abolition of internationalism and anti-imperialist solidarity but enrichment and depth of their content, the forces and the forms that express them.

Adhering to the principles of international solidarity and non-intervention, AKEL actively supports the unity of action of the

working class, the anti-imperialists forces, the forces of progress, peace and socialism locally and internationally.

AKEL will continue to cultivate in its members and in general workers the spirit of internationalism and international solidarity towards all peoples who fight against all forms of political, social and national oppression, against imperialism, colonisation, neo-colonialism and racism.

OUR PERCEPTION OF SOCIALISM IN CYPRUS

Based on the above theoretical and historical approach and based on development of capitalism in Cyprus, the class structure of Cypriot society and the traditions of our people, we give our own proposal for socialism in data of Cyprus.

1. CAPITALISM IN CYPRUS AS A HISTORICALLY FORMED ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL REALITY

Until recently, Cyprus was an underdeveloped rural country. By declaring itself an independent state, it inherits a relatively backward and underdeveloped economy.

The economic and social development in the three decades that followed the declaration of independence and especially the last fifteen years is characterised by significant quantitative and qualitative changes that can be summarised as follows:

High growth rates are observed resulting in the expansion and modernisation of the material base of the economy. The sectors of the economy are being modernised, new industries are emerging, and the EIB's achievements are becoming an integral part of the productive process, resulting in increased labour productivity, in terms of employment and share in Gross Domestic Product (GDP). At the same time, the country's participation in the international division of labour is strengthened. Capitalist enterprises expand their size and activity, with the result that monopoly and oligopoly capital coexist close to small crafts and medium-sized enterprises. Finally, the workforce is upgraded and adapted to the requirements of production, while at the same time, the standard of living of the people rises considerably.

Based on these changes, Cyprus can be characterised as a country with average capitalist development.

With the development of capitalism in Cyprus, its contradictions are sharpened. The distribution and redistribution of income becomes relatively even more unfair and the earnings gap widens. The economy relies heavily on external borrowing. Unplanned growth conflicts on the one hand with the natural environment, while on the other hand, in addition to structural problems in the economy, it also creates social problems. Unemployment of young scientists and abandonment of the countryside are chronic unsolved problems.

At the same time, the standard of living is improving, but it was not given by the bourgeoisie. It is mainly due to the hard class struggles of the workers under the leadership of their class bodies, led by the Workers' Party, AKEL.

THE CLASS STRUCTURE OF THE CYPRUS SOCIETY

On the basis of the development of capitalism in Cyprus, a specific class structure has been formed.

The correct assessment of the real potential of the labour movement and the correct definition of goals and tasks depend in large part on the ability to form an objective perception of the socio-class structure of the country.

A universal expression of the changes which have taken place is the numerical increase in the number of persons employed. Increase in wage labour increases the specific weight of the working class in the total population. In Cyprus, the workers showed an increasing trend over time, reaching in 1985 around 70% of the gainfully employed population (GEP).

The Working Class.

It is the most numerous class in Cyprus. They belong to it wage-earners without means of production who possess their labour power to live. There are also wage-earners who, based on their income, position and role in production belong to the middle classes or the bourgeoisie. In 1985 the working class reached around 56% - 57% of the GEP.

The Bourgeoisie.

It is not pure class. It is divided into small, medium and monopolistic. The majority of capitalist enterprises are made up of small and medium-sized enterprises. But the large companies share the largest shares in the distribution of profits. In Cyprus the bourgeoisie occupies around 5% - 6% of the G.E.P.

The Peasants.

They show a continuous and constant decreasing trend, and their share of the GEP is around 13%. The majority of them are poor and middle peasants.

The Middle Classes.

They consist of freelancers of all sectors and employees with a significant role in production and higher earnings. It is not a single layer, many pass to the working class and some to the bourgeoisie. They count around 20% - 30% of the GEP.

The Intelligentsia.

It forms a social stratum. Intellectuals belong to either the bourgeoisie or the working class, or to the middle classes. There is a tendency to hire the intellectual labour and to pass parts of the intellect along the lines of working class. In Cyprus they reach 10%-13% of the GEP.

The analysis of the development of capitalism in Cyprus and the class structure of society are key elements of the historically shaped reality in our country. This picture is complemented by the analysis of the progressive traditions of the people.

The progressive militant traditions and in general the historical heritage of our people are sources of inspiration and example. Relying on the achievements of the popular struggles and creatively using the experience of the past, we move steadily towards the future.

The building of the new socialist society can take place if we rely on our history. In the militant traditions of our people, traditions that reflect the historical phase of the struggle for liberation of the people and for the improvement of working

conditions and living conditions of workers. The patriotism that is in inseparable unity with internationalism, self-sacrifice for the continuous evolution of our people was and are still the main feature of its militancy and vitality of our popular movement.

The main goal remains the continuation and enrichment of the traditions that stem from the struggles against colonialism. For the liberation of Cyprus, for the unity of action on the internal front against the occupation, the foreign interventions and fascism, for the promotion of friendship and cooperation of Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots, for the protection of the rights and entitlements of workers for the consolidation of democracy and the rule of law.

2. THE DRIVING FORCES - MEANS AND METHOD OF SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION

As in any country, so in Cyprus, the specific composition of the driving forces, as well as the form of their political alliance will be determined by the specific conditions, the character and nature of social and political process for the building socialism.

The struggle for socialism will be based on the winning of the political majority of the people expressed through democratic processes and which will be achieved through the daily struggle for the promotion of the interests of the wider people strata and the continuous enlightenment. The winning of the political majority will take place through the cooperation and alliance of all those political forces, which to one degree or another will be interested in the realisation of the social transformation.

Objectively, the overwhelming majority of people are interested in social justice and equality, workers, employees, peasants, self-employed, middlemen, intellectuals, the popular clergy, each of course starting with the promotion of his own interests. Therefore, in order to build a socialist society, we will have to go through a series of transitional stages, each of which will resolve a number of specific issues. At each specific transitional stage, specific social and political alliances will be formed, depending on the main objectives to be achieved.

The components of the driving forces from the point of view of national origin are both the two communities of Cyprus, Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots as well as the Armenians, Latins and Maronites. This is also an additional reason that imposes the correct solution of the national question which he promotes as a

condition for both the social transformation as well as the building of socialism.

3. THE NATIONAL QUESTION

Socialism has every possibility for a solution of the national question without any attempts to artificially eliminate national differences and particularities.

In the context of colonialism, Lenin promoted the radical principle of the right of nations to self-determination. Today the decolonisation is completed, while at the same time confirming Lenin's prediction that with development of society the advantages of large states will become more and more obvious. The objective tendencies of integration are not in line with "nation" states and lead to the creation of multinational states, where the ethnicities and peoples preserve their uniqueness through various forms of autonomy. Human rights also come to the fore in the name of the rights of peoples is considered an anachronism.

The Cyprus problem is the main problem of foreign invasions and occupation that are the source of problems in the relations between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots.

The solution of the Cyprus problem is in the foreground and the struggle for socialist transformation is paramount. The Cypriot people as a whole have already decided on the way of their self-determination in terms of its international aspect, which is the maintenance of an independent, sovereign and territorially integral state. Regarding the internal aspect of self-determination, the transformation of the Republic of Cyprus into a federal state according to the desire of the Cypriot people, is a proper basis for the solution to the problem.

The victory and the building of socialism in the specific Cypriot conditions is a matter that concerns both communities.

The socialist future of the two communities is not in line with union, secession or double union, but a united Cyprus is intertwined.

Socialist democracy must be based on strict respect for the human rights and freedoms, as well as the rights of both communities in the context of their political equality. Within the socialist state, the creation of conditions will be sought, where the separate aspirations will be seen by the Cypriot people as an

anachronism and where solutions will be sought for the outstanding issues in the relations between the two communities.

4. THE ECONOMIC BASIS

Undoubtedly the main element for building any society is its economic basis. The productive relations that govern it and the management and mechanisms. It is therefore necessary to first consider the essence of the productive relations which is property and its forms.

Property in Socialism.

Property and its forms are a central, fundamental element of the conception of socialism. Property is the basis on which social relations, legal and other institutions are built, in general everything that Marxism aptly defined as a superstructure.

Social property (state, community, municipal, cooperative, etc. in the means of production is the most basic feature of the socialist system. In contrast to capitalism, where the basic means of production belong to a relatively small group of people, in socialism the workers are the rightful owner of the wealth of society.

The social ownership of the means of production creates the conditions for the elimination of economic exploitation in order to put production at the service of society as a whole.

The phenomenon of alienation of workers from the means of production and the result of their work shows that it is necessary to ensure the sociability of property in practice and self-management with the participation of workers.

The identification of state property with social ownership and the reduction of nationalisation to the conditions of administrative centralised management in an exclusive criterion of socialisation led to the same phenomenon.

The misconception about property in socialism was expressed in life with the lack of subtlety of other forms of property, by the application of violent methods of coercion, by joining cooperatives and so on, with very painful consequences for the economy.

Today the diversity of property is generally accepted in socialism. In our perception, but also in general, the following are accepted as basic forms of property in socialism:

Pallaic [People's] cooperative private and personal. These in turn can be divided into state, municipal, communal, cooperative with a special emphasis on cooperation which in Cyprus is a well-established and progressive form in the field of agricultural economy, production and marketing and consumption. The private in means of production and other equipment.

Of course, the combinations of the above forms and types can be added here, that is, the mixed forms of property.

In the specific conditions of Cyprus within this framework, the sector of free professions, artisan and others will be maintained and assisted.

On the basis of these forms of ownership, it is right to build a similar one mechanism for managing and directing the economy. The basic elements of this of the mechanism are, on the one hand, the planning of economic and social development and, on the other hand, the existence and smooth functioning of the free market within the framework of socialism.

5. DEMOCRATIC PLANNING

Democratic Planning of the Economy in a socialist society, must combine the strengths of the management of the national economy and its local and individual initiative.

In this context, the power of centralism is not focused on the numbers of the problems is undertaken by the centre, but in their content. The quality of the problems that arise and the possibilities of their solutions. The responsibility of the centre should include only those problems which cannot be solved at a lower level. Such problems can be the following:

1. Elaboration of the economic strategy.
2. Defining the goals and priorities in the development of the national economy.
3. Determining the basic balances of the national economy.
4. Identification and application of a single scientific, technical, structural and investment policy.

The influence of the centre on the lower levels should not be secured by administrative, bureaucratic methods but by economic methods and means.

Central planning should be based on the combination and consideration of various interests through the elaboration of scientifically substantiated economic and social objectives with a

parallel proposal of measures to ensure the achievement of these objectives and determine the effectiveness of measures to influence the various interests.

The calculation of the diversity of property in socialism is basic condition of a successful economic and social planning development.

Representatives of the people and the workers themselves participate in democratic planning.

Market in the context of Socialism.

The functioning of the market in the context of socialism is a condition for development of socialist society. The smooth functioning of the market in these contexts of socialism is therefore a necessity, for the provision of which it is necessary to ensure all the necessary conditions.

The economic system of renewed socialism that combines programming and the free market must ensure selective unity of the following:

1. The quantitative and qualitative maximisation of production with the objectives of development.
2. The differentiation of the salary based on the work offered and its combination with its final result.
3. The release of unnecessary labour force from a branch or sector or region and its channelling where there is a need in conditions of full and productive employment.
4. The consolidation and development of the cooperative as a basic productive and consumer form.
5. The productive and profitable utilisation of the state and semi-state sector of the economy.

The above aims at combining the improvement and modernisation methods of planned development and strengthening of the market in the context of socialism, which will ensure the balance of the economy, while enhancing its flexibility.

The basic conditions for achieving the above are on the one hand the full utilisation of the EIB results and their promotion in the productive process and on the other hand the wide participation of workers in management and popular control.

On the given economic basis stands and builds the corresponding social superstructure. In this superstructure, among others, essential elements such as the functioning of a multi-party

political system, transparency, the rule of law, the legal system, individual freedoms, social justice, and others must find their place.

6. SOCIAL BUILDING

(a) Socialist Democracy and multi-party system

For AKEL, the only source of power is the dominant will of the people. The socialist rule of law we are looking forward to is incompatible with dictatorship of any order.

Even in socialism, the interests of the various sections of the people will be varied and different, and this is exactly what imposes freedom of operation various movements, associations or parties. The necessity of existence of parties is also demonstrated by the processes of political and ideological differentiation taking place in the world.

Apart from these, separation of powers provides the necessary balance in the governance of the state, guaranteeing the existence of control and avoiding usurpation of power. But the separation of powers is impossible outside from the free functioning of the parties. The parties, in turn, are the basic form of individual involvement in political processes. Without the parties, the participation of citizens in the affairs of the socialist state and society will face difficulties, resulting in alienation and decline.

AKEL does not claim the monopoly of power, it accepts the democratic change, as well as any changes to the constitution or the regime that will be a product of the dominant will of the people as it will be expressed through inviolable democratic processes.

(b) For transparency, one of the main political goals, both during our march towards socialism, as well as in the democratic socialist state we envision, is the implementation of transparency in all areas.

The prevalence of transparency in the activities of the parties, the Government, public organisations and the media, development of criticism and self-criticism, all these together are powerful factors in inspiring the people to fight for socialism and progress of the country.

The development of transparency is not only a necessary condition for the expression of the democratic and humanitarian

essence of the socialist system. Its implementation among the people, the involvement of citizens in the public affairs and the affairs of the state, constitute an effective guarantee against any attempt to distort socialism. Transparency makes it possible for the whole people to control the activities of the state, the government and of all socialist institutions. The effectiveness of this control is inconceivable without the guarantee of freedom of the press and the media.

Transparency is a necessary condition for the socialist self-government of the people, for the exercise of their constitutional rights, freedoms and duties of citizens, as a means of accumulating and contrasting the diversity of interests and pluralism of opinions. We seek to secure the right of citizens to information the constitution, as well as the enactment of special laws that define the rights and duties of the state, officials and citizens, so that the principles of transparency are effectively promoted. For our Party, democracy and transparency are two concepts that always go together and do not mean one without the other. Transparency is the natural climate for the life and progress of democratic, humane socialism.

(c) Socialist rule of law. Legal system. Individual freedoms.

The idea of the rule of law has a universal character, because the ideas of the rule of law, the protection of its rights and freedoms of people, freedom, democracy are universal.

At the same time, it is a fact the idea of the rule of law is interpreted and applied differently depending on the class interests, the national traditions, the level of culture.

Socialism is capable of creating such economic, social and political conditions, where the creation of the rule of law will be inextricably linked to democratisation in all areas, with the implementation of genuine popular sovereignty.

We do not perceive the socialist rule of law only as its supremacy of the law in all spheres of social life. The very content of the law is crucial. The character of the socialist rule of law largely determined by the socialist conception of the social justice, which is based on the position: "From each according to his abilities, to each according to his work".

The socialist rule of law is an institution whose circumvention leads to disastrous results.

Within the framework of the socialist rule of law, our aim will be building a legal system, based on the separation of powers and one that guarantees the individual freedoms and democratic rights of the people, equality and good governance. This legal system will consist of a network of institutions, laws and regulations that will tend to strengthen and consolidate the rule of law in all areas of social life. In order to ensure and control the implementation of laws and the administration of justice, the role of the independent judiciary is irreplaceable which will not be accountable to any power other than the Constitution and the existing laws.

All citizens of the state without any discrimination will feel cared its authorities and institutions will provide them complete security and assurance that no violator of the law will be able to avoid the sanctions that this will entail.

Freedom of conscience and respect for the religious beliefs of all of the inhabitants of Cyprus will be enshrined in the constitution. We seek dialogue and cooperation with religious authorities.

A special place in the legal system will be proposed in the context of socialism, is occupied by the care for the security and guarantee of the fundamental freedoms and rights of citizens, not only political but also socio-economic. These rights and freedoms are guaranteed and are enshrined in the Constitution, in ratifying laws of international treaties and specific laws of the state.

A socialist society will ensure in practice the right to equal educational opportunities for all. Education will aim at shaping the free personalities, responsible citizens educated in the ideals universal values, democracy, peace, freedom and social justice. Through education the new generation will assimilate the achievements of world culture. Academic freedoms will be respected and will be protected. The structure and programmes of the educational system at all levels will be prepared with the participation of those directly concerned.

Special care will be taken by socialist society in matters of culture.

The pluralism of views and consequently the expressive pluralism constitute the necessary conditions outside of which its upward course of civilisation is inconceivable.

Social justice in socialism

The basic principle of socialist social policy is the achievement of prosperity and free, comprehensive development of all members of society. Especially in the field of ensuring social justice, the humanitarian nature of the socialist system and the qualitative difference between socialism and capitalism are highlighted. Socialist social justice has the following key features:

1. The equality of all members of society regardless of social and national origin.

2. The participation of all in the production of social material and intellectual product and its fair distribution depending on the labour contribution of each.

3. The ability of citizens to actively participate in social and economic life of the country.

4. The observance and defence of the rights and freedoms of the individual in combination with a high level of social benefits and guarantees.

Socialist social justice is an integral part of its rational regional development and its implementation in practice of justice in the relations of city and village. Growth in Cyprus has been and remains uneven. The goal and task of the new society is to shape an integrated regional development policy that will create all the conditions for a multifaceted social, political, cultural life in both cities and in villages.

An important place in the system of socialist social justice is occupied by the social benefits and social guarantees for all citizens.

AKEL, based on the popular gains to date, will strive incessantly for the improvement and expansion of social benefits and guarantees in order to keep pace with the general socio-economic development. In socialism the labour and popular gains will not only be preserved and protected but will be enormously strengthened.

Women, children, pensioners and those suffering from any physical or mental disability in socialist society will receive special attention with guaranteed social rights and guarantees.

In order for any economic base and the corresponding superstructure to function, a necessary condition is the existence of a proper relationship between man and of the world around him. Without a living natural and general environment it is

impossible for man and human society to live and function. That is why tackling ecological problems is a vital component of our conception of socialism.

7. SOCIALISM AND ECOLOGY

Ecological issues greatly affect the life of the modern man. The scientific and technical revolution, along with all the positives it has offered in modern man, has simultaneously created and accumulated a series of problems that if not addressed radically and decisively will lead to unpleasant consequences for our country, and our planet in general.

In socialism dealing with all these issues is a primary and main issue. The overcoming of these problems is sought through the updating and upgrading of special legislation and the control for its effective implementation, through the existence and continuous elaboration of an integrated programme for the protection and management of the environment. Through the constant effort to form an environmental awareness, the continuous efforts to improve working conditions and the struggle for the protection and preservation of peace.

The main directions that we will focus on will be the rational urban development, the continuous upgrading of the home and working environment, the protection of nature and wildlife, the atmosphere, water, soil and finally, the continuous reduction of noise pollution.

The goal through environmental policy is to create a human environment.

8. THE PLACE OF CYPRUS IN THE MODERN WORLD

Everything that we have quoted so far is our proposal for our perception of socialism in the context of Cypriot society. Apart from that, it is imperative to take a stand for the position of Cyprus in the modern world, part of which is our homeland.

(a) Our place in the *global* division of *labour* Cyprus' position in the international division of labour is determined by factors such as participation in international trade, the movement of capital and the movement of human resources to and from the country. Our firm position is the opposition to the isolation of the

country. On the contrary, we support the participation of Cyprus in European and global integration processes.

In this context, Cyprus must develop a policy of sincere and integrated cooperation on the basis of equality and mutual interest with all states and all economies. A policy that will not allow its transformation into a servant and dependent of some countries and monopolies. This position means support for the efforts to create a united Europe, to build a Common European House. But we do not agree that the condition for the realisation of the idea of a united Europe is the domination of the capitalist system in all European countries. The Common European House in our view it can house capitalist, socialist, non-aligned and neutral states. A key instrument for achieving European unity is the conference on security and co-operation in Europe.

(b) Foreign policy

The socialist rule of law can only subordinate its foreign policy activity to international law.

The most basic features of our time that will apply in the foreseeable future are the pending series of universal problems that threaten human civilisation, the interdependence of the world and the coexistence of different socio-economic systems with their diversity. Under such conditions we can no longer talk about growth in isolation. No state and no coalition can guarantee their security on their own, nor to develop smoothly outside of the process of global integration.

Through interaction, we will develop our abilities to contribute to the solution of universal problems, to prove its superiority of our socialist system and at the same time assimilate what the experience of the different system has to offer.

The solution to universal problems is impossible outside a system of universal security, military, economic and ecological. The UN has an irreplaceable role to play in this goal, because it is universal in terms of Member States and universal in terms of the areas of action it embraces. In such a system does not fit the ideologicalisation of transnational relations or the confrontation of peaceful coexistence as a form of class struggle. Priority is given to universal values that are not an abstract figure. They exist and cannot be interpreted arbitrarily or selectively. One such value is the freedom of choice of social and

political system, from the growing diversity of social evolution. Any intervention in internal foreign cards, would have negative consequences for the establishment of a peaceful order.

But the supreme value is man, his interests, rights and freedoms. In the light of today's realities, there is no progress possible at the expense of human rights and freedoms.

The above does not mean that we abandon our ideology and principle of internationalism. Nor do we urge anyone to abandon their own principles. But they mean that we will act in transnational relations in accordance with the international law, and not according to our ideological interests. This leads to recession and in strengthening the role of ideology in social life. Faithful to the principles of international solidarity and non-intervention we provide support to international forces of progress, peace and socialism.

Foreign policy is inevitably influenced by the geographical factor. The objective analysis of the strategic geopolitical position of Cyprus at the crossroads of three continents will affect the definition of its role in the international system and will influence the goals and objectives of our foreign policy. A policy of equal, non-aligned, friendship and cooperation.

EPILOGUE

We set out our own conception of socialism. Our goal was not to outline an ideal model to which Cypriot society should adapt. After all, the path to socialist society and building will be primarily a result of social development itself with the conscious interference of the progressive socialist forces. We gave given some general directions of our own conception of socialism which, as emphasised from the beginning of the document, is subject to change and enrichment on the basis of life experiences and the development of theoretical thought. We gave at the same time a concise picture of the world and its contradictions, the position of capitalism and socialism in the world and the course of evolution and the objective reality that has been formed in our country.

Summarising what we have quoted and especially taking into account our own Cypriot peculiarities, we can say that our own perception of socialism is characterised by the following:

(a) Further improvement of the living standards of the people by maintaining and expanding all the achievements and rights of workers.

(b) Utilisation of what positive social legacy bequeaths to us.

(c) Inclusion and respect for the interests of workers, self-employed, small and medium-sized enterprises and peasants.

(d) Full respect and utilisation of all data, traditions, culture and realities as formed in Cyprus in the historical process.

(e) Ensuring parity between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots as well ensuring all the rights of all Cypriots.

(f) Ensuring the multi-partyism and pluralism of views in society.

(g) Recognition of the rights of the opposition, respect for the different views.

(h) Ensuring the socialist legitimacy and action of all policies and social actors in the context of competition.

(i) The transition to socialism will take place in democratic peaceful forms on the basis of the political conquest of the majority of the people.

Based on the analysis of the theory and practice of the two systems, we unreservedly declare that, yes, socialism has a future, socialism is the future of humanity. Socialism based on the theory of Marxism-Leninism, which was based on the best created by humanity, socialism as enriched throughout the 20th century in theory and practice, positive and negative. Socialism free from distortions and falsifications in both theory and practice.

We fight for socialism where the centre of attention and measurable criterion of values is man. Socialism that frees man from exploitation and oppression and provides him what Engels called "kingdom of freedom". Man's freedom is the very idea socialism.

THE EIGHTEENTH CONGRESS OF AKEL, 16-19 November 1995

THE DECISIONS OF THE CONGRESS⁹⁹

THE POLITICAL DECISION OF THE 18TH CONGRESS OF AKEL

The 18th Congress of AKEL, held from 16 to 19 November 1995 in Nicosia, has taken on special importance due to the special local and international conditions in which it took place.

The 18th Congress of AKEL was the culmination of many months of pre-Congress of work, internal party and public dialogue and deep reflection of which continued during the Congress itself.

The delegates discussed expressing their will freely and democratically and approved the introductory speech of the Secretary General of the C.C. of AKEL, the “positions to the Congress” the “Suggestion for re-examination of the position of AKEL on the subject of accession of Cyprus to the European Union”, the Report of the Central Audit Committee and the Report on the Finances of C.C. of the Party. The Congress discussed and approved some amendments to the Party Statute and the Rules of Procedure and elected the new Central Committee and Central Audit Committee of AKEL.

Concluding its work, the 18th Congress discussed and approved the following political decision that determines the main directions the Party’s policy until the next Congress:

The International developments

1. The 18th Congress of AKEL considers as negative for all mankind the developments that led to the dissolution of the Soviet

⁹⁹ Publications K.E. AKEL, *Materials and Other Documents*, 1995.

Union and the community of the socialist states in Eastern Europe. The assessments of our Party which took place during the 17th Congress for the course and the offer of the “existing socialism” as well as on the necessity of renewing socialism with its further democratisation were correct and still valid today. Unfortunately, the attempt to renew socialism failed.

When the need for democratisation and modernisation of this model of socialist construction was understood by the leaderships of the ruling Communist Parties and especially by the CPSU, the effort made to achieve this goal was made without method and planning. In the course of perestroika, basic principles were violated, the foundations of the socialist idea were undermined and the role state and the Party was undermined. Mistakes and omissions were made while provoked such contradictions and conflicts were caused, which led the whole project to failure. The external interventions also played an important destabilising role. The facts showed that many of the leaders who undertook the task of renewing socialism had virtually ceased to believe in socialism. In fact, some of them consciously acted to undermine socialism and contributed to its collapse. Finally, instead of renewing socialism in Eastern Europe, contributed to have a course of restoration of capitalism today and even in some countries in the most primitive and inhuman form.

2. The failure of this “model” for building socialism is not a failure of the socialist idea. Socialism was born of the objective necessity of the progress of human society, which is in constant motion towards higher forms of social organisation. The dead ends and the exploitative nature of capitalism regenerate the socialist idea and the need to build a socialist society. Socialism is identified with the ideals of social justice, real freedom and of substantive democracy. That is why it cannot be left out of the spotlight of history.

The future of humanity is not and cannot be a society of exploitation, oppression, inequality and injustice. The future of humanity lies in socialism, social justice, democracy and the humanity that socialism encompasses.

3. The political forces that are bearers of the socialist idea and the socialist act not only have not been overtaken by history and developments, but on the contrary are called upon to play a pioneering role again, projecting through the struggle for popular

rights of their own alternative selection. In this respect they are identical with today and tomorrow, the present and the future.

The 18th Congress of AKEL welcomes the forces that are building a socialist society in their countries and expresses the international solidarity of the Party towards the peoples of these countries. It also welcomes the rise of the left-wing progressive forces at the helm of countries of the former socialist community, as well as the significant support of several others.

The 18th Congress welcomes the socialist forces and parties which under adverse conditions are fighting against the exploitation and oppression for the supremacy of socialist ideals and expresses to these forces its firm international solidarity.

4. After the dissolution of the Soviet Union and the community of socialist states in Europe, the so-called new order of things in the world was imposed. The new order is based on the law of the most powerful, that is, the United States of America and its close allies and their served interests. The UN is essentially led by the United States. The internal imperialist contradictions between the centres of capitalism they sharpening again. The struggle for spheres of influence takes on new dimensions. At the same time, a number of new hotbeds of heated confrontation have been ignited and old conflicts are rekindled. The revival of nationalism-chauvinism as well as the spread of religion fanaticism add new dimensions of tragedy to the hotbeds of controversy and threaten bigger and more destructive explosions. The gap between industrialised countries and the rest of the world is widening and deepening. The environmental and ecological problems created by the unbridled thirst for easy gain intensified.

5. After the dissolution of the Soviet Union and the community of socialist countries in Europe, small struggling peoples like the Cypriot people lost a very most important support of their struggle. As time goes on, the more cynical the current planetary rulers become, the more noticeable this loss will become.

A specific state of affairs has taken shape in the world. The socialist, leftist, progressive forces cannot accept it and compromise with it. The only option offered is the fight against the the New Order and what it entails. A struggle to uphold universal principles and values, such as real democracy, human rights in practice rather than words, national independence, social justice, human dignity and progress.

AKEL believes that for the successful confrontation of the so-called New Order contact, common reflection, cooperation and the coordination of the left, progressive, socialist and communist parties at regional and international level is necessary. The outcome of this belief was the organisation of the International Symposium in October 1991 on "Socialism as an ideology and the role of the Left on the threshold of the 21st century" and the International Meeting in Larnaca in December 1994 on "The need for joint action of the Left, Progressive and Patriotic Forces to address the new situation as it is shaping today in the world". It is also necessary to strengthen international solidarity, which takes the form of practical initiatives. The 18th Congress assigns to the Party the task of taking its own share of responsibility by taking part at the initiative of others and promoting its own initiatives to renew the ties and coordinate actions of the progressive socialist forces on a regional and international scale.

6. The new world situation has also negatively affected the Non-Aligned Movement. In addition, internal contradictions of the Movement itself as well the attempt to drive it by great western powers and its conquest from various centres of Islam have weakened the Non-Aligned Movement, which today plays a diminished role in international affairs.

Within the Non-Aligned Movement there are forces that are resisting attempts to drive, disintegrate or even self-dissolve. There are forces that are thinking and working for the renewal of the Movement, its modernisation and the new role it can and must play, in particular in defending the countries of the so-called South from their plunder by the imperialist powers and in the fight against poverty, misery, diseases and bloody conflicts that haunt these countries. AKEL believes in the Non-Aligned Movement and the potential to play a balancing role, a role of political and social justice in today's world.

7. The 18th Congress of AKEL considers extremely wrong and dangerous for the interests of Cyprus any thoughts inside and outside the government for removal from the Non-Aligned Movement with the justification of the accession of Cyprus in the European Union.

The accession orientations of Cyprus at a time when there is still no common foreign policy of the European Union do not conflict with the participation of Cyprus in the Non-Aligned

Movement. Participation which is necessary, beneficial and supportive of the struggle we are waging.

The 18th Congress of AKEL considers that Cyprus must remain an active member of the Non-Aligned Movement and play a leading role in its modernisation efforts. A possible withdrawal of Cyprus from the Non-Aligned Movement will lead to isolation. Cyprus for an indefinite period will be neither non-aligned nor an EU member. This would be detrimental to the struggle to defend and complete our independence.

CYPRUS

1. The 18th Congress of AKEL reaffirms the position of the Party on the Cyprus issue, which it considers correct.

The Cyprus issue is a problem of invasion, occupation and foreign intervention. The treacherous coup d'état of the junta and EOKA II paved the way for the Turkish invasion and possession. Of course, there is also the problem of normalising relations between the two communities and the joint formation of the federal structure of the State of Cyprus.

The solution to the Cyprus problem must provide:

(a) The restoration and respect of independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus. The sovereignty of the independent Republic of Cyprus must be one and indivisible as international personality and citizenship must be.

(b) The removal of the Turkish occupation troops, all foreign troops and the demilitarisation of Cyprus.

(c) The removal of settlers and the restoration of demographic composition of the Cypriot people, which today is dangerously altered by the mass settlement.

(d) The restoration and respect of human rights and fundamental freedoms of Cypriot citizens. Of primary importance the safeguarding of the right of all refugees to return and the safeguarding the right of free movement, establishment and property.

(e) The creation of a federal bi-communal, bi-regional, non-aligned Republic of Cyprus on the basis of internationally accepted principles and rules governing the operation of the federal states.

(f) Ensuring expanded credible international guarantees within the framework of UN, excluding unilateral invasive rights.

(g) The creation of security conditions for all its inhabitants without exception.

The Cyprus issue must be resolved peacefully, through substantive negotiations and on the basis of the principles of the UN Charter, the resolutions and decisions of the International Organisation and the 1977 and 1979 Summit Agreements.

Regardless of the way the Cyprus issue is resolved, priority should be given to ascertaining the fate of the missing and securing the rights of our captives. We call on the UN to be more sensitive in promoting these two humanitarian issues.

2. Twenty years after the treacherous coup and the Turkish invasion, under the responsibility of Ankara and the Denktash regime, the Cyprus issue remains unresolved. Not only has there been no progress towards a fair, sustainable and mutually acceptable solution, but on the contrary there has been a dangerous setback in recent years. The 18th Congress notes with deep concern that the distance that separates us from the final bifurcation is shrinking.

The permanent members of the Security Council, especially the Americans and the British, who are still reluctant to put pressure on the Turkish side to align with UN resolutions, are also responsible for perpetuating and worsening the situation in Cyprus. The International Organisation itself avoids applying subversive ways to promote a solution to the Cyprus problem, as its own resolutions provide.

The Clerides government with its contradictory and erroneous policies, expressed its refusing to take advantage of Security Council Resolution 789, accepting the UN Security Council package of 21 March 1994, and its defensive behaviour, which it uses demagogically to cover its deadlocked policy, by participating in the informal consultations and secret talks, with the messages of readiness for granting sovereignty and the idea of NATO guarantees is not without responsibilities for the current situation in the Cyprus issue.

3. The only acceptable framework for seeking a solution to the Cyprus problem is the framework of the United Nations. Any other initiative must be in support for UN efforts and be based on the resolutions of the International Organisation for Cyprus.

The manifested American initiative goes beyond the above framework, overshadows and marginalises the United Nations, a fact that hides great dangers for the Cyprus case. The 18th

Congress of AKEL finds that the diversion of the Cyprus issue from the UN framework is taking place as a result inaction and tolerance of the Cypriot Government, which is passively awaiting the outcome of the US initiative.

4. The 18th Congress of AKEL notes with concern that both outside Cyprus as well as in Cyprus, the voices for a solution of two nationally pure states are increasing. The long-standing backlog of the Cyprus problem and the fatigue that accompanies it, the inefficiencies of the procedures tested to date in the UN and the existing security problems are cultivating the ground for gradual acceptance of the “ground versus sovereignty” philosophy. There is a danger that we will be led to an unacceptable compromise that lies outside the resolutions of the UN and the summit agreements and that will result in a loose confederation of two virtually independent states in Cyprus. This will mean the end of the Republic of Cyprus and the beginning of new adventures for our people.

The same dichotomous result is objectively led by the seemingly unwavering “liberating” anti-federal policy which is also develops in parallel with the revival and cultivation of nationalism and chauvinism.

5. The 18th Congress of AKEL expresses the belief that the path to dichotomous solution can be stopped. Conditions can still be created for a just and sustainable solution that will restore the unity, territorial integrity and independence of the Republic of Cyprus. In order to achieve the above, the 18th Congress recommends the following:

- To restore the credibility and effectiveness of the National Council as the collective governing body of the Cyprus problem. To put end to the continuing ignorance of the decisions of the National Council by the President of the Republic that leads to the humiliation and the uselessness of the body.

- To reaffirm by the National Council the principles of the Cyprus settlement as contained in the UN resolutions and summit agreements and as codified in the unanimous proposals of the Greek Cypriot side in January 1989. To reaffirm the sovereignty of the future Federal Republic of Cyprus is one and indivisible. On the basis of this reaffirmation, a campaign should be launched in the international arena by the government, the Parliament, the political leadership and all organised groups to promote a just and sustainable solution to the Cyprus problem. An important role in

this campaign can be played by expatriates and their organisations which unfortunately the government is not making sufficient and effective use of it.

- To put an end to the passive contemplation of third party initiatives and for our side to take the initiative of the moves. Alongside to support and take advantage of initiatives of the moves. At the same time, to support and utilise initiatives such as the Russian one, which are part of the UN and strengthen its role.

- To return the Cyprus issue to the United Nations and to the right basis for finding a solute, which is the UN resolutions and summit agreements.

- To nominate the permanent members of the Security Council to the UN Secretary General that a new inter-communal dialogue can begin if the Turkish side abandon its demands for separate sovereignty and accept the relevant Security Council resolutions. The permanent members of the Security Council, and in particular the US and Britain, should exert their influence on Turkey in this direction.

- Indicate to the UN Secretary General and the Security Council that any implementation of advanced VET means only if there is progress on the essence of the Cyprus problem.

6. The 18th Congress reaffirms the position of AKEL on defence shielding.

The defence shield of the Republic of Cyprus is necessary to counter the threat from the presence of Turkish occupation troops and any foreign invasions against our homeland. Defence is not an end in itself, nor can it succeed in overthrowing the correlation of forces. The defensive armour must be subordinated and serve the strategic goal that is the political and peaceful solution to the Cyprus problem.

Defence policy must be within the capabilities of the economy and does not affect the development course.

Any tendency to exaggerate, reckless spending at the expense of development and overemphasis on the importance of defence leads to the impression of militarisation of the Cyprus problem and our economy, cultivates illusions about the feasibility of a military solution to the Cyprus problem and opposes the commonly accepted policy of rapprochement between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots.

In relation to the Doctrine of the Unified Defence Area, we consider the capabilities and obligations of Greece arising from the conditions of guarantee and alliance, give it to a much greater degree the legal right to support and defend the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the whole of the Republic of Cyprus, without at the same time creating the impression of degradation of the state entity of the Republic of Cyprus.

7. The Turkish Cypriot community is currently living in difficult conditions and is in a state of search. The various “government” schemes that were tried in the illegal state, did not bring the solution to the economic and social problems faced by the Turkish Cypriot community. The flight of the Turkish Cypriots from Cyprus continued at a rapid pace for the last 5 years. On the contrary, the influx of settlers from Turkey took on great proportions, as a result of which the demographic character of the island changed. Difficulties in the financial sector have resulted in a further deterioration in standards of living. These developments, although they do not automatically lead the Turkish Cypriots to choose a solution to the Cyprus problem instead of a non-solution, nevertheless help them to understand that at the Cyprus problem is at the root of their problems and that only with the right solution will their own problems be solved.

The 18th Congress of AKEL reaffirms the Party’s commitment to the policy of rapprochement of the two communities and reiterates the proposal for practical rapprochement measures adopted by the 17th Congress and subsequently submitted in March 1991 to the meetings of the leaders of the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot Parties.

To all those Turkish Cypriot compatriots who, like us, want a peaceful reunification of Cyprus, AKEL nurtures the warmest feelings of respect and friendship. We consider these Turkish Cypriot compatriots as fighters in the common struggle and we appreciate that their own struggle is a serious factor in achieving a solution to the Cyprus problem, a factor of whose importance no one should underestimate.

The 18th Congress declares that AKEL will irreconcilably continue the struggle against nationalism and chauvinism, considering this struggle as a supreme patriotic duty. Let us continue to fight for the cultivation of feelings of friendship and mutual respect between the two communities and for the promotion of cooperation between them. Let us continue to

promote the common elements that unite us as Cypriots, firmly believing that this does not contradict and does not conflict with the national origin of each community.

In the above context, AKEL considers it more than necessary to continue its contacts with Turkish Cypriot parties and welcomes any kind of contact between youth organisations, women trade unions, cultural and other organisations of the two communities and between ordinary people.

8. The 18th Congress calls on the Party to continue the struggle to prevent the division and to reunite Cyprus and its people. The Congress calls on the Party as a whole to defend and promote the AKEL line on the Cyprus problem everywhere and to be on constant alert and ready to move forward in popular mobilisations if necessary to promote the right solution of the Cyprus problem and to prevent division.

The Internal Front Issues

1. The 18th Congress of AKEL notes that during the rule of Clerides, the unity on the internal front is being seriously tested. The rulers, with their decisions, actions and statements, provoke a public sense of justice and cause unnecessary tensions and controversies on the domestic front. The attempted restoration and purification of EOKA B' and Grivas is an unacceptable and condemnable policy that strengthens the unity of our internal front. The 18th Congress calls on the Akelists and every democrat to continue to defend the historical truth, the historical memory and the dignity of this country.

2. With the rise of the right to power, the implementation of the political justification of Grivas and EOKA B', the conclusion of the doctrine of the united defence space and its populist demagogic exploitation by the rulers, we are witness the revival of nationalism and chauvinism. Chauvinism pours water into the mill of the division. It works in the interest of the enemies of Cyprus and ideologically prepares either new extremist actions or the acceptance of dichotomous solutions in the name of national purity.

The 18th Congress of AKEL condemns nationalism-chauvinism and calls on every Cypriot patriot in a continuous and decisive struggle against them.

3. As a result of the struggles of our people and with the most important contribution of AKEL, we had in Cyprus a progressive course of consolidation and expansion of democratic institutions and values. This development had become particularly noticeable over the past five years. The rise of the right to power interrupted this course. Today, a policy of shrinking democratic rights, undermining democratic institutions and values is being pursued.

The 18th Congress of AKEL condemns this policy of the rulers and calls for a struggle to defend institutions and values, to defend the democracies gains of our people.

4. Under Clerides, the role of the National Council was downgraded. The President of the Republic, taking serious decisions in the absence of the National Council or in opposition to the majority of the body, leads to uselessness of an institution which AKEL considers necessary for the proper management of the national issue. The 18th Congress of AKEL insists:

(a) on the timely, complete and uninterrupted information of the members of the National Council before taking decisions on serious matters concerning the handling of the Cyprus problem.

(b) the substantive debate in the National Council.

(c) to comply with the unanimous decisions of the National Council;

(d) to respect the opinion of the majority of the National Council.

5. The regime of discrimination against left-wing citizens and in general against citizens who do not belong to the area of government has become widespread. Merit is replaced by the partisanship of the state apparatus and the division of positions between the co-rulers to satisfy factional expediencies.

The 18th Congress entrusts the Party with the task of taking specific initiatives to defend and consolidate meritocracy, including measures to institutionalise.

Scandals are a daily occurrence and mismanagement is a permanent feature of co-government. The 18th Congress calls on the Party to continue to expose, criticise and cauterise every case of scandal and poor and inadequate administration with the permanent goal and pursuit of good administration.

6. Unity on the internal front is also tested by the government's socio-economic policy, which is in line with interests of large capital. The attempt to invalidate the ATA and undermine the achievements of the workers, the intention to ban strikes, the

insistence on zero increases and the undermining of the collective agreements are not only directed against the standards of living of workers but also cause frictions and controversies that weaken the internal front. The 18th Congress calls on the Party to continue the struggle against the intrigues of the government and big capital at the expense of workers, their standards of living and their gains.

7. The citizens of Cyprus are watching with concern the increase in crime which in fact takes the form of organised crime. The feeling of insecurity is intensified by the government's inability to tackle rising crime effectively.

We reject any attempt by the government to cover itself with extraordinary powers, a phenomenon which is an attempt to restrict the constitutional and human rights, and we condemn the cases of violations of these by state bodies.

8. The vertical growth of media, especially the electronics ones, is accompanied by the emergence of negative phenomena such as the creation of private information giants that work for specific interests, ideologies and political lines which they shape according to the public opinion. The 18th Congress AKEL is convinced that it is necessary to define an institutional framework and a code of ethics that regulate the operation of the media in cooperation with all stakeholders. The 18th Congress calls on the Party to continue working for real pluralism in the media, to control the quality of information and to prevent the concentration of the media in the hands financially strong individuals. The 18th Congress of AKEL is in favour of the support and maintenance of public Radio and Television, the existence of which it considers necessary for the country.

The Role of AKEL on the Internal Front

1. The 18th Congress considers that AKEL responded quite well and played its role as the official opposition during the Clerides government. AKEL, exercising its oppositional role, managed to operate in the context of the strict but constructive criticism, without slipping into sterile denial and populism. This policy is appreciated by people. The 18th Congress calls on the Party to move in the future within the framework of the same approach, ensuring that its reactions are even more timely and that its positions are always substantiated.

2. The 18th Congress of AKEL estimates that the parliamentary elections of 1996 will be a political confrontation of great and multifaceted importance for the country and for our Party. The 18th Congress sets as a strategic goal of AKEL on parliamentary elections the greatest possible expansion of its influence within electorate. Achieving this goal will mean:

- Applauding and supporting the correct policy of AKEL on the Cyprus issue and internal affairs.

- Confirmation of AKEL as the most serious renewed and modernised political force with a steadily growing influence that in the specific conditions expresses the interests of all the people and is recognised as a national political force.

- Strengthening the role of AKEL in fermentation and processes in view of 1998 presidential elections.

The goal of expanding the Party's electoral power will be achieved:

- Consistency in positions of authority both on the Cyprus issue and on other issues that concern the Cypriot citizen and especially the workers.

- With the determination in the struggle waged by the Left in the multiple fronts of political, economic, social struggle, combined with politicking, flexibility, insight and open-mindedness in our approaches and actions.

- With the direct honest and continuous contact with the people for the problems that concerns them, whether they concern social groups or individuals, without of course this means that everything is subject to the individual service.

- By further expanding our approaches and ballots and continuing the renewal. The expansion of the Party ballots to include personalities beyond the traditional space of the Left, honest people who accept the positions of the Party in our national issue, in matters of internal governance and socio-economic policy and are ready to side with AKEL in series of upcoming struggles.

The 18th Congress of AKEL calls on the Party ensemble to put on the battlefield all the forces of the Left from the day after the Congress until the elections in order to achieve the goal of a new great electoral victory of the Party and its Popular Movement.

3. The municipal elections will be held in 1996. Of course, taking into account the peculiarities of the local elections, the 18th Congress calls on the Party to move also in the spirit of their consistency and popularity of our positions, in the spirit of

expanding our approaches and ballots, in order to strengthen and upgrade the Local Government.

4. The 18th Congress of AKEL determines that the strategic goal of the Party during the 1998 presidential election is the liberation of the country from the current right-wing and far-right government and the rise to power of a democratic government that meets the needs of our country and people, as well the struggle we are waging. A government that will be distinguished by its consistency in seeking a peaceful solution to the Cyprus problem within the framework of the UN and on the basis of UN resolutions and summit agreements. A government which will promote democratic values and institutions, dialogue and unity, which will support meritocracy and good administration and that in internal affairs will follow a popular and progressive general socio-economic policy. With the current data, the democratic change of power must come from a broad cooperation of progressive and democratic forces and personalities of a wide political-ideological space that extends from the left to right edges.

The 18th Congress assigns to the new C.C. of AKEL the duty to work for the creation of such a broad collaboration that is capable of bringing about democratic change.

Regarding the candidate for President, the 18th Congress of AKEL points out the need for such a candidacy, which gathers the widest possible acceptance and to commit to the Presidency within the framework outlined above.

The 18th Congress declares that AKEL claims and demands the share of government that rightfully belongs to it and is ready to assume the corresponding responsibility. AKEL and a say in the governance of the country, if the candidate it supports will win the Presidential elections.

THE PARTY

1. The 18th Congress ratifies and adopts the conclusions and decisions of the Pancyprian Organising Conference of July 1994 and calls on the Party as a whole to make an intensive effort to implement these decisions.

The 18th Congress welcomes the progress made towards improving the quality of the organisational situation in the Party. However, it appreciates that there are still phenomena of indifference, disorder, factorism and reluctance to offer voluntary

work are still present. These phenomena hinder the smooth functioning of the Party and if not overcome, in the long run it is possible to negatively affect the Party's relations with the wider strata of the people and in the implementation of AKEL's political goals.

The 18th Congress emphasises that for the successful conduct of the important electoral and political struggles ahead of us, a necessary condition is the proper functioning of the Party mechanisms by the Central Committee to the Party Base Group. The Congress assigns in C.C. the task of studying and taking the necessary measures for improvement of the efficiency of all bodies by the C.C. to the Offices of KOV, as well as to improve the efficiency of the executive staff, in particular of salaried executive staff. The personal example in party life must first and foremost characterise the executives. Our Party, taking the necessary measures and making deep cuts in its approaches it managed to impose itself on the consciousness of the people as the pre-eminently modern and renewed Party in Cyprus. We must maintain and strengthen this positive image by continuing the renewal and modernisation that must be a constant process within the Party.

The 18th Congress notes that there is today a unity in the Party that is based on common ideological and political approaches. This unity must be further strengthened by developing the mental unity among members and Party executives and cultivating self-discipline, respect for the statutes and the rules of operation, camaraderie, mutual respect and submission to any ambitions, however polite is, in interest of the Party and the people.

2. The 18th Congress considers that **HARAVGHI (DAWN)** has marked a significant improvement in its form and content and is taking positive steps in its finances. Nevertheless, the task of overcoming weaknesses and shortcomings in the form and content that the newspaper still presents, as well as the task of stabilising and accelerating its economic recovery and the growth of its circulation, still stands before us.

The increase in the circulation of **"Haravghi"** through which the voice of the Party will be heard more widely, is a matter of every Party member whose duty does not exhausted with the purchase of the newspaper but extends to systematic and organised dissemination. The personal example of executives is a key factor in efforts to increase the circulation and dissemination of the expressive organ of the Party.

All the bodies of the Party, from the C.C. even the Offices of KOB must deal systematically and on a practical basis with the increase of “X” traffic and the solution of traffic problems. Our goal must be for “X” to enter every Party house. Furthermore, party members can play an essential role in upgrading the newspaper's content, both through contributions and collaborations, as well as providing information and news to the newspaper's Management and Board of directors.

3. The 18th Congress of AKEL recognises and emphasises the need for a substantive upgrade of our ideological work.

The basic principles of our worldview, our conception of socialism, the modern reflections on the world progressive movement must be made constantly the property of the Party as a whole. In order to achieve this goal, one must first understand the need for ideological education and training as a necessary condition for maintaining the ideology and class character of the Party.

At the same time, continuous and coordinated organisational efforts must be made to successfully plan, implement and successfully complete various activities of ideological content that will give us the necessary ideological and political education and training.

No matter how adverse the objective conditions in which we work and fight are presented, we have a duty to upgrade our efforts in the ideological field, understanding that the ideological education and shielding of the Party members, maintaining its ideological identity will not only strengthen the Party as a whole but will also result in upgrading of the member's participation in Party life and activity.

The 18th Congress highlights the need to pay attention to the ideological front of the Party to the outside, where we must be in a constant counterattack defending our ideology, exposing the impasses, delusions and contradictions of bourgeois ideology, exposing and reconstructing the neoliberal and neoconservative approaches of the rulers and fighting nationalism-chauvinism, national nihilism, subculture, the individualism and apathy that are consciously cultivated in our society. The 18th Congress invites the C.C. of the Party, as it seriously studies the creation of a Party School and a Centre for Scientific Research.

The “*New Democrat*”, the theoretical and political organ of the Party, in order to be able to fulfill its mission, must be upgraded in content, to become a step of reflection and promotion

of our ideological and political positions in their broadest sense, and be embraced with interest by executives and members of the Party.

4. The 18th Congress considers Party vigilance as a very important aspect of Party life. In the specific conditions that Cyprus is going through, the need arises to intensify our vigilance as a Party, which must become a matter for the Party as a whole and the Popular Movement in general. Our vigilance must be aimed at fully informing the Party about what is happening in Cypriot society, at preventing provocative actions and at protecting the executives and property of the Party and the People Movement.

5. The 18th Congress of AKEL considers that our Parliamentary Group (K.O.) of AKEL-Left-New Forces worked methodically and actively for implementation of our Electoral Programme of our Party, playing an important positive and creative role inside and outside the Parliament. This course should be continued and strengthened over the next five years. Pay particular attention to the task of promoting the Party's policy, defending and promoting the interests of the wider popular strata, constant contact of our MPs with the people and the shaking and solving of problems, the contribution of AKEL in the best possible way to the parliamentary work, the control the executive power, the utilisation of the international relations of the Parliament.

In order to achieve the above objectives, the planning, coordination and level of information of our Parliamentary Group must be constantly improved. Coordination and cooperation are also very important of the C.O. with the bodies, offices and departments of the Party, as well as with the organisations of the Popular Movement. To seek so that the positions and views of C.O. in the various bills and problems that arise to be even more timely and more studied.

6. The 18th Congress considers that in the current conditions the international relations of our Party should continue and be upgraded as much as possible with the aim of utilising them for the promotion of the Cyprus problem, for defining policy in international problems and of course for informing both of the leadership and members of the Party, as well as of the people. These efforts should focus on both geographical and ideological enlargement. The degree of our relations with each individual party will be determined on the basis of principles and common interests.

The efforts for connection of our Party with various international and regional bodies and organisations should also be intensified and systemised.

The initiatives of our Party for better coordination and cooperation of the left and progressive forces, which have been highly valued in the international and progressive arena, need to be continued and upgraded in order to make our most effective contribution to tackling the new order of things and all its consequences.

The Mass People's Movement—Mass Organisations

1. The Mass Popular Movement is a great conquest of its workers of our country. The mass popular organisations are the bodies of claiming and defending the rights and entitlements of the workers of manual and intellectual work. They are the places of education of the popular fighters. Through them, the positions and the policies of the Left reach the wider strata of the people, while at the same time they become the daily recipients of problems and reflections of the concerns and expectations of the people.

In the mass People's Movement, the members of the Party must play a pioneering role. A role that they must daily conquer with their work, their consistency and their dedication to defending the people's interests.

At the same time, the 18th Congress places the Akelists on the task of more active participation, creative presence and contribution to the various masses organisations in addition to the various organisations of the Popular Movement.

2. The 18th Congress of AKEL evaluates the activities and the successes of PEO in the past five years. The PEO continued to play a pioneering and decisive role in the struggles for the defence and expansion of the working class gains.

The working class and the Trade Union Movement after the election of Clerides faced the all-out attack of the employer class against the gains of workers. An attack that is encouraged by government policy.

Despite the difficulties presented at the beginning, the Trade Union Movement managed to unite its forces and the workers in general in the resistance and in the struggle for the defence and securing of the achievements and the standards of living. It

succeeded in greatly hindering the implementation of this policy to guard the gains and at the same time to gain increases and other benefits.

The 18th Congress of AKEL points out that despite the successes, not all the problems were solved and especially that the difficulties and dangers from the attack of the employers and the government were not permanently overcome and did not disappear.

The Trade Union Movement needs to remain strong and united in order to continue to be able to defend the interests of workers. The contact with workers at the place of work and residence, their organisation and education remains the primary duty of the Akelists and all in general of the executives of the Trade Union Movement.

In front of the Akelist trade unionists of PEO comes the noble duty organisational development and further massification of PEO. Maintaining the PEO as the most massive trade union organisation is a key factor for the effective organisation of the struggle of the local workers in general to defend their rights and to achieve new gains.

The strong defence of the gains of the working class, the full implementation of the collective agreements, the defence of ATA and other gains, the guarantee by all beneficiaries of the rights deriving from the labour legislation and the international conventions, the cancellation of the freezing efforts and the decline of incomes and the steady rise in the standards of living remain the daily concern of AKEL and its executives and members of working in the Trade Union Movement.

3. The 18th Congress of AKEL expresses its appreciation for the work done by EDON in objectively adverse conditions which cultivate feelings of frustration, individualism, suspicion towards political life, passivity and aversion to organised struggle. The Congress also expresses its appreciation for the struggle of EDON against nationalism-chauvinism and for rapprochement with the Turkish Cypriots.

EDON, despite all the difficulties, presents action in a number of areas related to youth, creatively developing the policy and guidelines of AKEL in this field and strengthening its ties with the youth.

The Party must step up this effort. The young Party members should consider it their Party responsibility to take an active role in

the work of EDON. Closer coordination and cooperation should be sought, but particularly the regular and specialised involvement of the Party cadres at all levels with EDON's work. In general, on the basis of the decision of the C.C., the Party should look more closely at the issues related to youth while encouraging the development of initiative by the EDON's organisations so that their activities are in line with the modern demands of the youth.

4. The 18th Congress calls on the Party to continue to be in the centre of attention of the problems and demands of the rural world and to support the difficult struggles of EKA and the Rural Movement for the upgrading and modernisation of agricultural production. The 18th Congress of AKEL is in favour of progressive agricultural reforms for the upgrading and modernisation of the Cypriot agriculture, for rational community development and revitalisation of the countryside.

5. AKEL appreciates the work carried out by the Women's Movement of POGO, which with its many years of struggles helped to take measures in several areas of social and political life, which helped to elevate the position of the Cypriot woman. The 18th Congress considers that there is a need for an intensified struggle of AKEL in collaboration with POGO for the solution of women's problems, the improvement of her social status, for the elimination of all discrimination that still exists against it. The Congress believes that women's rights in all spheres of social life should be the subject of an organised claim by the Party and the progressive Women's Movement, to which it must give more support and assistance, but also push for an increase in the promotion of women in decision-making centres.

6. The 18th Congress of AKEL reaffirms that the Party will continue to provide assistance and support to the middle classes, including self-employed, in order to promote the problems they face. The duties of the Party and more broadly of the Popular Movement in this field are summarized as follows:

(a) To affirm the community and affinity of the interests of the middle classes with the working class and the peasantry.

(b) To contribute through the Party members of this layer to the further massification of the organisations and sectors, as well as to the study, classification and prioritization of their problems.

(c) To project these problems to the competent bodies inside and outside the Parliament and to fight together with the middle and independent employees to claim their just claims.

(d) To fight together with these layers in case of our accession to the EU, so that our alignment with the European Achievements does not have a negative impact on their standards of living.

(e) In shaping the general policy and tactics of the Party to carefully takes into account their own interests.

7. AKEL expresses its appreciation to their professional organisations of teachers, professors, doctors and scientists in general and calls on its members to increase their positive contribution to the activities of these organisations.

8. The 18th Congress declares that AKEL will always be on the side of the Cooperative Movement. The main task in the current conditions is the protection, defence, further expansion of the achievements of the Cooperation, its further democratisation, as well as the taking of the necessary measures so that there is good management, proper planning and avoidance of irregularities.

AKEL and its executives who work and develop action within Cooperative Movement have an obligation to continue, as always, far from micro-political expedencies, to contribute to the continuous strengthening of mutual assistance and solidarity within Cooperation and to strengthen its solvency, something that will benefit hundreds of thousands members of the Movement.

9. The 18th Congress of AKEL reaffirms the faith and devotion of the Party on the principles of peaceful coexistence, internationalism and international solidarity. In the new conditions that have been formed in the world, AKEL believes in the necessity not only of maintaining the Peace and Solidarity Movements but also underlines the need to expand their objectives, aspirations, prestige and displacement. Their main task is their organisational empowerment and further utilisation of personalities of recognised prestige.

AKEL will work for revitalisation and strengthening of the Peace and Solidarity Movements.

10. After the great catastrophe of 1974, the Refugee Movement found its expression in the WFP which offered invaluable services to the refugee world. Unfortunately, in the last few years, basic political expedencies have caused serious operational problems in the WFP.

Finally, the Parliament established by law the new WFP (Pancyprian Refugee Association) which, following a proposal by our Parliamentary Group, will highlight its leading bodies with elections based on the system of simple proportional

representation. The Congress calls on refugee Akelists to work to elect the most democratic leadership in the new WFP and continue to fight for a solution of refugee problems, which are still many and difficult.

11. The 18th Congress reaffirms the position of AKEL on the need to verify the fate of the missing in the Cypriot tragedy.

AKEL had and will continue to have the problem in the priorities of its activities and steps in every direction and at every opportunity, until the effort to finally accelerate the verification of the fate of the missing brings results.

12. The violation of the human rights of those enclaved in the issues of free movement, property, medical care, education, profession and in many other areas of their daily lives continues.

Given the fact that those enclaved today are almost only people of an advanced age, the 18th Congress of AKEL considers that the whole issue must be seen as a matter of priority.

Both through the international appeal of Cyprus to the Council of Europe and to any international organisation, we must push for Turkey to change its attitude and thus allow those enclaved to remain in their homes and properties in humane conditions.

13. The 18th Congress declares that the various issues concerning the victims, the families of the fallen, the missing and the disabled and their families will continue to be in the focus of AKEL.

Our Party will continue to take initiatives to solve the problems of these categories of our fellow citizens.

The Cyprus Economy—The Economy and Social Problems

1. The 18th Congress of AKEL reaffirms the position that a robust economy is an important weapon in the struggle of the Cypriot people for justice. At the same time, an economic development that is harmonised and oriented to the needs of people strengthens the unity on our internal front.

2. The upward course of the Cypriot economy continued during last five years, achieving high growth rates (5% average annual) despite the individual problems presented. The small size and the great degree of extroversion of the Cypriot economy have led it largely dependent on world capitalism and especially the European economy. It is still there and exacerbated the serious corrigendum problem of the growth of the tertiary sector to the detriment of

the sectors of material production, who receive a more intense, serious, competitive pressure due to the commitments of harmonisation resulting from the chosen European perspective, without have so far paid serious concrete efforts from the government to modernise them, to make them more competitive.

3. The right-wing government of Glafkos Clerides adopts and implements what is known neoconservative model of economic growth that ends at the expense of popular strata.

Addressing the government's anti-popular policies requires forging a very broad common front of workers regardless of ideological position, based on the defence of the achievements and the protection of the healthy structures of the economy from the intrigues of big capital. The 18th Congress calls on the Party and the wider Popular Movement to continue to be in vanguard of the struggle to curb anti-popular policy responding to the expectations of workers and the wider people.

4. The economic philosophy of AKEL in the current conditions is based on following principles:

- The modern, dynamic, flexible and socially oriented mixed economy.

- To regulate the uncontrolled and unruly operation of the market laws of the current system in such a way that their operation does not fail at the expense of the financially weak strata of society.

- In securing the fairer distribution and redistribution of the national income in a fairer distribution of financial burdens according to income of each.

5. On the basis of the above principles, AKEL forms its own popular alternative proposal that it includes:

- Addressing the structural problem of the economy in the sector of material production, industry and agriculture,

- Directly addressing the problem of modernisation of the material base of industry, especially in the manufacturing sector,

- Radical rationalisation of the budget deficit and public debt,

- Reforming of the tax system, cracking down on tax evasion, strengthening state social benefits

- Strengthening the role of the Price Committee;

- Supporting and protecting cooperation;

- Drawing up housing plans by the relevant semi-state organisations that are accessible to the middle and low income strata;

- Stopping the privatisation policy promoted by the government in state and semi-state sector;
- Studying and formulating of a policy for the improvement of the life of our compatriots who are currently live in poverty. In our seemingly prosperous consumer society a significant part of our fellow human beings live on the social margins in miserable conditions. As a Workers' Party, as a movement directed against social injustice, we must upgrade our priorities to struggle to tackle this problem;
- Develop a specific policy to fight against crime and drugs that are constantly increasing, take an organised form and erode Cypriot society with incalculable consequences;
- Upgrading and intensifying the struggle against the subculture and the way of life that accompanies it;
- Supporting the Trade Union Movement's demand for an end to extradition foreign workers except in exceptional special cases, and to take drastic measures to combat illegal employment of foreign workers. AKEL also supports the request of the Trade Union Movement to plan measures to encourage the inactive Cypriot workforce to meet the needs. In this context, we strongly support the employment of Turkish Cypriot workers, a measure that will not only solve labour shortage problems but will also contribute to the rapprochement of the two communities.

AKEL will work so that foreigners employed in Cyprus receive the same treatment as their Cypriot colleagues and will resolutely fight any phenomena of racism and xenophobia.

The Local Government

The institution of Local Government is for the Left a wide field action in which contact the contact with the citizens and their daily problems is developed. The main directions of action of the representatives of the Left are the pursuit of a dynamic and balanced local development that submits to the needs of human quality of life and extends not only to issues of material infrastructure but also in matters of culture, sports, social programs, environment and in general in relation to the modern concept of the standard of living of the ordinary citizen.

Despite the positive steps taken, the 18th Congress calls on the Party to continue its struggle to expand the powers and powers of local authorities and secure their financial independence,

combined with improving the quantity and quality of action of local institutions. The appointment system that still exists for community leaders and councillors in the demarcated areas is anachronistic and unacceptable. That is why it is necessary to abolish it and to elect these local authorities through elections.

The 18th Congress appreciates the progress made in the operation of the Office TA. of C.C. At the same time, it considers that a necessary condition for more coordinated and efficient action of the Party in the field of Local Government is the further improvement of the operation of the respective Offices of the C.C. and of E.U. and upgrading the importance and attention of Party organisations in TA issues.

Education

The 18th Congress approves the comprehensive proposal for the Educational Policy adopted by C.C. on the recommendation of the Education Office. The 18th Congress calls on the Party as a whole and especially the members and executives of AKEL that are directly related to education issues to intensify their efforts to promote the positions on which the Party's policy is based for Education.

The 18th Congress expresses the Party's full support for the University of Cyprus and condemns the attacks and intrigues against the autonomy and bi-communal character of the University as well as against the academic freedom.

Culture

The 18th Congress welcomes the rich and multifaceted activity which the Party has developed in the field of Culture.

AKEL considers culture an important weapon of resistance against the occupation but also against the all-out attack of the subculture that is particularly popular in recent years within the main goal of the youth and workers. In this sense, the work of the Party in the field of art and culture is an important and integral part of the ideological front and a weapon in the wider political struggle.

In view of the above, the 18th Congress considers it necessary to further intensify the Party's activity in the field of culture and to continue the taking initiatives.

Health

The health of the people is of paramount importance. In the field of health the problems are very serious. The introduction of a General Health Plan has been one of the basic requests of AKEL for years. A firm position of AKEL is the creation of conditions seamless provision of high quality medical care to all the strata of the Cypriot people, within the framework of a National General Health Plan.

The 18th Congress of AKEL is in favour of the provision of free medical care to the people and especially to the lower and middle income strata.

For these layers of the people, we demand the abolition of the medical care in our hospitals.

AKEL notes with concern the delay observed in the introduction of a General Health Plan and will use all its powers for creating favourable conditions for the implementation of the National General Plan Health to become a reality as soon as possible and on financial terms will favour the low and middle income classes.

Sport

Sport is a social phenomenon that can and should be exploited for the proper employment and education of the youth, for the maintenance of health of the people, but also for the promotion of our place in the international arena, something that is very important in today's very difficult conditions.

The 18th Congress welcomes the initiatives of the Party in this area and the preparation by the respective Office of C.C. A comprehensive scientific study aimed at establishing an integrated state sports policy that will concern the organisation, cultivation and development of mass sports. The Congress calls on the Party to make the most of the conclusions of this study.

The 18th Congress welcomes the initiatives taken by the Party in the field of sports and calls for the continuation of these initiatives.

Ecology and Environment

AKEL, as a party that focuses on the people, has in recent years substantially upgraded its attention and interest in environmental issues. In the context of this interest, a comprehensive action plan for the protection and upgrading of the environment has been developed with the help of experts and executives of the environmental movement.

The 18th Congress welcomes the elaboration by the Integrated Party environmental policy and calls for action to promote it.

AKEL highly appreciates the development of an organised environmental movement in our country that finds its expression in the Federation of Environment and Ecological Organisations, considers its contribution and action positive and seeks the develop of cooperation with it on the basis of common aspirations.

The 18th Congress of AKEL considers that the treatment of environmental problems as they are today requires the widest possible understanding and unity of all forces of society regardless of ideological and political position and AKEL should work in this direction.

Expatriates and repatriates

Our expatriate compatriots play a very important role in promoting a just solution to the Cyprus problem, especially with regard to the enlightenment abroad and influencing decision centres. But at the same time the expatriate Cypriots also face serious problems in their host countries.

The 18th Congress of AKEL considers that it is the duty of the Cypriot state to help to solve these problems, especially that of education. The first thing that needs to be done is to upgrade the Overseas Service so that is able to fulfill its mission.

Many of our expatriates are repatriated but face many problems. The 18th Congress believes that the state must look with particular interest and affection at the problems of the repatriates because this will encourage more expatriates to repatriate.

The 18th Congress of AKEL calls on the Party to give every help to our repatriated compatriots.

The 18th Congress of AKEL delivers to the judgement of the of the Cypriot people the present to political decision of the Congress.

The Congress calls on the Party Bodies, the executives and the members of AKEL to work with programming, active and purposeful in order to transform the Decision of the 18th Congress into life and practice.

DECISION ON THE POSITION OF AKEL ON CYPRUS'S ACCESSION TO THE EUROPEAN UNION

1. AKEL has for many years been positioned, with Congress decisions, against the pursuit of Cyprus' accession to the European Union.

This position of AKEL has been manifested since the beginning of the 60's as an opposition to the desire of the government of Makarios for a status of association with the EEC that would potentially evolve into a Customs Union. AKEL argued at the time that the association with the EEC for political and economic reasons should be avoid and instead an equal trade agreement should be sought.

The essence of the position that our Party formed at that time has remained until today and for about the same reasons. AKEL opposed both the activation of the second phase of the Association Agreement, i.e. the Customs Union, and the decision of the Government of Vasiliou to apply for membership of the EEC.

The basic argument of the Party for its stance had three main axis:

(a) The international policy options of Cyprus, i.e., the non-aligned policy and the support to help the USSR and other former socialist countries, came into conflict with the character of the EEC which was, in addition to economical coalition, and the political extension of the North Atlantic Alliance Organisation in Europe.

(b) With the economic data that existed, accession to the EEC would result in an unfavourable competitive position of the Cypriot economy against the EEC economic giants, resulting in the contraction of Cypriot industry and agriculture.

In the socio-economic sector, we pointed out the risk of abolishing the gains of the Cypriot people, which would be

imposed by the EEC supranational centres through their various directives. We also saw the danger of the serious negative effects on the socio-economic sector such as unemployment, underemployment etc.

(c) With the data at that time, in our perception, the possible accession to the EEC was in conflict with our long-term ideological orientations in the context of the global correlation of forces as it was then formed.

2. The assessments and perceptions of AKEL on the character of the European Union as an advanced form of capitalist political-economic integration have not changed. Today, however, the situation in the world and especially on the European continent has changed radically. This change obliges us to reconsider the position of our Party towards the possible accession of Cyprus to the European Union, so that our positions take into account the current objective reality and answer more convincingly to the problems of our time.

The new data mainly concern the serious reshuffles on the international scene as a result of the dissolution of the USSR and the socialist community in Europe, the great weaknesses of the Non-Aligned Movement which, for the time being at least, have significantly reduced its international intervention, the fact that the Cyprus-European Customs Union is almost completed and that despite our disagreement, the application for membership in the European Union has been submitted and is already one of the main parameters that compose the developments in the Cyprus issue. Given the strongly positive attitude of all other political forces in Cyprus in favour of accession and the point at which the issue is today, it seems from the facts that the key issue, in essential practical significance, has shifted from yes or no, in integration and has been transferred to whether it is possible, how and under what terms and conditions this will take place.

We also have new data in the area of the European Union itself, which has been considerably enlarged and now consists of 15 states, while the majority of European countries, including former socialists as well as Turkey, have submitted or intend to apply for membership.

3. It is a fact that our Party has never opposed the idea of a European unity on an equal and democratic basis. However, at a time when the two Europeans existed and competed fiercely in all

sectors, the EEC, due to its nature and character, could in no way play such a unifying role.

The political decision of the 17th Congress of AKEL states literally: "Our position does not mean the refusal of Cyprus to participate in the process of building one common European home. However, we do not equate the concept of a common European home with the EEC. We believe that a non-aligned Cyprus can contribute more actively building the common European home".

AKEL supported the idea of a common European home where all European countries, on the basis of parity and mutual respect, would voluntarily join by forming collectively developed mechanisms for common security, economic cooperation and development, defence of the environment etc. However, the dissolution of the socialist community, in the way it was done, does not leave much room for such a vision. The prospect of European convergence does not seem to have many alternatives today. For the vast majority of left-wing forces in Europe, the goal of a progressive and democratic reform of the European Union, which is increasingly approaching the long-term goal of "Europe of the peoples", seems to be the only prospect, at least for the foreseeable future.

4. In view of the possible start of accession negotiations with the European Union, AKEL sets as its main goal to use this course as another front of struggle towards a just solution to the Cyprus problem.

Despite the fact that we have strong reservations about the European achievements, which is generally moving in a conservative direction, particularly in the socio-economic area, we still see elements that, if properly exploited in the accession process with firm and responsible handling, can work positively for the political struggle we are engaged in. Such figures are:

(a) The possibility of putting pressure on Turkey for a solution in view of the effort of Cyprus to approach the European Union more closely, but also the transfer of the problem more decisively to the decision-making centres of the European Union.

(b) The fact that possible accession will enhance the sense of security in both communities and will make Cyprus less exposed to Turkish and other unilateral actions.

(c) The fact that the nature of the European achievements may reinforce the unifying elements both in the course and after the

solution of the Cyprus problem, not of course as a substitute course towards a correct solution but as an element enhancing its viability.

(d) The fact that the usefulness of the accession of Cyprus to the European Union is—despite differences of approach on how and when it will take place—a point of convergence and agreement with almost all Turkish Cypriot political forces.

5. AKEL is categorically opposed to the logic of membership at any sacrifice which not only can neutralise the positive elements they can be exploited, but can at the same time create enormous risks of diversion in a negative direction.

Entrapment in the logic of integration as an end in itself, given the correlation of forces in the European Union as well as the sensitivity of its core partners in support of Turkey, can make our side vulnerable to pressure for retreat of authorities in the Cyprus issue or even the consolidation of the dichotomous status-quo to the extent that correct and decisive manipulations are not implemented.

6. With regard to the Cyprus issue, the basic conditions that, in our view, must be observed for Cyprus to proceed with accession, must be the following:

(a) The possible integration, either before or after the solution, must clearly concern the whole territory of the Republic of Cyprus and not only the free areas. Under no circumstances should a such closure of the Cyprus issue be accepted with concessions of principles from the Greek Cypriot side with the illusion that, with accession, this solution will be adapted to the so-called European achievements.

(b) The prospect of Cyprus' accession should be independent of the accession process of Turkey and not to appear in the negotiations as one of two chapters of the same issue since in this way our side is obliged to contribute itself to the political pressure on Turkey.

7. AKEL considers that the course of Cyprus' accession to the European Union can only have positive results to the extent that it strengthens efforts to resolve the Cyprus problem within the framework of the UN, on the basis of the decisions of the International Organisation and the summit agreements.

The safest way to strengthen Cyprus in the process of joining the European Union is the right handling and the consistent and creative attitude of the Greek Cypriot side in the initiatives of the

UN Secretary General. Manipulations and attitudes that will allow at least the Turkish intransigence to be recorded, if the initiatives of the Secretary General do not succeed. Such manipulations will at the same time prevent the existing dangers for our side to become a prisoner of the accession process.

8. AKEL considers justified and desirable the disposition shown by Turkish Cypriot political forces to have a say in the accession process of Cyprus, since possible membership also concerns their own future. To the extent that such participation can be achieved without the risks of direct or indirect recognition of the pseudo-state, the Cypriot government must be ready to support it. However, since the Turkish Cypriot leadership is obstructing the solution of the Cyprus problem, its position cannot be accepted that, in order for the Turkish Cypriot participation in the accession process must begin after the solution.

9. In the socio-economic sector, the agreement on the accession of Cyprus to the EU must be the result of meaningful and dynamic negotiation so as to ensure a substantial transitional period of adjustment and not to seriously affect the economic and social achievements of the Cypriot people.

We are particularly sensitive to the issues:

(a) Safeguarding trade union rights and labour gains (ATA, TKA, etc.).

(b) Ensuring the independence and the democratic institutional framework of the Cooperation.

(c) Ensuring the social character of utilities and the social role of the state in general.

(d) Protection and support of the sensitive sectors of production (Industry, Agriculture) as well as the income of producers.

AKEL rejects the practice to date of the government and employers' organisations, which in the name of harmonisation of our economy with the European Union selectively promote those social and economic measures that meet their interests and their socio-economic philosophy. The one that should dominate in the period until accession, and also after it, is the struggle to preserve and extend the achievements of the Cypriot people and not the "voluntary" restriction in the name of integration. This selective anti-popular policy aims to lead Cyprus to accession negotiations on favourable terms and conditions not the Cypriot people as a whole but the Cypriot capital.

10. The review of the position of AKEL regarding the course of Cyprus's accession to the EU, in no way does it mean the giving up the Party from its long-term goals for a qualitative social transformation. Our conception of Socialism as decided by the 17th Congress of the Party is firmly our social vision for which the Party will continue to fight steadily.

11. Given both the complexity of the processes that take place currently in the European Union and the extent of the European achievements as well as government choices, our Party will work intensively through various sections for further elaboration and specialisation of proposals on the issues of the European Union and in particular on the conditions and the demands that Cyprus must claim, in the context of accession negotiations to serve the interests of the masses and the Cypriot people in general.

12. For AKEL as the first and dominant issue remains the polar dimension of the accession process and its contribution to the struggle for a just solution to the Cyprus problem. It is clear to our Party that its final position on any accession agreement, will be basic criterion of whether this agreement will help and will not oppose a fair and sustainable solution to the Cyprus problem on the basis of principles. We will not hesitate to oppose any process or agreement that, in our opinion, will move in a different direction. The content of this agreement in terms of socio-economic issues and the extent to which the conditions we have set will be implemented play a decisive role for our final position.

13. In the light of new global data, with the main focus on ensuring the security of the Republic of Cyprus and all our people, and taking into account that the Turkish Cypriots are also in favour of EU membership. The 18th Congress of AKEL decides to diversify the position of our Party so far on the relations between Cyprus and the EU, and its configuration as follows:

Provided that the EU helps in the proper settlement of the Cyprus problem, the whole of Cyprus joins the European Union and ensures significant socio-economic achievement of our people AKEL is ready to advocate for the accession of Cyprus to the European Union.

AKEL believes that the Cypriot people should have the final say on the possible accession of Cyprus to the European Union.

The 18th Congress decides to set up a specialised department / office of the C.C. for Cyprus-European Union with the aim of studying the European data and the developments of the accession

process and the better preparation of the Party for substantial interference in this course from the point of view of the interests of Cyprus and its workers.

THE DECLARATIONS OF THE CONGRESS¹⁰⁰

DECLARATION TO THE PEOPLE OF CYPRUS

Men and Women Compatriots,

The 18th Congress of AKEL held from 16 to 19 November 1995, in Nicosia, addresses you a cordial and militant greeting.

The modernisation of the Party and its renewed course of struggle characterised the Congress. A feature of the Congress was also the multifaceted and deep reflection that covered the whole range of policies, economic and social developments and conditions.

The 18th Congress of our Party considers that the struggle to find a just and a sustainable solution that will consolidate the sovereignty and independence of Cyprus clashes with the intransigence of the Turkish Cypriot leadership and Ankara. Intransigence that is intensified by the attitude of its powerful allies who not only do they not exert effective pressure on the application of the principles of international law but tolerate it if they do not encourage it.

However, serious difficulties and obstacles, also arise from the revival and rise of nationalism on both sides, the re-emergence of unionism, the cultivation of illusions about the possibility of a political choice, the degradation and weakening of the role of the National Council, the often abusive statements and actions of leaders, and others, which certainly have an effect on prolonging deadlock but also carry very serious risks for the course of the Cyprus problem.

The 18th Congress of AKEL expresses deep concern about the situation with its concrete actions, created by the Clerides government at on our internal front. With the violation of democratic institutions, the attempt to restrict constitutional rights and freedoms of citizens, the intense effort to justify the coup plotters and Grivas, with the extreme rushiness for the

¹⁰⁰ *ibid.*

settlement of the people, the encouragement of capital in its attack on the achievements and the standards of living of the workers, there is a risk weakening of the internal front and the militant mood and will of the people.

Frustration and dissatisfaction as a result of the behaviour of the rulers is pervasive among the wider strata of our people, and hope is directed to the democratic forces of the country.

It is the Congress's finding that the country needs a different policy from a government based on the broad mobilisation of democratic, progressive opposition forces.

A government with stability and consistency in the pursuit of a solution based on UN resolutions and unanimous decisions of the National Council. A pro-people government, with a vision and a programme that strengthens unity and cohesion of our internal front and renew the hope for a better tomorrow for our people.

AKEL from the position of the official opposition is aware of the responsibility and will work intensively in this direction.

In the upcoming parliamentary elections, AKEL will come down with an even broader ballot paper, which reflects the well-known consistency in principles and responsibility of AKEL, combined with the new spirit, the renewal and the modernisation.

We are sure, dear men and women compatriots, that as always, so now you will honour the Workers' Party and give it all the guarantees so that it is even stronger, and more ready to play its role decisively.

The Progressive Party of the Working People, which next year completes 70 years of honest, proud and consistent struggle for the good of the country, from the official podium of its 18th Congress, sends to the entire Cypriot people a message of unceasing struggle and optimism, and renews the promise, and its contract with the people to give hope again.

THE RESOLUTIONS AND MESSAGES OF THE CONGRESS ¹⁰¹

THE MESSAGE TO THE TURKISH CYPRIOTS

Dear compatriots,

The 18th Congress of AKEL that met in Nicosia from the 16th to the 19th November 1995, addresses you a cordial greeting.

The prolonged stagnation in the Cyprus issue that continues without any signs of progress, the voices that unfortunately grow louder on both sides for solutions that perpetuate the separation instead of overcoming it, the departure from the UN procedures and decisions and summit agreements, are elements which unfortunately support our finding that the distance from the division is constantly decreasing.

It is our deep conviction that at this critical moment, all Cypriots who anticipate and envision the reunification of Cyprus and peaceful coexistence on the basis of mutual respect, should raise their voices more strongly.

- To prevent a dichotomous solution sought by the reactionary and chauvinist circles at home and abroad.

- To promote a solution based on UN resolutions and summit agreements, to create a federal, bi-communal, bi-regional, demilitarised Republic of Cyprus, under which the human rights of all its citizens are guaranteed.

- To take further specific and practical measures to promote rapprochement and mutual understanding between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots.

By promoting rapprochement, we are strengthening the fighting forces for the demolition of the wall that was erected in front of us and separated by the foreign reactionary forces and the enemies of Cyprus, and we are creating the conditions for the viability of a just solution to the Cyprus problem.

¹⁰¹ *ibid.*

We believe that together we can and must fight for a solution restores the unity, territorial integrity and independence of the Republic of Cyprus.

AKEL will consistently continue the struggle against chauvinism, for reunification of Cyprus. In these critical moments for our common homeland, it calls on everyone to join the common struggle to give hope again, to bring back peace and happiness, to give a better standard of living to our people, better and more humane living conditions.

We can and must fight together for the salvation of our common homeland.

THE MESSAGE TO THE PEOPLE WHO ARE FIGHTING FOR A PEACEFUL AND FAIRER WORLD

At the threshold of the 21st century, from the podium of its 18th Congress, AKEL sends a message of solidarity and joint action with peoples around the world, struggle for a better world based on the timeless values of peace, justice and equality.

The international that was formed after World War II has been overthrown after the dissolution of the Soviet Union and the Socialist Community in Europe. But the fragile Cold War balance that existed has not only not been replaced by really new ones, fair and democratic world relations, as was pompously proclaimed, but instead the so-called “new order of things” very soon proved in practice complete disorder and a selfish attempt to enforce the law of the powerful.

The monopoly and domination of the US and its allies have not only failed to ensure respect for the principles of international law, but increasingly, these principles are adapting to selfish economic and political interests regardless of whether the price is wars and disasters.

Even international institutions such as the SA UN efforts are being made to drive and exploit them contrary to the purposes for which they were created.

The Cold War may be over, but the North-South antagonism and division is widening, famine and misery in vast areas of the

world remain, nationalism and religious fanaticism are developing and the heart of Europe, the Balkans, are threatened with enormous warfare, with the tolerance and encouragement of the imperialist powers.

The message that the delegates of the 18th Congress of AKEL address to all the peoples of the world is a message for strengthening the international solidarity, a message of resistance to any attempt to restore world relations to the policy of gunners.

The Left and progressive forces strengthening their unity of action, must with a new impetus support the revitalisation of international solidarity with priority given to a just and peaceful settlement of regional conflicts, to the economic development of poor countries and to their liberation from impoverishment and protection of the planet from ecological disaster.

The 18th Congress expresses the solidarity of the Party with the people who are fighting for peace, independence, democracy, human rights and a just and happy future. We express our solidarity with the people of Eastern Europe and we wish them success in their struggles for overcoming the particularly difficult conditions they face today. We strongly express our full solidarity with the neighbouring Palestinian people and wish peace and prosperity. We express our full solidarity with the people of the former Yugoslavia and we hope that the fratricidal conflict fostered by imperialist powers will end and that a peaceful, just solution to their differences will be found. We demand immediate removal of the embargo against Serbia.

We welcome the victory of the people of South Africa and wish them success difficult path to the completion of a non-racist society.

We unite our voice with that of the international community, express our full support for the people and government of Cuba and demand an immediate end to the inhumane American embargo.

We condemn the French nuclear tests that pollute the environment, endanger the health of the people in the region and pave the way for a new round of nuclear weapons competition that will endanger life on our planet. We demand the immediate cessation of the French nuclear tests and the complete banning of any nuclear tests as a step towards nuclear disarmament.

From the podium of their Congress, the Akelists express their deep conviction that the timeless principles and universal values of Peace and Democracy as well as the need to apply the rules of

International Law, are increasingly gaining ground and will eventually prevail.

No retreat from these principles can be permanent, no matter how powerful those who attempt it today.

AKEL welcomes the global reorganisation of the forces of progress and reaffirms its intention to contribute with all its might to the struggle for a world of Peace, Democracy, Freedom and Social Justice.

THE RESOLUTION TO THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE UN

Your Excellency,

The 18th Congress of AKEL held in Nicosia from 16 to November 19, 1995 welcomes the 50th anniversary of the establishment of the Organisation and with honour submits the following to you:

1. Declares its insistence on UN resolutions and summit agreements as a basis for a solution to the Cyprus problem.

2. Concerned about the tendency of the Cyprus issue to be diverted from the UN framework and insists on finding a solution within the framework of the international organisation, with involvement of all permanent members of the Security Council.

3. Notes the reluctance of the Security Council to take steps to ensure that the Turkish side abandons its uncompromising stance and complies with United Nations resolutions and the agreed framework for a solution.

4. Notes that the implementation of this package of MOEs without parallel progress on the substance of the Cyprus problem carries risks, the MOEs being the final “solution” of the problem.

5. In order to make progress on the substance of the Cyprus issue, the Turkish side must accept the terms set by it, both in Report 5/24830 and the Security Council, adopting your Report in Resolution 789.

6. Expresses deep concern about the continuation of the drama of the relatives of the missing persons, the living conditions of the detainees and the fact that human rights and fundamental

freedoms, including the right of refugees to return to homes and properties, have been violated for twenty years now.

16-19 November 1995

THE NINETHEENTH CONGRESS OF AKEL (7-10 December 2000)

THE DECISIONS OF THE CONGRESS¹⁰²

THE POLITICAL DECISION OF THE 19TH CONGRESS OF AKEL

The 19th Congress of AKEL, which met from 7 to 10 December 2000, took on special importance due to the critical political parameters in which it took place and the serious issues it discussed. The 19th Congress was the culmination of many months of pre-Congress work, internal Party and public dialogue and deep reflection, which continued at the Congress itself.

The delegates, expressing freely and democratically their views and will, discussed and approved the “positions of the C.C. to the 19th Congress”, the introductory speech of the Secretary General of the C.C. of AKEL Dimitris Christofias, the Exhibition of C.C. Audit and the Report on the Finances of C.C. of the Party. The Congress also discussed and finalized the “AKEL Proposal for the Modernisation of the Cypriot Society”. Finally, the Congress elected the new Central Committee and the Central Audit Committee of AKEL.

Concluding its work, the 19th Congress discussed and approved the following political decision that defines the parameters of the Party’s policy until the next Congress:

THE INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS AND INTERNATIONAL PROGRESSIVE MOVEMENT

1. The 19th Congress of AKEL finds that the Party’s assessments of the world today, the so-called new international

¹⁰² Publications C.C. AKEL, *Decisions and Other Documents*, 2001.

order—starring the United States—and globalisation have been verified by life and developments.

2. The real content of the “new order”, as it has been seen on so many occasions, culminating in the NATO invasion of the people of Yugoslavia, is nothing but a blatant violation of the Charter of the United Nations, a violation of international law, the marginalisation and the use of the UN to serve selfish interests, the enforcement of the “law” of the powerful even by force of arms. Attempts are being made to introduce new rules into international law that give legitimacy to the interventions of the imperialists in every corner of the globe, where they believe that democracy, human rights and national rights of the minorities are in danger. In fact, democracy, human rights and ethnic minorities are used, in the most hypocritical way, as an alibi to illegally promote predatory geostrategic and economic interests.

3. The absence of “rival awe”, the new order, the largely UN leadership and the weakening of the Non-Aligned Movement negatively affect the peoples fighting for freedom and social progress, including the Cypriot people. The role of the advanced NATO outpost assigned to Turkey by its Western allies, within its framework “New world order” is one of the main factors behind the Cyprus problem in recent years.

4. The new world order is identified with monopolies and multinational corporations. Globalisation, as it happens, favours multinationals and developed capitalist countries and leads to the destruction of dozens other “Third World” countries. Millions of people are being driven to hunger and misery. The neoliberal, unpopular economic model, the deification market economy, the constant attacks on the achievements of workers and attempts to shrink the welfare state, a sharp increase in unemployment and many other negative phenomena worsen the economic situation of workers even in developed capitalist countries. It is clearly demonstrated that capitalism is unable to escape its inherent contradictions, which constantly reproduce social inequality and social injustice, which naturally leads to the rebirth of the idea and of the vision of socialism. Workers began to realise the dead ends and illusions of neoliberalism and began to react.

5. The 19th Congress notes that the conditions have been created for the left and progressive movement—where it has been modernised and renewed without compromising basic principles—to return to the forefront and increase its influence among the

people. The left and progressive movement articulates political discourse, puts forward proposals and programmes, participates and organises new assertive social and political struggles. At the same time, it began to regain his self-confidence and as a result it defended itself more dynamic and more decisive values and principles, which are mocked and trampled by neoliberalism.

6. The 19th Congress of AKEL is convinced that an important role in international meetings are also taking place in the recovery of the forces of the Left organised on the initiative of Left parties. AKEL has its own substantial contribution to this effort. Based on data as it is formed today, the AKEL Congress believes that what is needed to be done is:

I. Encourage and strengthen efforts to enhance cooperation and the coordination of the Left and Progressive parties at the regional level and worldwide. AKEL will continue to take initiatives towards this direction.

II. Active participation and initiatives within the Confederal Group of the United Left-North/Green Left in the European Parliament and the United Left in Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe. The initiatives should aim at the Left Groups in Europe playing a more active role for a more democratic and socially just Europe, as well as at promoting the Cyprus issue and the accession process of Cyprus.

III. Strengthen and participate in the efforts to create a European Left Party, within the European Union. This party will play a coordinating role without its decisions being binding or aspire to become a 'guidance centre'.

IV. Upgrading efforts to strengthen cooperation between the Left and Progressive parties from Western and Eastern Europe.

V. More active participation of the left and progressive forces in the mobilisations against the globalisation of multinationals at international level.

CYPRUS

1. The 19th Congress of AKEL notes that the last five years have been a barren period, during which there has been no progress towards solving the Cyprus problem. On the contrary, there is a setback and diverting Cyprus from the framework and the basis of solution laid down by the UN resolutions and High-Level Agreements. The Cyprus problem is currently in the worst position

it has ever been since 1974. The 19th Congress of AKEL expressing deep concern about developments warns and stresses that if the slide is not stopped and if the diversion from the proper basis for solving the problem is left to be completed, then Cyprus and our people, Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots, will find ourselves in the throes of new painful adventures.

2. Ankara, taking advantage of the privileged role assigned to it by the so-called new order of things, consolidates the occupation and the division of Cyprus. The settlement and the mass migration of the Turkish Cypriots have dramatically altered the demographic character of Cyprus. The assimilation of the occupied by Turkey is advancing rapidly. Ankara and Denktash are constantly upgrading their intransigence and cynicism. Since the summer of 1998, they have been officially promoting the demand for a confederation of two sovereign states in Cyprus, arguing that a confederation is the only possible solution. The 19th AKEL Congress declares that the confederation cannot be accepted because it means division and the division does not serve either the Greek Cypriots, neither the Turkish Cypriots, nor Cyprus, but also peace and stability in the region.

3. There is still a lack of political will on the part of the United States, Britain and other powerful Western countries to put pressure on Ankara and Denktash to change the dichotomous philosophy and policy. The leading Western countries are tolerating and trying to meet the unacceptable demands of Ankara and Denktash, which are in stark contrast to the United Nations resolutions. The same countries are behind the diversion of Cyprus issue observed since June 1999, in which they also involve the United Nations. The 19th AKEL Congress calls on the leading Western countries to abandon Turkey's policy of appeasement and support in practice **a solution to the** Cyprus problem based on United Nations resolutions. The United Nations have a duty and an obligation to work for the implementation of its own resolutions and to reject any approach to a solution between the resolutions on the one hand and Denktash's federal demands on the other.

4. The 19th Congress notes that Ankara, Denktash and those who support them bear the main responsibility for the setback and deterioration of the situation in the Cyprus issue. However, the Clerides government and the leadership also have responsibilities. The policy of the rulers is characterised by contradictions, regressions, impressive movements for internal consumption,

miscalculations and decisions, lack of insight and preventive policy. In the events of Deryneia, the rulers showed responsibility phobia, avoided confronting nationalist circles and let things lead to the threshold of a new military adventure. The policy of the active volcano was tested in practice and failed miserably. Dogmatology, volcanology and demagoguery on defence which aimed at ensuring that the right and the far-right remained in power damaged the Cyprus case. The politics of the active volcano followed by the policy of strict trust in American assurances and promises, while the policy of the many conditions for the start of talks followed by the consent to close unconditional talks. Today's diversion from United Nations resolutions is not unrelated to the failures and deadlocks of the active volcano policy, regressions and contradictions of the rulers.

5. The 19th Congress of AKEL estimates that the diversion to the Cyprus issue begun in June 1999 with the placement of the Group of Eight richest countries known as Group 68. The formalities all at the table, talks without preconditions and a solution of the Cyprus problem not on the basis but simply taking "fully into account the relevant UN resolutions and High Level Agreements", included in the announcement of 68, created the conditions of diversion. They legitimised Denktash putting a confederation issue on the table without the United Nations rejecting his positions as being outside the framework of the resolutions. The adoption of the 68 positions by the Security Council with Resolution 1250, the extortionate way in which the close talks were convened, the processes and the background of the renewal of the mandate of UNFICYP in December 1999 and June 2000, the statement of the UN Secretary-General of 12 September 2000 and the various informal documents provided during the close talks constitute the diversion which is altering the basis for a solution to the Cyprus problem.

6. The government and the leadership of **DISY** welcomed the announcement of 68, interpreted it devoutly, attempted to present it as an unprecedented manifestation of international interest and as a success of the Clerides policy, starting from their miscalculations, they systematically beautify developments, follow a policy of complacency and passive monitoring of events and thus failed to implement an active, precautionary measure policy, the necessity of which is persistently indicated by AKEL.

7. The documented and decisive reaction of AKEL, as well as other political forces, in the statement of the Secretary General of 12 September, put pressure on the rulers. Even belatedly, some steps were taken as a result of which the UN Secretary General made a new statement in Geneva containing positive elements. The 19th Congress of AKEL appreciates this development. It stresses, however, that the correct basis for conducting negotiations to find a solution to the Cyprus problem has not been restored even in this direction is where our efforts should be focused.

8. The long-standing unfinished business of the Cyprus issue and the absence of prospects for a short, fair and sustainable solution, create feelings of frustration and allow the emergence or revitalisation of wrong approaches. The attacks against the federation cause great damage and objectively lead to the consolidation of the partition. The 19th Congress of AKEL condemns the attacks against the federation and emphasises that the federation is the only alternative to partition. Any abandonment of the High Level Agreements and UN resolutions adopting the federation will enable those who devise dichotomous solutions to promote them. The 19th Congress of AKEL also condemns those voices in the name supposedly of realism leave open the possibility of accepting confederal solutions. Such approaches are equally unacceptable and disastrous for Cyprus.

9. During the last five years the demagogy in matters of defence on the part rulers and their exploitation to serve factional and electoral expediency reached its peak. The 19th Congress condemning and rejecting dogmatology, volcanology and demagogy on defence issues, reaffirms AKEL's position that the Cypriot defence shield of the Republic of Cyprus is needed to address the threat from their presence of the occupying troops as well as any other foreign invasion. However, the defence policy must be subordinated and serve the strategic objective of a peaceful solution to the Cyprus problem, not to oppose the commonly accepted policy of rapprochement, to be within the capabilities of the economy and not to affect the development course of Cyprus. Any tendency of exaggeration in matters of defence, any attempt to reduce defence shielding to a factor allegedly upsetting the military imbalance of power and strengthens our bargaining position, any cultivation of delusion for the feasible so-called military solution to the Cyprus problem, any unreasonable

expenses, lead to the logic of the militarisation of the Cyprus problem, which is harmful and wrong.

10. In recent years the complete dependence of the pseudo-state on Turkey has become even more evident. The collapse of the banking system in the occupied territories triggered mass mobilisations of the Turkish Cypriots, which subsequently took the intense political content. For the first time, Turkey's role and the presence of the occupying army are so openly and massively questioned. Despite Denktash's reactions, the movement for federation and rapprochement is growing. Ankara will, of course, continue to play a decisive role in the occupied territories. The developments and mobilisations, however, verify the firm position of AKEL that the Turkish Cypriots are an important factor in the efforts to resolve the Cyprus problem, which should not even be overlooked, nor be underestimated. The 19th Congress of AKEL addresses a warm greeting to our Turkish Cypriot compatriots who are fighting in very adverse conditions for a peaceful, federal solution to the Cyprus problem and for a rapprochement. The constant struggle against nationalism-chauvinism and the consistent and decisive support of the federation strengthen the patriotic forces of the Turkish Cypriots and therefore strengthen the common struggle for the reunification of Cyprus.

11. Nationalism-chauvinism bears a large share of the responsibility for the tragedy of Cyprus. Nationalism is a phenomenon that has been cultivated and continues to be cultivated in both communities. The 19th Congress declares that the AKEL will continue to uncompromisingly oppose nationalism-chauvinism, considering this struggle as the highest patriotic duty. AKEL will continue to fight for friendship, mutual respect and cooperation between the two communities, will continue to promote and cultivate the common elements that unite us and define themselves as Cypriots, firmly believing that this is a great contribution in the struggle for liberation from the occupation and reunification of our homeland.

12. The 19th Congress reaffirms the position of AKEL that the rapprochement of Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots are a component of our people's anti-occupation struggle. The rapprochement is a basic condition for resolving the Cyprus issue and functionality of the solution to be found. The Congress considers that the movement of rapprochement, the establishment of which was spearheaded by our Party, began to acquire its own

dynamics. The mass participation of people from two communities in rapprochement events is a qualitatively new stage development of the movement. With specific initiatives, AKEL will continue to promote rapprochement as well as the implementation of practical measures that bring the two communities closer. At the same time, our intervention must respond to the efforts to remove from the rapprochement of its political character and content.

13. The 19th Congress of AKEL reaffirms the position that Greece remains the main support of Cyprus in the struggle for liberation from occupation and for reunification of our country and people. AKEL approaches the relations between Greece and Cyprus from the point of view of necessity as much as possible cooperation and coordination between them, but also of aid in any way of the state entity of the Republic of Cyprus. AKEL, guided by its firm policy for a peaceful solution of the Cyprus problem, welcomes the rapprochement between Greece and Turkey and the transformation of relations between the two countries in good neighbourly relations and cooperation, but we consider as a necessary condition for the full normalisation of Greek-Turkish relations the settlement of the Cyprus issue on the basis of UN resolutions and Summit Agreements. We also point out the danger of secession of the Cyprus problem, which sought by Turkey. The Greek government, of course, as well as the political world in Greece assure that there will be no segregation of the Cyprus issue, nor a complete normalisation of Greek-Turkish relations unless the problem is resolved. Having these in mind, AKEL estimates that Greek-Turkish approach will go through critical phases with the possibility of even opposition.

14. The 19th Congress of AKEL reaffirms the position of the Party that the Cyprus problem is a problem of invasion, occupation and foreign intervention. The treacherous coup d'état of the junta and EOKA-B paved the way for the Turkish invasion and occupation. Of course, there is also the problem of normalising of relations between the two communities and the joint formation of the federal structure of the Republic of Cyprus with the transformation of the Republic of Cyprus into a federal state.

15. The Cyprus issue must be resolved peacefully through substantive inter-communal negotiations and with the parallel and comprehensive internationalisation of the problem. There is no other alternative process resolving the Cyprus issue, except for talks. But in order to have meaningful talks that lead to a solution,

must be accepted by both parties and to talk on the same basis. This basis is the resolutions and decisions of the United Nations and the High Level Agreements of 1977 and 1979.

16. The 19th Congress of AKEL emphasises the need to find a solution as soon as possible, considering that the passage of time consolidates occupation and division. At the same time, however, the content of the solution is of great importance for AKEL which must provide:

I. The restoration and respect of independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus, is of great importance to AKEL.

II. The removal of the Turkish occupation troops, all foreign troops and the demilitarisation of Cyprus.

III. The removal of settlers and the restoration of demographics composition of the Cypriot population that is currently dangerously altered by the mass settlement.

IV. The restoration and respect of human rights and basic freedoms of Cypriot citizens. It is of paramount importance to secure the right of refugees to return to their homes and property.

V. The creation of a federal bi-communal, bi-zonal Cypriot Republic of Cyprus that will have a single sovereignty, an international personality and a citizenship.

VI. Ensuring expanded credible international guarantees within the framework of UN, excluding unilateral invasive rights.

VII. The creation of security conditions for all residents of Cyprus without exception.

VIII. Ensuring the rights of both communities so that the safeguarding of the rights of one community is not to the detriment of the rights of the other, or of human rights and fundamental freedoms of the citizens. The political equality of the two communities within the federation will be based on the parameters that have been defined since 1992 in the reports of the Secretary General and resolutions of the Security Council.

17. Irrespective of the course of the settlement of the Cyprus problem, priority must be given to ascertaining the fate of the missing and to safeguarding the rights of those enclaved. The 19th AKEL Congress calls on the UN to show more sensitivity in promoting these two humanitarian issues.

18. The 19th Congress of AKEL emphasises that in the current critical phase of the Cyprus issue that requires hard

work, determination and intensification of the struggle for the salvation of Cyprus, is imperative:

i. To focus our efforts on defending the principles of the Cyprus settlement as contained in the UN resolutions and the High Level Agreements.

ii. The message to the UN Secretary General and the members of the Security Council should be given clearly and continuously that the right framework for the dialogue must be fully restored and, consequently, the correct basis for resolving the Cyprus problem.

iii. Work hard so that in a new possible resolution does not incorporate the content of the Secretary-General's statement of 12 September 2000.

iv. To coordinate with the Greek government and to make use of any support we have in the international arena, especially among the permanent members of the Security Council such as Russia and China.

v. To abandon by the rulers the policy of passive monitoring developments, complacency, of confidence in the American-British factor and the beautification of the situation. To pursue a precautionary policy of active intervention in the international arena with taking initiatives and convincingly claiming the rights of Cyprus. Let us not be overwhelmed by the fear that we will be held accountable if we resolutely defend positions that are enshrined in the resolutions of the International Organisation itself.

vi. To have a collective management of the Cyprus problem within the framework of the National Council and to show respect for the institution and its decisions.

19. The 19th Congress of AKEL expresses the deep conviction that even within in the adverse conditions created by the Turkish intransigence and the so-called new international order, the possibilities for a just lasting solution to the Cyprus problem on the basis of UN resolutions, the High Level Agreements and the European achievements concerning human rights and fundamental freedoms. As Cyprus, we have a duty to constantly use these opportunities by pursuing a correct, responsible but at the same time assertive policy that is foreign to contradictions, regressions and adventures and that supports and promotes the basic principles of the solution of the Cyprus problem. The message of the 19th Congress of AKEL to the entire Cypriot people is a message of optimism and struggle.

CYPRUS AND THE EUROPEAN UNION

1. The 19th Congress of AKEL reaffirms the decision of the 18th Congress on the position of the Party towards the accession of Cyprus to the European Union. The conditions set by the 18th Congress for the differentiation of the position of AKEL against the accession of Cyprus to the European Union are still valid. The 19th Congress considers that the time has not yet arrived for the final evaluation of the data in order to see whether or not those conditions are met.

2. In the past five years, the expectations of the rulers and others regarding the role of the European Union in the Cyprus issue have not been verified, while on the contrary, our realistic assessments have not been verified. With the Luxembourg decision in 1995, Cyprus began the accession negotiations and Greece lifted its veto on Turkey's Customs Union with the European Union. In December 1999 in Helsinki, Turkey was upgraded to a candidate country. Turkey took over the Customs Union and then the status of an acceding country, giving virtually nothing to the Cyprus problem. The Clerides government agreed to this course of events. The 19th Congress of AKEL reaffirms the Party's assessment that the formalities in text of the Helsinki conclusions, which refer to Turkey's obligations in relation to the Cyprus issue, are vague and open to many interpretations. The smooth progress of Cyprus in the European Union, regardless of the solution to the Cyprus problem, can also be interpreted differently. Life itself and the events to date, and especially the ferment for the of the Turkey-European Union partnership, verify AKEL's assessments. Consequently, triumphalism and complacency are not justified. The Congress stresses that any positives of Helsinki will require hard work and constant struggle to pay off, if they do pay off. The tendency to make things better and the unbridled triumph of the rulers does not allow them to make realistic estimates and engage in the necessary hard work.

3. The European course of Cyprus needs great care and prudence and must be used politically for the reunification of Cyprus and to prevent any divisive solution in the name or for the sake of accession. The 19th Congress of AKEL reiterates that the accession process and accession make sense as long as they help resolve the Cyprus problem on the basis of UN resolutions and High-Level agreements and that Cyprus and its accession process should

not become hostages of Turkish rapprochement policy. Our Party considers the position that it is possible for Cyprus to join before the solution of the problem to be justified, since Turkey and Denktash insist on their uncompromising stance and policy of perpetuating deadlocks and secession. In such a case, the accession must clearly concern the entire territory of the Republic of Cyprus. Otherwise, accession will come at a price for Cyprus completely unacceptable, both the European Union and the S.A. UN Security Council to protect Cyprus from possible threats and adventurous actions by Turkey.

4. The Congress welcomes the action of the Central Committee and the AKEL Parliamentary Group Left New Forces in the processes concerning the relations between Cyprus and European Union as well as harmonisation with the European achievements, considers that this action was active and substantial and was guided by the principles of the Party and the decisions of the 18th Congress. The Congress welcomes the Party's participation in the United Left Group in the European Parliament, which consistently supports the positions of Cyprus and which, in the general context and within the European Parliament is fighting for defending the rights of European workers.

5. The process of harmonisation must be done with serious study and consideration, guided by the interests of Cyprus and its people, with a constant demand for the necessary financial and technical assistance. The harmonisation reveals the absence of an assertive government policy is entitled to request as a candidate country for accession, that is, financial support, deviations from the achievements and adjustment periods. The government, following a policy of unilateral harmonisation, promotes issues that have a negative impact on workers while the positive ones related to labour or social issues are set aside or postponed to the distant future. In the process of harmonisation, the Party and its parliamentary group, will participate actively and positively but will not dismiss the achievements and the interests of working workers, peasants, the self-employed and the middle class. Through the process of harmonisation we will fight to defend these rights, mitigate the effects and increase the benefits.

THE INTERNAL FRONT

1. The 19th Congress of AKEL notes that the Clerides government, as a government of the DISY, the right and the unrepentant far-right, as a government that expresses and represents the selfish interests of the big capital, is inspired by a conservative, anti-popular philosophy and is characterised by an authoritarian, extremist mentality. The proven inadequacy of the rulers, the mismanagement of the state, the lack of vision and planning, the disorganisation, the image of a government where every minister seems to function independently, factor and sectarian, are elements that characterise the government of the DISY.

2. The government of DISY puts above all the service of party members and factional interests to the extent that the partisanship of the state, with the concept of the fall and the DISY of the state mechanism, of Public Service and Semi-Governmental Organisations has reached unprecedented levels. Discrimination against the people of the Left as well as against the wider range of democratic, blissful and resistance forces compete in those performances of the Yorgachis period. Unworthiness and favouritism are at their peak, while institutions are defiantly despised and destroyed. In matters relating to the recent history of Cyprus the rulers continue to justify and reward Grivas, EOKA'B, the coup and the coup plotters.

3. Under the rule of DISY, the Cypriot social reality characterised by a crisis of values, decay and corruption, which are constantly growing. Individualism and every sacrificial effort of individual promotion have been reduced to the highest social value. The scandals, the organised crime, drugs, prostitution and corruption are destroying the social fabric. To these has been added the spread of the mentality of quick and easy profit, which is cultivated with the way the stock market operates.

4. The generative causes of these phenomena are in the character of our social system, which deifies profit, commercialises everything, degrades and humiliates moral and spiritual values and ideals. The negative phenomena of capitalist society are even more pronounced in Cyprus, due to the fact that our country has experienced a rapid economic growth in just a few decades, without this growth being accompanied by the corresponding and necessary rise of the cultural level in the broadest sense of the

word. The 19th Congress does not ignore in its assessments the influence from the international environment. In the conditions of the so-called globalisation, the “models” of the American way of life are being transported and flooding the planet as an epidemic.

5. The 19th Congress of AKEL simultaneously with the promotion of the social causes and the impact of the international environment, underlines the very heavy responsibilities of the conservative right-wing government for the situation that prevails on our internal front. By the example of the rulers, by the lack vision and the absence of anthropocentric politics, by their inadequacy, by the expediciencies, by the dictatorship, the alarm and the bribery, they have created an ideal environment in which the bad self of Cypriot society is produced and reproduced. Crime, decay, corruption, scandals and irregularities flourished. The current rulers do not have political will and are unable to deal with the negative phenomena that plague the Cypriot society.

6. The confrontation of ideas and arguments, the defence and claim—even with dynamic struggles within the framework of legality—rights, political discourse and controversy are elements of a healthy democratic society. In Cyprus under DISY, the controversies often take an acute character and cause unnecessary friction on the internal front. In most cases, the cause of the sharpening and friction is the rulers themselves. It is the authoritarian way they make decisions, the eccentric way they try to implement them and the contempt they contempt they show for popular sentiment.

7. The 19th Congress of AKEL expresses the belief that the Cypriot society has the power to fight the negative phenomena that plague our internal front and to successfully fight against decay, corruption, crime, drugs and scandals. Under a government of democratic progressive forces the situation can be addressed and drastically improved. And this is what AKEL will seek with change in the governance of the country.

8. While the governance of the country is exercised by the right and the far-right AKEL will continue to actively intervene and take initiatives in two main directions. First, in the direction of exposing, denouncing and correcting the wrongdoers with the aim of always creating resistance within society, so that it becomes difficult if not impossible to continue the present unacceptable situation. The mobilisation of the organised groups and the people’s factor will be of great importance in achieving this

goal. Secondly, in the direction of institutional guarantee and practical control of issues of merit, good administration and equal treatment of citizens, concerning recruitment, promotion offers, etc. Our goal is to set specific frameworks and to limit to the greatest extent the discretion power of the holders.

9. Until we achieve the change in the government of the country, AKEL will continue to be the predominant opposition Party. Taking into account the specific conditions of Cyprus and the course of the Cyprus problem, the 19th Congress finds that basically our Party is fulfilling the tasks deriving from its opposition role. The Party must continue to exercise strict, but always responsible and substantiated opposition by promoting positions and counter-proposals. At the same time, the 19th Congress emphasises that there is room for improvement in AKEL's opposition role. AKEL's intervention in the political and socio-economic events of the country can and must be more planned, more timely and more effectively. The Congress entrusts the Central Committee with the task of upgrading our responsible opposition action.

10. The 19th Congress of AKEL starting from the situation prevailing in the Cypriot society notes that the need for modernisation of Cypriot society is more urgent today than ever before. However, the necessity of this modernisation to have a human-centred character, to aim at the improvement of the quality of life of the Cypriot citizen and to upgrade its participation in the socio-political becoming is equally urgent. The modernisation of Cypriot society will be achieved through radical and bold changes in the institutions, structures and perceptions prevailing in society. The 19th Congress of AKEL rejects the neoliberal prescriptions and the conservative philosophy that equate modernisation with the weakening of the social role of the state and with the service of the interests of big capital. Modernisation in the social field can only support and promote the principle of social justice.

11. The 19th Congress of AKEL formulating a comprehensive proposal for the modernisation of the Cypriot society submits for discussion before the political forces, the social organisations, the ordinary citizen, and the whole of the Cypriot society. The issue of modernising society is a matter for all its contributors. But the role of governance is crucial. Therefore, the real human-centred modernisation can only come from and be promoted by a

democratic government and progressive forces of the country, which is the strategic goal of AKEL for the next presidential elections. AKEL's Proposal for the Modernisation of the Cypriot Society will also be the Party's contribution to the dialogue for the elaboration of a joint programme of the forces of change.

12. Within 2001 our Party will be called upon to wage a series of important electoral battles. Parliamentary elections are a major political event. AKEL has adopted and implemented since 1990 the policy of enlargement of both ballot papers and his parliamentary group and its personalities of the left, non-aligned and central democratic space, forming in 1991 and in 1996 the electoral combinations of the AKEL Left New Forces. The 19th Congress of AKEL considers that the policy of enlargement with New Forces proved to be a correct and successful policy that contributed to the rise of influence of the Party, enabled greater and more substantial contact of AKEL with wider democratic strata of the people and at the same time gave the ability to express and represent oneself in groups of people who are mobilised with the Party in the fight for the salvation of Cyprus, for democracy and change. Consequently, the 19th Congress reaffirms the policy of enlargement with New Forces and assigns to the C.C. the task of working to strengthen this policy.

13. In view of the Parliamentary Elections, the 19th Congress decides that we must:

I. Form the widest possible ballot papers, representative of the power and prestige of AKEL and the Left.

II. Include in our ballots even more remarkable candidates from the field of New Forces.

III. Design in time, an original and inventive election campaign utilising the necessary knowledge and available professionalism. A central point must be a modern and radical election campaign programme.

IV. Mobilise and put in the service of the elections immediately after the Congress all the forces of the Party and the Popular Movement and to make the appropriate organisational, financial and technical preparation in time.

V. To give the battle of the Parliamentary Elections with determination and enthusiasm and aiming to achieve even greater expansion of the electoral power of AKEL Left New Forces.

VI. To nominate in Parliament a hard-fought Parliamentary Group with prestige, which can be enhanced with the presence of women.

14. The emergence of municipal authorities is becoming increasingly political and attracts the interest of citizens to the extent that the institution of local government is recognised and actively contributes to improving the quality of life of citizens. AKEL has a rich tradition in the local government of the Municipalities, which it must continue and enrich. The successes of the 1996 political cooperation as well as the promotion and defence of the interests and aspirations of local government must continue. Our ballots need to be expanded, expressing the full range of AKEL Left New Forces, with the main aim of promotion of renowned local leaders.

15. For the first time, elections will be held for the election of community councils based on the new modernised legislation for the formulation and voting of which our Party and the Parliamentary Group AKEL Left New Forces played a leading role. The big problems of communities will be the main objectives that the our pre-election effort must serve. The policy of partnerships and enlarged ballots will again be at the centre of our electoral tactics, taking seriously the local peculiarities of each case.

16. Increasing of presence and prestige in local authorities is the means to implement our policy and serve the citizen. Our representatives in the local authorities must be the bearers of the new and of the radical. The local authorities in which the Left has a majority must through their work highlight the diversity of our perception of role and mission of the Local Government. And this difference to be felt by the citizens.

17. The 2003 presidential election will be a very important election confrontation on the outcome of which the question of power will depend on the coming years. The 2003 elections provide an opportunity to get rid of the current conservative, anti-popular government and the emergence of a progressive, democratic government whose policies in all areas will meet the expectations of the people and the needs of the times. The 19th Congress of AKEL reaffirms the strategic goal of the Party for democratic change in the governance of the country in the 2003 presidential elections.

18. The 19th Congress of AKEL reaffirms the position that democratic change can be achieved through the cooperation of democratic, progressive forces of the country. The Central Committee is instructed by the Congress to make every effort to enable this co-operation possible and to give the next President and the government of the country.

19. The co-operation of democratic and progressive forces must be based on a commonly agreed programme. In this programme, the positions for the Cyprus issue will again have a dominant position. But equally importance must be given to the issues of internal governance, good administration, meritocracy and socio-economic policy to ensure that we have a pro-people government. The basis of our positions in the consultation and fermentations for the conclusion of a joint programme, which will take place in time, will be the AKEL Proposal for the Modernisation of the Cypriot Society.

20. Regarding the candidate for President, the 19th Congress of AKEL considers that it is necessary to express in his person the unity of the progressive democratic forces, to ensure the electoral victory and the good, popular governance of the country. In this context, AKEL does not preclude any choice from the progressive and democratic space, in which of course includes AKEL.

21. The 19th Congress of AKEL reaffirms the position that regardless of who will eventually be the joint candidate for President, with his election AKEL claims substantial participation in government.

THE PARTY

1. The 19th Congress of AKEL notes the increased prestige and the great appreciation that the Party has among the wider strata of the people which is expanding far beyond his electoral percentages. Large portion of the Cypriot people, not only among the Greek Cypriots but also among the Turkish Cypriots, they look forward to AKEL and connect their expectations for a better future of our homeland and our people with the struggles of our Party for freedom, democracy and social progress. The appreciation and respect with which the Cypriot society embraces AKEL entrusts our Party with the honorary duty to meet the expectations of the people. The 19th Congress affirms that AKEL constantly improving, modernising and renewing itself, but always adhering to basic

principles and values will do everything possible to meet these expectations.

2. The 19th Congress welcomes the political, ideological and mental unity that exists between the members and the executives of the Party. This unity, which does not mean levelling of ideas and perceptions, can and must be further strengthened by the extreme cultivation of self-discipline, respect for the Statutes and operating rules of the Party, comradeship, honesty in the relations between the members, the mutual respect and submission to any ambitions, no matter how noble, in the interest of the Party and its cause.

3. The 19th Congress welcomes the progress made in upgrading the organisational situation of the Party, and considers that the efforts must be continuous and persistent. Emphasises that the organisational situation and the coverage of organisational tasks has first and foremost political ideological character. Consequently any gaps in the organisational work, if not addressed, they will inevitably have an impact on our political action.

4. The Congress notes to the need to improve the efficiency of all Party bodies from the Central Committee to their Offices of Party Groups. This task is inextricably linked to improving the efficiency of our staff, especially the salaried mechanism. The Congress emphasises the importance of having a personal example of the executives who must always be on the front lines of the struggles, mobilisations and the fulfillment of the organisational duties of the Party.

5. The Party and the wider Popular Movement of the Left also exist and act in the context of a social reality that promotes individualism, depoliticization and aversion to organised struggle. All this has a negative effect on the organisation of the Party, with the result that phenomena of relaxation, fatigue, reduced voluntary supply and factorisation appear. The 19th Congress declares that in the face of these phenomena there can and should not be complacency. The character of AKEL does not allow compromise with these situations and these phenomena. The Party must fight them and find ways to strengthen its organisation. The 19th Congress assigns to the C.C. study the issue in depth and to implement measures to improve the situation.

6. The 19th Congress positively evaluates the work done by the Auxiliary Offices of the Central Committee such as the Offices of

International Relations, Social and Economic Studies, Education, Culture, Local Authorities, Environment, Sports. As a result of this work, the Party has developed a comprehensive policy in these areas and intervention in social development is upgraded and important. The 19th Congress points out the need to improve the work of the Auxiliary Offices of the C.C. experiencing problems in their operation.

7. Our Party has always paid great attention and importance to the mass organisations, apart from the popular organisations, because it recognises the role they can play in the Cypriot society. They also play an important role in the organised factions of the Party into professional-trade union places with remarkable successes. The 19th Congress positively appreciating our presence in the mass institutions, also identifies deficiencies, weaknesses, omissions, for the coverage of which there must be planning, methodology and co-ordination from top to bottom. With decentralisation of work and mood, time to intervene even better and in more places, to upgrade our role where and when needed. The aim of our intervention is to strengthen the role of the mass actors and to act more assertively in their areas of action. To operate on a more systematic and permanent basis on the Party factions, expanding the scope of their work in order to become a source of policy production in the respective branches.

8. “Haravghi” is the daily expressive organ of AKEL is always in the centre of attention of the governing bodies and the Party more broadly. The permanent goal is to continuously improve the content and appearance of the newspaper on the one hand, and the steady increase in its circulation on the other. The 19th Congress of AKEL emphasises that the study of “Haravghi”, and participation in organised efforts to increase the traffic is a very important ideological-political and organisational task of the executives and members of AKEL, to which they must constantly insist.

The 19th Congress considers that the need for continuous upgrading of the content and of the appearance of “Haravghi” (“Dawn”) to respond to social development and to the modern requirements of information, and policy analysis, positions and proposals of the Party is imperative. In this direction, the upgrading of the cooperation on a two-way basis of management and all of the newspaper’s contributors, with the bodies, the auxiliary offices, the executives and Party members will contribute

to the further improvement of its content quality and appearance of “Haravghi” (“Dawn”).

9. The 19th Congress appreciates the progress made in recent years regarding the expansion and strengthening of AKEL’s international relations. This progress reflects the increased prestige and appreciation of our Party in the international left and progressive movement. Based on the new data that have been formed in the international left and progressive movement, the goals of AKEL for the next five years are as follows:

I. Continuation of the effort for further upgrade and expansion of the international relations of the Party. Further development of our relations with the left and progressive parties in Eastern Europe and especially of Russia. Our development should also continue to include the development of relations with the parties of the European Left, given the role that the European Union currently plays.

II. To continue to attach great importance and attention to meetings of the Left parties from Cyprus, Greece and Turkey, with the main goal of contributing to the efforts to resolve the Cyprus problem.

III. Utilisation of seminars and symposia abroad for further training of our executives.

IV. Further upgrade the co-operation of the Office of International Relations with Parliamentary Group and the Organisations of the Popular Movement.

V. Continuation of the initiatives for organising international meetings in Cyprus with the aim of upgrading the co-operation of the left parties, the largest co-ordination between them and addressing specific problems.

10. The ideological education and training of Party members and executives is still one of our main tasks, which in modern conditions acquires even greater importance. The ideological training of the members and executives of the Party is a necessary condition for maintaining the character of the Party as an exponent of the interests of the workers and of the common man with a vision of humane and democratic socialism. It is a necessary condition for maintaining and upgrading militancy and effectiveness of our Party.

The basic principles of our worldview, our conception of socialism, the modern, troubled global progressive movement, the militant defence of our ideology, exposing the impasses, the class

content, the contradictions and illusions of bourgeois ideology of the anti-popular character of the conservative, neoliberal policies of the rulers, the struggle against nationalism-chauvinism, the struggle against subculture and bourgeois cosmopolitanism, must be constantly present at the heart of our ideological work.

The 19th Congress of AKEL finds that our ideological work needs to be upgraded, to be put on a more organised and planned basis, to be enriched with new forms and characterised by more extroversion. The greater involvement of the organisational mechanism in the planning and implementation of educational work is a necessary condition for success. It is also necessary to make greater and better use of our international relations, especially in terms of contemporary issues in the field of the Left internationally. The 19th Congress invites the C.C. to study the creation of a Research Centre and to deal very seriously with the issue of the regular and upgraded edition of the *“New Democrat”*.

11. The 19th Congress considers that the AKEL Parliamentary Group Left New Forces in the last five years has worked satisfactorily and basically fulfilled its duties and mission. It always has always been actively involved in the work of Parliament with well-thought-out and well-documented positions. On our initiative, dozens of proposals concerning vital issues were drafted, submitted and passed into law. In the field of shaking and problem solving, C.O. developed a rich and diverse activity that served the promotion and successful addressing of issues vital to our people and society.

The 19th Congress notes the need for further coordination and co-operation of C.O. with the bodies, offices and departments of the Party as well as with organisations of the Popular Movement. More attention should also be paid to the relationship and communication of the Parliamentary Group of each province with the Party Provincial Committees and the mass organisations. Contact with people and their problems must remain at the heart of parliamentary work.

The possibilities of C.O. are more and can be further exploited with the best organisation and the best technocratic, technical and secretarial support of the Group. In this direction, the efforts and the requirement for institutionalised scientific and other support from the state to both Members of Parliament and the parliamentary groups need to be intensified.

12. AKEL as a large political party needs to be constantly aware of the various developments and in order to be able to properly shape its policy and tactics. On the other hand, it must be able to prevent any actions that are directed against it and its executives. There have been many such actions in the past and from different directions.

At the same time, as a Party operating in a semi-occupied and threatened country, we consider it our duty to inform the state for anything that comes to our notice on security issues and other related issues.

For all these reasons and taking into account the critical moments that Cyprus is going through at the 19th Congress, it considers that Party and political vigilance as a duty of all Party members and friends of the Party needs to be intensified and upgraded.

THE ECONOMY OF CYPRUS

1. The 19th Congress of AKEL reaffirms the position that a strong economy is an important weapon in the struggle of the Cypriot people for justice. At the same time, an economic development harmonised and oriented to the needs of popular strata strengthens the unity within our internal front.

2. Continuous and stable economic growth has been a key feature of the Cypriot economy in the past decades. However, the distorting growth of the economy continues with the services sector dominating and the manufacturing sectors facing serious problems. Today, the strength of the Cypriot economy is undermined by both external and internal factors. The globalisation of the economy, which promotes and imposes as a model of development the unbridled capitalism of unscrupulous market and the implementation of the neoliberal recipes by the current Cypriot government leads to a number-oriented anti-popular socio-economic policy which is to the detriment of the healthy development, politics and standards of living of the majority of the people.

3. The 19th Congress of AKEL reaffirms the position for a modern economy in which they will coexist, complement each other and cooperate with the social and private sector with anthropocentric goals, an economy adapted to the needs of the

broad masses. This philosophy which focuses on man and his development is based on following principles:

I. In the modern, dynamic, flexible and socially oriented mixed economy.

II. In the regulation of the uncontrolled and unruly operation of the market laws of the capitalist system in such a way that their action does not amount to burden of the financially weak strata of society.

III. In securing the fairer distribution and redistribution of wealth created by society.

IV. In the distribution of economic burdens according to the income of each.

V. In building a socially sensitive state to protect and to support the economically weak sections of society.

4. AKEL, identifying and revealing the anti-popular policy Clerides and DISY government, at the same time promotes its own pro-people positions and proposals:

I. The reduction of the budget deficit and the public debt must be done through the modernisation of the state machine, a fair tax system and reduction of waste. Cyprus today need a socially oriented radical tax reform and a socially sensitive state that supports the weak.

II. It is necessary to adopt a Strategic Plan for the Modernisation of the Economy and a programme for the Upgrading of Human Resources. The Strategic Plan for the Modernisation of the Economy and Human Resources the Upgrade Programme must aim to protect the economy and its key factor—the worker—until they can operate competitively in the new international economic environment.

III. In industry, modernisation and upgrading measures should be aimed at:

- to improve the low level of organisation and management that is observed in most companies.
- improving the inadequate training of human resources.
- addressing the serious deficiencies presented in workplace.
- technological upgrading of companies.

IV. In the context of the new global economic environment, societies seek a new role for the state which is obliged to adapt in the new socio-economic structures. The main axis and aspects of the new role of the state must be:

- The leading role of the state in development. The state needs to determine the strategic planning of development options, to intervene and regulate the market economy where the operation of its laws is done at the expense of the economically weak strata of society.

- The social role of the state. The modern state must be a social state. It must promote a pro-people policy by providing free education to the people and the introduction of a popular National Health Plan and by providing opportunities for access to culture. It must secure social security, set a minimum wage above the poverty line, take economic and development measures to boost employment, help to overcoming social exclusion help with specific programmes for the reintegration of the marginalised groups of the population.

- The state as the owner or body of services provided to the people. The basic strategic services must be offered by the state regardless of whether liberalisation allows and the private sector to offer such services. At the same time, the state must take all the necessary modernisation measures that will allow it, within a competitive environment, to offer cheaper and better quality services than the private sector.

5. The Stock Exchange is an institution inherent in the capitalist system. The Stock Exchange must be operated on the basis of a strict framework to protect investors and especially small investors. Under these conditions it can be useful to the economy. The many functional and organisational problems, the artificial climate of euphoria that was created and the interventions of the speculators initially led the prices to soar. Subsequent downfalls enclaved thousands of uninformed investors while thousands of other small investors have lost the savings they gained through a lot years of hard work.

AKEL closely monitors the operation of the Stock Exchange and intervenes where speculation is observed at the expense of small investors observed or where this operation is to the detriment of economic development itself. AKEL proposes:

- Stricter implementation of existing legislation.
- Practical strengthening of the role of the Hellenic Capital Market Commission with immediate staffing and technical support to better respond to its duties and obligations regarding the most rigorous study for the introduction of new companies, better monitoring and control and dynamic intervention where omissions,

irregularities and particularly illegalities are found. To this end, it is necessary to immediately submit the new legislative framework and strengthen the Commission, which is unreasonably delayed by the government.

- Immediate regulation of the right of return by Public Companies private placement made by investors.

- Reduction and/or abolition of the final 6% paid for stock exchange transactions and the introduction, in its place, of capital gains tax.

- Accelerate the introduction of the degradation system that will lead to greater transparency of the things of the Stock Exchange.

- Providing incentives to institutional investors for more intervention at the market.

- Support and practical implementation of the proposal for in-depth implementation research that reflects on what has been done so far and suggests measures of greater investor support and its smooth operation of X.A.K.

THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS

1. The 19th Congress of AKEL finds that despite the satisfactory growth rates of the Cypriot economy, despite the gains and the relatively high standard of living due to hard social struggles, Cyprus nevertheless faces several economic and social problems which must be addressed. Such problems are:

I. The big structural problem of the continuous contraction of the production sectors.

II. The problem of modernising the economy and especially the material base of industry.

III. The continuous expansion of the budget deficit and the public sector debt.

IV. The unequal distribution of national income which operates for the benefit of big capital and at the expense of the popular strata.

V. Rising inflation.

VI. Unemployment reached a level unprecedented for Cyprus.

VII. The low level of pensions.

VIII. The dimensions of mass employment of foreign workers.

IX. The percentage of Cypriots who live below the poverty line and reaching 10%.

X. The housing especially for new couples.

XI. Health problems.

For all these problems AKEL and the wider Popular Movement have an elaborate response policy. The 19th Congress calls for intensification of the struggle to solve the serious economic and social problems that is facing the Cypriot society.

2. The dimensions that the mass employment of foreign workers and especially illegal employment have made this problem one of the dominant issues in Cypriot society.

The 19th Congress of AKEL considers that it is the obligation of the government to ensure that the issue of employment of foreign workers is brought under control and monitoring. The need to take the necessary measures is emphasised for equal treatment of foreign workers with Cypriot workers so that they are not exploited. The illegal employment, in particular, through law enforcement and the punishment illegal employers, who are primarily responsible for creating this problem. AKEL supports the demand of the trade union movement to suspend the process of granting new licenses in sectors where there is a local workforce available, to review the existing criteria for granting employment permits to foreign workers and for determining similar criteria where they do not exist.

AKEL in the spirit of internationalism and solidarity that characterises the principles will always stand in the way of exploitation and racist treatment of foreigners.

CRIME AND DRUGS

The 19th Congress is particularly concerned at the escalation of crime and in the spread of drugs which it considers to be serious social problems that destroy the social fabric. Unfortunately, both the government and the police have failed to tackle the crime and curb its spread of narcotics. Also of concern is the erosion observed within the police force itself and the links of some police bodies with criminal elements.

The 19th AKEL Congress calls on the Party to upgrade its attention and contribution to the fight against crime and drugs. To this end, beyond individual proposals that we have submitted from time to time, our Party must develop a specific policy with comprehensive proposals which will not be limited only to issues of repression, but also to prevention by addressing the socio-economic

causes that lead to exacerbation of crime and drugs. Our proposals to be brought before the social and the competent bodies and to be the basis of our struggle against crime and corruption.

THE WORKERS AND THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

1. The 19th Congress of AKEL notes that the years since the previous Congress are characterised by a fierce attack by employers and the government against their standard of living and historical gains of workers of Cyprus. For the first time in years since independence there is such a strong identification of philosophy and politics between government and big capital.

The main features of this neoliberal attack are the systematic efforts of the government for privatisation of public benefit organisations, the unilateral and sectarian decision to alter the ATA, the attempt to legally ban strikes in essential services, the unilateral harmonisation with the European imposition of harsh taxes affecting the low and middle income groups etc. At the same time the employers continued their policy of limiting the wages and benefits of workers while the phenomena presented for deregulation were intense of labour relations with the introduction of the so-called flexible forms of employment and their use to undermine and limit their role of collective agreements and consequently of the trade union movement itself.

2. AKEL as the Workers' Party stood firm and permanent supporter of workers and their trade unions supporting their struggles and claims, both at the political level and in practice. The experience of recent years and the new elements that appear in the field of labour relations prove that the answer in the full-scale attack on workers' rights lies only in the growing cluster of workers around the trade union movement, in their class education and in the greater and the more active involvement in the struggle to defend the rights for improving their standard of living and for a better quality of life. Particularly important and decisive in this direction is the role of PEO as the pioneering class trade union organisation of workers.

3. The 19th Congress of AKEL declares that the Party will continue to fight together with the trade union movement for the protection of the standard of living, the improvement of wages and other employment conditions, introduction of social policy measures, enactment of modern labour laws. The strengthening of

the trade union movement, the greatest possible organisation and mobilisation of workers within trade unions must be a daily experience of the AKELIST workers in whatever workplace they are employed.

THE PEASANTS AND THE AGRICULTURAL MOVEMENT

1. The 19th Congress of AKEL notes that the agricultural economy is affected by the policy of liberalisation and reduction of tariffs as well as by adverse weather conditions. Agricultural income is disappearing while at the same time, agricultural debts are increasing. The problems of the rural world multiplied due to the anti-popular policy of the government. AKEL monitors the developments, contributes to the promotion of problems and demands of the rural world and actively supports the difficult struggle of the EKA and the Rural Movement for the Promotion of Rural Reforms for restructuring, upgrading and modernisation of the production process.

2. In the face of the new conditions that are emerging and the reluctance of the Government to pursue a rational agricultural policy, the 19th Congress calls on the Party to continue, in cooperation with EKA to support more strongly and to promote demands promoted by the rural movement, so that the reconstruction and modernisation to become a reality to increase productivity and competitiveness of the rural economy.

In this direction, among others, should be promoted:

I. Channelling of capital investments by providing substantial incentives taking a series of practical measures to create modern sustainable units.

II. Providing substantial incentives for real restructuring of basic crops.

III. Strengthen research for the application of modern methods of organisation and production management and adequate staffing of the Services of the Ministry of Agriculture, Natural Resources and Environment.

IV. Adoption of the specific measures proposed by the agricultural movement to reduce production costs, such as subsidising oil for agricultural use, the zero VAT rate, for agricultural needs and services, the simplification of marketing structures, the settlement of agricultural debts, not excluded and their write-off.

V. Institutionalisation of Support Funds to secure agricultural income.

VI. Absorption by the state of the required cost of harmonisation with community achievements.

VII. Implementation of the law for the establishment of a Water Authority.

VIII. Continuous improvement of agricultural insurance.

IX. Upgrading and expanding existing and promoting new improved plans for young people and women, where among other things, provide increased incentives to create agricultural crafts and promote agritourism.

X. Enrichment of the school curriculum with courses in agricultural economics and creation of an Agricultural School.

THE MIDDLE CLASSES

1. The pressure that the big capital exerts on the middle layers creates the objective basis of the coincidence of interests and therefore of the alliance of these layers with the salaried workers. The 19th Congress of AKEL reaffirms this position, as a result of which our Party since its inception has embraced these layers and had contributed greatly to organise themselves professionally by providing comprehensive assistance and support in promoting their professional problems.

2. The big capital taking advantage of the process of harmonisation with the European achievements, seeks to regulate everything in a way and to the extent that it serves its own interests. A loyal ally in this effort, it has found the current conservative and anti-popular government.

3. The 19th Congress of AKEL considers that it is the duty of the Party and the Popular Movement to the middle classes:

I. To confirm the community and affinity of the interests of the middle class layers with the working class and the peasantry.

II. To contribute through the Party members of this layer to the further massification of the organisations and its sectors, as well as to the study, classification and prioritisation of their problems.

III. To show these problems to the competent bodies inside and outside Parliament and to fight together with the middle class to claim their just demands.

IV. To guide and fight with these layers, so that our harmonisation with the European achievements on our path to the EU, not to adversely affect their standard of living.

V. In shaping the general policy and tactics of the Party to carefully takes into account their own interests.

THE YOUTH AND THE YOUTH MOVEMENT

1. The 19th Congress of AKEL notes that the pressure exerted on young people by the social environment has increased in recent years. The government of the Right with its conservative socio-economic policy, but also with the authoritarianism that distinguishes it, has intensified those factors that push in marginalisation and distancing from the organised, collective participation and struggle.

2. The Left, in order to achieve its goals and especially to build a human-centred society of justice, solidarity and equality, needs active and not isolated people. The struggle of the Left at this level is not only against the right, conservative politics, but also against this attitude of life, distancing and aversion to politics, which ultimately serves the politics of the Right.

3. The 19th Congress of AKEL considers that the Youth Movement of the Left, EDON, maintains a strong relationship, its presence and its intervention in youth. This relationship is based on the historical ties that the Left has built with the new generation in its struggles to defend independence, of freedom and democracy in our country, for the defence and expansion of the rights and gains of the new generation and extends in the modern struggles and demands of the youth.

4. The 19th Congress of AKEL considers that the issue of the struggle for the gain of the consciences of the new generation is an issue that should be occupied by the Party, in closer contact, coordination and cooperation with EDON, giving special emphasis to the upgrading of the role and the intervention of EDON's organisations locally, the development of political, educational, trade union and cultural action harmonising its content with the modern needs and requirements of the youth. Particular attention should be paid to the content of the action of local associations and the EDON presence in them, as well as the formation of youth spaces through which EDON will be able to embrace young people.

THE WOMEN AND THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

1. As a result of the long struggles, mainly of AKEL, of the Organised Progressive Women's Movement of POGO and more broadly of the Popular Movement, the position of the Cypriot Woman today is clearly upgraded compared to past. However, despite the active participation of women in the social, and political and economic life of the place, the 19th Congress of AKEL finds that the position held in Cypriot society is not commensurate with their contribution and does not correspond to the role they play. They are mainly absent from the decision-making and policy making centres.

2. In the general directions of its policy, AKEL faces the problems of women in their proper dimension. In order to update its work, so that both within the Party itself, and in Cypriot society in general, woman upgrade their presence and contribution, the 19th Congress considers that there should be:

- Elaboration and promotion of specific comprehensive positions/proposals for the most serious problems of the Cypriot women.

- Taking measures for more active participation of women in Party life, utilisation and promotion of women executives in Party work and not only in issues related exclusively to women's issues.

- Publication of AKEL positions on various issues that arise and related to the women.

- Utilisation of a larger number of women in various Party positions and promotion of the work performed by women Party executives, mainly in public positions (e.g. mayors, city councillors, etc.)

- Elaboration and promotion for discussion and voting in Parliament, bills that will promote the elimination of discrimination against women, in collaboration with the Women's Movement of POGO.

- Exercise parliamentary control over the practical implementation of laws passed.

3. The conditions themselves require that our Party, more specifically, show its support and assistance to the Democratic Women's Movement POGO, which today is a mass women's movement, with broad orientations, so that it can continue to be at the forefront of the struggle for conquest of women's rights.

THE PENSIONERS

1. The 19th Congress of AKEL considers that the many and varied problems of pensioners must be properly and programmatically addressed by society as a whole and the state.

2. It is emphasised that it is the Party's duty to raise concerns and the problems of pensioners and to contribute through Party members in the extreme massification of EKYSY.

THE REFUGEE MOVEMENT AND REFUGEE PROBLEMS - MISSING - ENCLAVED - SUFFERING PERSONS

1. AKEL, its executives and members pioneered the creation of the refugee organised movement and supported it with all their might.

The law passed for the election of the Pancyprrian Refugee Association, the provincial and local refugee committees is a justification of AKEL's constant request for reactivation of the WFP. The 19th Congress of AKEL considers that the refugee elections that will take place in December 2001 are of great and multifaceted importance for this and the Party should deal with all the that arise in time with diligence, planning and open-mindedness.

2. The 19th Congress considers that the policy of the Clerides government according to the last five years on refugee issues is not considered satisfactory and as in many other issues, it is largely characterised by the element of demagogy with the aim of party benefits. AKEL tried to improve the policy on refugee problems with dozens of issues that it registered in the competent Parliamentary Committee and by exerting constant pressure on the government inside and outside Parliament.

3. The 19th Congress calls on the Party, with the greater involvement of its executives and members, to continue the struggle for the solution of the refugee problems based on the positions it has worked out and especially with regard to housing and the Equal Weight Distribution Body. To relocate the refugees of the collapsing settlements.

4. The humanitarian issue of the missing Cypriots has remained without a solution since 1974, mainly due to the unacceptable attitude of Denktash and due to the non-determination of the United Nations to implement their own resolutions on missing

persons. The positions on the presumption of death and their grouping of the missing persons are those that lead to the closure of the issue without guaranteeing the right of relatives to know the truth about their loved ones so they are not accepted.

5. The 19th Congress of AKEL emphasises that the issue of the missing persons must continue to be on the priorities of the Party and that the efforts for the operation of the Commission of Inquiry Missing Persons (CMP) must be intensified with the first concern the appointment of the third member by side of the UN. Through the internationalisation of the issue to seek to upgrade interest of humanitarian organisations and institutions and to put pressure on Turkey and Denktash to investigate and verify the fate of each of the missing persons.

6. The number of Greek Cypriots and Maronites enclaved is constantly decreasing as a consequence of Denktash's policy of violating the agreements he signs and the policy of national cleansing. The issue of enclaved people must continue to be on our agenda as a matter of human rights violations.

7. The policy of the current government regarding the issues of claiming of the rights of the enclaved is not satisfactory. There are problems with repairing the homes of the enclaved, the allowances provided and the delay in resolving the problems faced by their children of the enclaved in free areas. AKEL must work in order to contribute to the treatment and solution of these problems.

8. AKEL has developed important initiatives inside and outside Parliament to solve basic and daily problems of the victims. Despite our efforts, however, various problems remain unsolved such as:

I. Correct implementation of the Legislation for vocational rehabilitation.

II. Full compliance of the government with what has been agreed regarding financial issues (allowances) and their adaptation to current data.

III. Providing facilities for education, studies, medical care and more.

IV. Granting honorary distinctions and moral rewards as provided by relevant Legislation.

V. Creation of a monument to the heroes of the Resistance and the Republic as well as a monument to the fallen of all the struggles of the Cypriot people.

AKEL must continue to work to resolve these issues.

THE COOPERATIVE MOVEMENT

1. The co-operative is a social gain of the Cypriot people, which is why AKEL is proud because from the first moment of its existence it stood unwaveringly by the Movement supporting its action and development. It will do the same in the future.

2. The 19th Congress of AKEL positively evaluates the moves made by the cooperative, taking into account the new data, so that it can meet the demands of the market and on the other to continue its social work by responding to the challenges of private capital. At the same time, it considers that it is imperative that the co-operative overcomes some difficulties created due to its structure but also to the outdated legal framework that is in force, for which a legislative modernisation is needed that will improve its operation.

3. The 19th Congress of AKEL considers that great seriousness and rigor must always be shown in matters of good administration, good management, timely prudential control and long-term planning so that the private capital and its representatives are not allowed to attack of the Movement promoting their own interests.

4. The Government has an obligation, in the accession negotiations, to defend the gains of the Co-operative Movement because they serve the interests of a large mass of people who need the support of Cooperative to address various problems, but also to further improve of its standards of living.

THE MOVEMENT OF PEACE AND SOLIDARITY

In the conditions of the so-called new order of things, the role of the Movement of Peace and Solidarity is of particular importance. The 19th Congress of AKEL notes the reorganisation of the Pancyprian Peace Council as well the activity of the collective body of our Popular Movement for the expression of international solidarity which is the EPAL. AKEL will continue its support for the Peace and Solidarity Movement which needs to be expanded and become even more active to fulfill the more fully its objectives.

THE VOLUNTARY, NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS

The voluntary, non-governmental organisations and citizens' initiative groups are an integral part of the political and social

activity of modern society. The state must support the role of these organisations, which should aim not at charity, but at promoting a human-centred social policy.

THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT

1. AKEL attaches special importance to the institution of Local Government. Today, the institutional integration of the Local Government, its political and economic independence, its social credibility are highlighted as an insurmountable need. Unfortunately, the occasional promises of substantial reinforcement measures of Municipalities and Communities remain unfulfilled. The deterioration of institutions continues with the continuation of the “begging” for extraordinary sponsorships and subsidies from the state. The authoritarianism and centralism of government, the degradation of its social role of the state and the logic of the “business” that characterises state budgets, make the position of local authorities even more difficult.

2. The 19th Congress expresses its appreciation for the work done for years now by the elected representatives of the Left in the field of Local Government, developing a meaningful action on the basis of the logic that cities, communities and their functions must serve the people and not individual interests. AKEL will continue to fight for:

I. the institutional integration and strengthening of the autonomy of the Local Self-Government.

II. ensuring and securing its financial independence as preconditions for formulating development programmes on the basis of local needs and criteria.

III. encouraging or even institutionalising the co-operation of neighbouring Municipalities and Communities in the provision of services but also in the formation of development policy.

IV. the expansion of the participation of the citizens in the processes of local administration and development as a precondition for the democratic decentralisation of the state.

EDUCATION - TRAINING

1. The AKEL guided by its ideological principles and taking into account the international trends and the political-economic conditions of the country formulated his own proposal for a

progressive educational policy. The 19th Congress of AKEL welcomes this proposal, which aims at the vision of an education with a human-centred character and humanitarian content.

2. The 19th Congress notes that in Cypriot education they have accumulated many problems and dangerous deadlocks. The social role of the state in education is limited as a result of neoliberal economic policy of a government that has stalled public spending.

3. At the dawn of the 21st century, education in Cyprus needs a new course based on vision, strategy and collective effort.

Basic conditions for quality upgrade and modernisation in public education in Cyprus in 2000 is a drastic increase in spending on education and research, the connection of the educational system with the needs of the economy and a comprehensive, progressive reform of the education system, both in structure and content. A reform that will promote radical cuts in education, and will open up fronts against conservation, anachronism and reversal.

4. On the basis of the proposal for an integrated educational policy, the positions for the 19th Congress and all the proposals in the individual aspects of education prepared by AKEL, our Party will continue and intensify its efforts in collaboration with all those involved in education for a truly qualitative change in education.

5. In the next year, elections will be held for the first time for the promotion of School Ephorates on the basis of a law passed on the initiative of AKEL. The importance the election of elected representatives, democratisation and the expansion of powers of the School Boards, as provided by law, make these elections, an important milestone in our educational policy. AKEL's goal must be the election to the School Ephorates of people with real knowledge, interest and ability to offer, through a wide range of combinations who will use the experience from our presence in the Parents' Associations and will take into account local peculiarities.

CULTURE

1. The 19th Congress of AKEL appreciates the rich, multifaceted and multilevel action shown by our Party in the field of culture. AKEL considers culture an important weapon of resistance against the occupation and the attack of subculture. In this sense, the Party considers that letters, arts, culture are an integral part of the ideological front in the wider political struggle

against misinformation, distortion of history, the distortion of art and the undermining of its significance.

2. The current government has failed to upgrade the state supply in the field of culture. This is evidenced by the lack of cultural policy, the fragmentation of state and semi-governmental institutions of culture, the minimal financial support of culture. The Party's proposals for the creation of a Unified Cultural Authority, the establishment of a Cultural Heritage Archive, creation of a Cultural Offer Bank, establishment of a Council of Culture, participation of the creators in the decisions etc. are becoming more and more relevant.

3. The 19th Congress of AKEL considers that it is necessary to pay attention and importance to the promotion and substantial upgrade of the cultural activity of the local associations of the Popular Movement. Particular emphasis must be placed on its content and on the continuation of the creation of cultural institutions and movements with the help and guidance of central and provincial cultural offices of the Party. The Party's publishing effort must also be further strengthened with cultural publications.

HEALTH

One of the key aspects of our Party's social policy is health. The central point of this policy is the adoption and implementation of a well-thought National Health Plan that meets the needs and requirements of the Cypriot reality. A Health Plan that will give equal access to health services provided to all citizens regardless of their socio-economic status and place of residence, a plan that will ensure the patient's right to receive treatment by a doctor and a hospital of his choice. AKEL will continue to work in this direction inside and outside Parliament.

In addition to the infrastructure issues that date back to DISY government, AKEL attaches great importance to prevention issues. Prevention is key component of the health sector. The state has a duty to create a Department of Public Health to deal seriously with prevention.

SPORT

1. AKEL has always attached importance to the proper organisation, cultivation and development of sports. From the

previous Congress until today, it has made efforts to upgrade and modernise its interference in its sports affairs of Cyprus. The 19th Congress appreciates and supports these efforts.

2. The axis of AKEL policy in the next five years are:

(a) democratisation and consolidation with a focus on dismantling of the circuits operating in sport,

(b) the infrastructure and development sector with particular emphasis in the planning and execution of projects and

(c) finances focusing on necessary help from the state and the solution of their great problem of the finances of the unions.

ECOLOGY AND THE ENVIRONMENT

AKEL considers the protection of the environment as a necessary condition for the preservation and further development of human society.

The deterioration of physical characteristics and the depletion of natural resources tends to become irreversible. As a result, the future of our children of our planet is sacrificed on the altar of profit.

The concentration of the population in the urban centres, the anarchic construction and development have degraded the quality of life.

The environmental problems in Cyprus have intensified as a result of the invasion and occupation, the unnatural separation of the Cypriot ecosystem, the violent displacement of a large part of the population and lack of proper and integrated policy on the part of the state.

AKEL supports:

1. Consistent struggle for the reunification of the island and comprehensive treatment of environmental issues.

2. The adoption of the model of sustainable development that will serve the needs of society and will protect the environment.

3. Legislation to ensure that development programs will respect the environmental peculiarities of the country.

4. The development of the urban environment on the basis of rational urban planning criteria.

5. The orientation of education in the direction of raising the awareness of citizens on the issues of our culture and historical tradition, for the formation of environmental awareness.

6. The development of the organised environmental movement in our country which finds its expression in the Federation of Environmental and Ecological Organisations. It considers positive the contribution and the action of the environment movement and will seek in the future to strengthen cooperation with it on the basis of common aspirations.

EXPATRIATES - REPATRIATES

1. The 19th Congress of AKEL addresses a patriotic greeting to expatriate Cypriots. Their role in the current stage of the struggle that the Cyprus problem is going through acquires special importance, which is why it should be put on more organised basis. At the same time, as a state, we need to strengthen the efforts of expatriates in carrying out the serious task of enlightening the Cyprus issue in the countries where they live and work. At the same time, to deal more diligently and seriously with the problems that plague them in the countries that live. AKEL will continue to work in this direction on the basis of specific proposals.

2. The 19th Congress of AKEL considers that the Cypriot state should face the problems of the repatriates with interest and affection and provide incentives to encourage return and permanent settlement.

AKEL is aware of the problems and will provide all assistance and support to our repatriated compatriots.

THE ANNOUNCEMENTS OF THE CONGRESS¹⁰³

THE DECLARATION OF THE 19TH CONGRESS OF AKEL TO THE CYPRIOT PEOPLE

Men and Women Compatriots,

The 19th AKEL Congress, which met in Nicosia from 7 to 10 of December 2000, addresses a warm, militant greeting to the entire Cypriot people:

- Strongly oppose the new order of things which serves specific imperialist interests and conflicts with law and international law.

- Considers globalisation in the way it is carried out, as a violent and levelling process, which serves exclusively the interests of big business and multinational monopolies.

- Points out the continuation of the uncompromising and arrogant attitude of Turkey and the Turkish Cypriot leadership and their unacceptable insistence on dichotomous confederation solution and on the legitimisation of the results of military violence and occupation. This attitude could not be so cynical and uncompromising, if the Americans and their allies did not continue to oust Turkey as the gendarme of their interests in the region.

- Expresses serious concern about the attempted alteration of the base dialogue for a solution to the Cyprus problem and for the possibility given to Denktash to put on the negotiating table positions that conflict with UN resolutions and High Level Agreements.

- Considers that in addition to the tolerance of foreign mediators, the Cypriot government has responsibilities for this worrying course. Through contradictions and regressions, it followed a policy of beautifying the situation instead of militant intervention and interference and proved incapable of dealing adverse developments.

¹⁰³ *ibid.*

- Reiterates the insistence of AKEL in a process of substantive talks in a solution based on principles. In a federation solution, as provided for in the High Level Agreements and adopted in UN decisions and resolutions.

- Notes that in matters of internal governance, the Cypriot society is currently characterized by a crisis of institutions, violation of values and phenomena of decay and corruption. The current government has been unable to deal with these growing phenomena. The way of governing creates an ideal environment through which the bad self of Cypriot society is reproduced.

- Points out the full identification of its socio-economic policy government in the interests of big business.

- Welcomes the struggles against the deregulation of labour relations and for respect for collective agreements and especially the militant mobilisations in defence of the ATA.

- Supports together with the class trade union movement in the struggles for the protection of the rights and achievements of workers and for claiming a better quality of life.

- Consistently supports the just demands of all social strata of the people, peasants, artisans, professionals, shopkeepers, small and middle-class entrepreneurs, who are suffering under his pressure of big capital.

It supports the struggles of women and youth for the solution of their problems and recognises their role in Cypriot society.

Men and women compatriots.

The 19th Congress of AKEL, aware of the huge problems that accumulate as a result of the current government, as well as the normal dissatisfaction and agony of the Cypriot people:

- Invites all interested forces to a broad democratic rally for a progressive change in place, which expresses expectations and the visions of every worker, every democratic Cypriot citizen.

- Addresses honestly to the political parties of the opposition, to social bodies, to the ordinary citizens, for a meaningful and equal dialogue, focusing on the joint effort to transform Cyprus into a modern, democratic country, harmonised at all levels, with the requirements of the 21st century.

- Responsibly submits its proposal for the modernisation of the Cypriot society, with the noble ambition to be the point of reference for the political programme on which such a broad will democratic mobilisation be based.

- Declares that, consistently and persistently, with the rich experience of a glorious 75-year-old historical path, AKEL will fight with all its might to meet the expectations of all those who today, normally turn their gaze to the Left and expect it to play a pioneering role in the struggle for modern, radical, progressive way out of the deadlocks that the government has accumulated by the government of the right and the far-right.

- AKEL addresses to the Cypriot people a message of struggle of faith and optimism for a better and happier future.

THE RESOLUTIONS AND MESSAGES OF THE CONGRESS¹⁰⁴

THE MESSAGE TO THE TURKISH CYPRIOTS

The 19th AKEL Congress that met in Nicosia from December 7-10, 2000 sends you a cordial militant greeting.

The Cyprus issue has entered its most critical phase since 1974. Recently, there has been an obvious attempt to change the basis of the solution to the Cyprus problem as set out in United Nations resolutions and high-level agreements. Although small steps in the right direction in the recent talks in Geneva, the basis for a solution has not yet been established. Unfortunately, in the light of these developments, the voices in both communities, which support other processes, are gaining strength, opposing the federation and proposing solutions that will perpetuate segregation.

We are deeply convinced that at this critical time, all Cypriots who anticipate and envision the reunification of Cyprus and the peaceful coexistence on the basis of mutual respect, should intensify their struggle and raise their voices louder:

- To promote a solution through substantive talks under the auspices of the Secretary-General based on UN resolutions and high-level agreements, which provide for a federal, bi-communal, bi-zonal, demilitarised Cyprus in the framework of which human rights will be guaranteed for all its citizens and political and economic equality of the two communities as defined in reports of the UN Secretary-General and adopted in a series of Security Council resolutions.

- To prevent a dichotomous solution of any kind sought by reactionary and chauvinist circles at home and abroad.

- To further strengthen and popularise the rapprochement movement and the promotion of other specific practical measures that will contribute to contact, communication, mutual

¹⁰⁴ *ibid.*

understanding and cooperation between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots.

With the policy of rapprochement we strengthen the forces in both communities that are fighting for the demolition of the wall that was erected between us by the enemies of Cyprus and we create the conditions for the viability of a just solution to the Cyprus problem.

AKEL addresses a greeting to the forces of the Turkish Cypriot community in adverse conditions support the reunification of Cyprus on the basis of the federation fighting for democracy and independence from Turkey fighting for better living conditions.

AKEL sends a militant greeting and expresses its support and sympathy to the strikers, who in recent days are conducting an unequal and difficult struggle.

AKEL will consistently continue the struggle against nationalism and chauvinism, for the reunification of Cyprus and sends a message of optimism for the success despite the difficulties and adversities we encounter on our way, of the struggle of the Cypriot people.

In these critical moments for our common homeland, it calls on everyone to join forces in the common struggle to give hope again, to bring back peace and happiness, to give a better standard of living to our people, better and more humane living conditions.

Together we can fight for the salvation of our common homeland!

This land is ours. Cyprus belongs to its people!

THE RESOLUTION TO THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE UN, KOFI ANNAN

Your Excellency,

The 19th AKEL Congress, held in Nicosia from 7 to December 10, 2000, expressing its appreciation to you and your efforts for a solution to the Cyprus problem, submits the following:

1. Condemns the continued occupation of a significant part of the territory of the Republic of Cyprus and the settlement with the

aim of altering its demographic structure and calls the withdrawal of the Turkish occupation troops and settlers from the island.

2. Considers that the ongoing backlog of the Cyprus problem constitutes a dangerous anachronism and consolidates the partition that would be the most disastrous choice for both the Greek Cypriots and the Turkish Cypriots.

3. Believes that the only way to peaceful, just, and mutually acceptable and lasting solution to the Cyprus problem is to have substantive inter-community negotiations on the basis of UN resolutions and High Level Agreements, providing for a bi-zonal, bi-communal federation and a single state sovereignty, international personality and citizenship.

4. Considers that the solution to the Cyprus problem, in order to be sustainable, must ensure both the political equality of the two communities as defined since 1990 in a report of the Secretary-General and adopted in a series of resolutions of the Security Council, as well as human rights and fundamental freedoms, including the right of refugees to return home and their property.

5. Stresses that the unacceptable positions of Turkey and Mr Denktash for the recognition of two states on the island and for a confederation solution are in conflict with basic principles of International Law and the UN Charter, with regard to Cyprus Security Council resolutions and High Level Agreements and, therefore, it does not make sense to legitimise in any way the right to Mr. Denktash to put them on the negotiating table.

6. Expresses its deep concern at the alteration attempted since June 1999, the basis of negotiations and expresses its appreciation for the move you have made in Geneva. We believe that other moves on your part in order to fully restore the correct basis, something that would contribute the most to the efforts to reach a solution to the Cyprus problem.

7. Considers the reactions of Mr Denktash and Ankara unacceptable and calls on you as you to reject their threats, defending the principles of the international law as well as the UN itself and the basis for solving the problem that adopted by a series of resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly.

8. We firmly believe that there can be no compromise between the unacceptable demands of Mr Denktash and Ankara for the recognition of two separate sovereign states and a solution of confederation, the provocative violation by the occupying forces

and the Denktash regime of the status quo in this country on the one hand and the UN principles and resolutions on the other.

9. Expresses its concern at the unacceptable living conditions of the detainees as well as the continuing refusal of the Turkish side to cooperate in ascertaining the fate of missing persons. Calls on Your Excellency to contribute to the implementation of the Third Vienna Agreement on enclaved people and the resumption of an effective process to ascertain the fate of the missing.

10. It reaffirms its belief that Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots can coexist and build a common, happy future in a bi-zonal, bi-communal federation. It assures you of the feelings of friendship and respect towards our Turkish Cypriot compatriots, with whom we join in the common struggle for a peaceful solution and the reunification of our country and people.

THE MESSAGE TO THE LEFT PARTIES AND PROGRESSIVE MOVEMENTS THROUGHOUT THE WORLD

The 19th AKEL Congress, which met in Nicosia from 7-10 December 2000, sends a militant message of solidarity and joint action to the left and progressive movements around the world.

The beginning of the new millennium finds the left and progressive movement facing great challenges and problems, as a result of the effort to impose the New Order of Things and the globalisation of the economy on the basis of a neoliberal model.

The end of the Cold War and the overthrow of the balance as it was formed after World War II, did not result in adoption of a new concept and practice in world relations, based on principles and respect for the rules of International Law. On the contrary, the absence of adversary awe and the monarchy of the Americans and their allies, increasingly leads to contempt for the rules of International Law and the enforcement of the law of the powerful. Even international organisations such as the Security Council and the UN are used in this effort. The new order of things is proving daily that it is a class that serves specific imperialist interests.

NATO as a military coalition, created in the conditions of Cold War with the justification of dealing with the adversary awe, not only has not been abolished as it should be, but is making strong and specific efforts to expand and redefine its role as a World Gendarmerie under the orders of the Americans.

In the economic and social spheres, humanity is facing contradictory phenomena with tragic consequences. The tremendous technological progress, the progress in the field of knowledge and information technology, the abolition of borders in trade and international trade, all but led to a fairer distribution of wealth. On the contrary, the globalisation of the economy is taking place violently and levelly with the sole purpose of serving large monopolies and multinationals.

The result of this globalisation is the sharpening of differences between the rich north and the poor south, the sharpening of contradictions within the rich capitalist countries themselves with the marginalisation of whole social groups, the increase of unemployment, the strain on the natural environment, crime and other social problems.

In the name of this globalisation, workers' gains are being affected, labour relations are being deregulated, welfare and social protection services are being disorganised.

The left and progressive movements, all the peaceful forces of the world must continue to revitalise and intensify the effort at local, regional and global level for effective resistance and joint action against the imposition of the New Imperialist Order of Things.

The 19th Congress of AKEL emphasises the need for far-reaching coordination of efforts to fight more effectively to counter the plans of the imperialist powers. For a new philosophy and practice in international relations with the formation of a collective system based on the principles of justice, international law and the Charter of the United Nations and respecting the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of each state.

On this occasion, the 19th Congress of AKEL expresses its solidarity and its support to all the peoples who are fighting for the their inalienable rights, independence and freedom. Especially to the brotherly Palestinian people still fighting for their right to have their own independent state.

We raise our voices against economic and political exclusion, which is leading entire nations into poverty. We express our

support to the heroic people of Cuba, who are suffering from the American exclusion because it continues to defend its right to choose for itself the path of its economic and social development.

The delegates of the 19th Congress of AKEL are collaborating with the workers from all over world in the struggle against neoliberal globalisation. We consider that the demonstrations that took place in Seattle, Washington, Australia, Prague, on the occasion of the meetings of the World Trade Organisation, the World Bank of International Monetary Fund, as well as the World's Women's March 2000 in Washington and New York proves that the workers, the left and progressive movements, the people, react decisively and find the strength and the ways to raise their voice of resistance to the impunity of the multinationals.

Initiatives taken by left-wing and progressive parties and movements at both the global and European level—including our party—to exchange views, coordinate action and promote an alternative progressive proposal for social and economic development, are messages of hope and optimism about the role that the left-wing progressive movement in the world can play.

The 19th Congress of AKEL addresses to all the Left Progressive parties and movements, a message of mobilisation, coordination and development of a global joint action, for a world of peace, democracy, equality and social progress.

To the best of its ability, AKEL will continue to contribute and undertake initiatives, to strengthen dialogue and common thinking, but especially to strengthen the coordination and joint action of the Left and Progressive forces throughout the world.

THE RESOLUTION TO THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE UN ON THE PALESTINIAN ISSUE

The 19th Pancyprrian Congress of AKEL held in Nicosia from 7 to 10 December 2000 dealt with, among other issues, the Palestinian issue and submits the following:

1. Expresses its disgust at the brutal use of force by Israel against Palestinian civilians, resulting in the deaths of hundreds and injuring thousands of others, including many children.

2. Condemns the rigid stance of Israel, which, with US support, despises and refuses to implement Security Council resolutions on the withdrawal of the occupying troops, the return of refugees to their homes and the agreements it has signed with the Palestinian Authority.

3. Calls on the Security Council to intervene immediately to implement its resolutions and its decisions and to implement international law for the Palestinian people and to establish peace in the Middle East. At the same time, it supports the request of the Palestinian Authority for the immediate deployment of a UN peacekeeping force in the region.

4. Expresses its full support and solidarity with the just struggle of the Palestinian people and calls on the international community to raise awareness to stop the bloodshed and to prevent further escalation of tensions.

5. Supports the resolution of the problem through peaceful processes based on the relevant UN resolutions and the implementation of the provisions of the relevant agreements and the recognition of an independent Palestinian State, with East Jerusalem as its capital.

THE SPECIAL DOCUMENT OF THE CONGRESS

THE AKEL'S PROPOSAL FOR THE MODERNISATION OF THE CYPRUS SOCIETY¹⁰⁵

INTRODUCTION

The need for modernisation of institutions and procedures, for renewal of political and social life but also for the expansion of democracy and civil rights with the central aim of upgrading the quality of life in Cyprus, is timeless and always relevant. Today, however, this need is more pressing and demanding than ever before.

In recent years the terms modernisation, and renewal have been used by all political parties. Each political force gives a different content to these terms, depending on the ideological and political philosophy that guides it and the primary goals it sets. There is, however, the possibility of convergence of views and common problems, such as the decay that is in progress and is expressed through the retreat and degradation of moral and cultural values, political and economic corruption, drugs, crime, partisanship of institutions, bribery and unworthiness, social indifference, lack of planning and strategy with vision, etc. There is the possibility of shaping and promoting moral and spiritual values within a modern state and society characterised by a vision, which will aim at social solidarity and equal social development of all strata of the population.

For AKEL, the concept of modernisation encompasses any progressive proposal which is directly related to the formation of that political and socio-economic framework that will allow the satisfaction of material and spiritual needs of the modern Cypriot.

The aim of AKEL, taking into account the Cypriot society of 2000 with specific structures and the problems that plague it on

¹⁰⁵ C.C. Publications AKEL, *AKEL's proposal for modernisation*

the one hand with the specific regional and international environment on the other hand, is to help the worker, the employee, the peasant, professional, middle, and intellectual person to improve their position in Cypriot society and live a better quality of life. In our attention is also the small and middle Cypriot businessman who is crushed by the millstones of big capital.

AKEL's proposal is made in contrast to the neo-liberal anti-popular perceptions and takes into account the current stage of development of the Cypriot society and its needs, as well as the political conditions that prevail on our island. As we have repeatedly stressed, what is paramount today for AKEL is the creation of conditions that will allow the greater possible mobilisation of democratic and progressive forces in order to change the governance of the place, the liberation and reunification of the island. Our aim is also to upgrade social justice, to defend and extend workers' rights, to expand democracy and civil rights, to modernise institutions and processes, and to renew of political and social life. Also in a modern society there can be no phenomena of racism and hostility towards foreigners. AKEL will fight against these phenomena and the causes that create them.

We aspire and hope that our proposal will be a basis for discussion with the other opposition forces, with social actors and the citizens with aim to achieve change in the presidential elections and pave the way for the modernisation of Cypriot society.

CYPRUS AND THE INTERNATIONAL ENVIRONMENT

New Order and Globalisation

The assessments on which our proposal is based on the Cypriot people do not ignore the international situation and the influence that Cyprus receives from the international environment.

Despite the eloquent declarations and slogans, the real content of the "new order" is nothing but a blatant violation of the Charter of the United Nations, a violation of international law, marginalisation and the use of the UN to serve selfish interests, enforcing the "law" of the powerful even by force of arms. Attempts are being made to introduce new rules into international law that give legitimacy to the interventions of the

world's powers in every corner of the globe, where, in their estimation, democracy, and human rights are at stake. The ethnic minorities and the so-called protection of their interests are used as an alibi to promote illegal, geostrategic and economic interests.

The new order of things, instead of meeting modern needs, attempts to turn the clock of history backwards, both in the political and in socio-economic field. The world culture, the modern technology of electronic media and the internet, in the sorrows of the new millennium are not illuminated as they should be by achievements that create spiritual and cultural uplift. They produce "values" that serve the few and cultivate the boundless individualism and the thirst for empty values of profiteering. This is to the detriment of social solidarity and to the detriment of millions of people in the "Third" world. The "new order" is synonymous with monopolies and multinational corporations.

In the field of international economic relations, we are living in the age of globalisation. We do not oppose globalisation as an objective process of transforming the world into a single global economy, into a global village, as the brightest thinkers of socialism from the middle of the 19th century had predicted with astonishing insight. But globalisation, as it happens today, is not progressive and is not interested in social justice.

Globalisation in the way it is done only serves their interests economic giants and leading western states. As the most cynical expression of neo-colonialism, it condemns the most ruthless dependence of the developing countries and the deepest impoverishment of their peoples. Hunger and disease are decimating entire populations. The gap between North and South is constantly widening. In a world that has all the potential, all the resources, all the scientific knowledge and technological competence to ensure a dignified life for all people who are starving, miserable, poverty, disease, unemployment, amorhousness, exploitation of child labour, despair for the tomorrow. The image is complemented by the ecological disaster that is taking place in the name and again of profit, with commercialisation and humiliation of ideals and values, of culture as such and of the very existence of man.

"New order" and globalisation are accompanied by comprehensive onslaught of neoliberalism. Under the deceptive slogans for freedom of business and market, there is a full-scale attack on the achievements and the standards of living of the

workers, whom they want to make it a pawn of blind and uncontrollable market laws and a source of easy profit. They are throwing millions of people all over the world into unemployment and social exclusion.

Humanity can and ought to escape the nightmare of returning to barbarism. The new world order, neoliberalism and globalisation in the measures of capital, cannot constitute the future of humanity. We have no illusions about easy victories and machine-made gods. However, whatever the difficulties, the objective need for progressive modernization will rally the peoples in the fight against the impoverishment and global hegemony of the few. The international protests that flare up day by day against the nature of globalisation are slowly being embraced by a larger number of people. This social and supranational reaction invigorates hope for a better future for humanity.

The European Union

The European Union is now an existing, more economic and less political entity. It is completed in a way that responds to the wishes of the progressive people of the planet. It has made significant strides in the field of economic integration, while the social sector is not one of its priorities. In the areas of common foreign policy, defence and security, dependence on the US and NATO is evident. The example of Yugoslavia demonstrated the complete identification with the American perception of the new order, the substitution of the UN by NATO and the replacement of international law with the law of the powerful.

Economic integration in the European Union reflects the current balance of forces both globally and within the European Union itself. Therefore, it is developing in the same neoliberal direction as well as globalisation and serving the interests supranational giants and big capital. In addition, the institutional reform that is being promoted will further strengthen the position of the large and economically stronger Member States in terms of participation in the European Union's institutions and decision-making.

The way in which the negotiations with the candidate countries are conducted shows that a Europe of two or more speeds is the target of those who have the decisive role within the Union.

The Cypriot government, in its effort to join at all costs, does not claim in the accession negotiations what Cyprus should and is entitled to. There are margins of deviations and at least temporary exceptions from the achievements which, however, is not used, resulting in harmonisation to cause additional problems in Cypriot society, especially in the socio-economic sector.

The Europe of the peoples, with today's data, remains a vision that is far from the reality. In order to move in the right direction, it is needed to be supported and strengthened within those countries of the European Union the forces that are fighting for a united Europe of citizens, for the human rights, for fundamental freedoms, for the environment, for democracy, social justice and a better quality of life.

The Situation in Cyprus

In recent years, the Clerides Government has been in power. The Clerides government, as the government of DISY, expresses and represents the interests of big capital, is inspired by conservative, anti-popular philosophy and characterised by an authoritarian, egalitarian mentality.

This government has put above all the service of partisan and factional interests to the extent that the partisanship of the state, in the sense of the conquest and the alarm of the state mechanism, of the public service and the Semi-Governmental Organisations has reached unprecedented levels. Unworthiness and favouritism are at their peak, while the institutions are provocatively despised and collapsed. Regarding the recent history of Cyprus, the rulers continue to justify and reward Grivas, EOKA'B, the coup and the coup plotters.

The proven inadequacy of the rulers, the mismanagement of the state, the lack of vision and planning, the disorganisation, the image of a government where each minister seems to operate independently, factor-wise and so on, are features that are captured even within the political inquiries conducted by the ruling party itself.

The Cypriot social reality is characterised by a crisis of values, decay and corruption, which are constantly gaining momentum. Individualism and the effort of individual promotion at all costs have been reduced to the highest social value. Scandals, organised crime, drugs, prostitution and corruption dismantle the social

fabric. The mentality of quick and easy profit is also highlighted through the way the Stock Exchange operates.

The socio-economic policy pursued has a strong anti-popular character and attempts to copy the standards of the neoliberal model. The politics this is expressed by the government-capital alliance in the attack against the achievements and the standard of living of the workers. It is expressed through the fiscal policy of the government, which throws all the burdens on the shoulders of the masses and refuses to tax wealth and big profits. It is expressed through the promotion of privatisations, the promotion of liberalisation without the safeguards, the selective alignment with the European Achievements, the fixation of development expenditures, the refusal to take measures against unemployment, the refusal to deal with the issue of illegal foreign workers, the neglect of the productive sectors of the economy and indifference to the problems faced by the productive groups of the population.

All this composes a grey scene, from which the vision and the hope for something better are absent.

What Needs To Be Done

In order for Cyprus to be able to enter the new century and the new millennium with new perspectives, we need to give vision and renew hope to our people. This goal cannot be promoted by the forces currently in power, nor can it be achieved by half measures. They need to rise to power, with the vote of the people, the forces that want and can bring about change and modernisation.

AKEL will lead in this direction. It will seek cooperation with all the forces aimed at changing the governance of the country. This cooperation will be based on parity, mutual respect and honesty.

The following text contains AKEL's views on modernisation of Cypriot society, without of course covering all positions and all proposals of AKEL on every issue that concerns Cyprus today. AKEL expresses readiness to discuss its positions and views with other political forces of the country that want change and that want to give vision and hope to the Cypriot society.

It will also discuss them with the Cypriot citizen in order to make him a member of his views but also to listen to his own and encourage his participation in the effort for the modernisation of

Cypriot society. AKEL seeks the active participation of the citizen in the political and social development because it considers it necessary for the expansion of democracy and the achievement of social progress. Most of the proposals that follow aim precisely at the more active and systematic involvement of the citizens in the formation and management of the political and social life of the country.

We are confident that our effort will bear fruit. The progressive and democratic forces, the people of spirit, art, socio-economic life but also every citizen, together we can give a vision to the Cypriot people and renew the hope for a better tomorrow.

THE INSTITUTIONS IN A MODERN CYPRUS SOCIETY

The democratic and efficient functioning of the institutions is the essential complement to the existence of a prosperous society. It is also a prerequisite for cultivating the right values, ideals and standards in society, but also so that society can unfold its capabilities and to develop in a way that responds adequately to the needs and challenges facing the modern Cypriot society.

Proper planning, good coordination and effective control by those in power at various levels will play a decisive role in the efforts for modernisation of the Cypriot society.

Executive Power - Government

In a presidential system, such as that of Cyprus, the executive branch plays a key role in the evolution of society. The government must feel responsible and committed to the people, on the basis of its election promises.

1. The Government must pursue a policy based on clear principles and directions and seek cuts in Cypriot society. It needs to exercise power with a spirit of consensus, dialogue, determination and consistency. Respect for the Constitution and the laws is its supreme obligation. The way the Council of Ministers works today is counterproductive. There needs to be a separation between day-to-day management issues and those of strategic operations. The work of the Council of Ministers must be staffed and devoted to planning for prevention and address the most serious problems.

2. The Government should be in constant contact and dialogue with political parties, organised groups and the people in a planned and productive way. Collectivism should be a key goal and means of modernising our political life. Authoritarianism, extremism and the arrogance of power have no place in government in a modern, democratic society.

3. The governance of the country must be exercised with transparency and every citizen to have the opportunity to be fully informed of matters concerning him directly and in person, having the right of access to the relevant public documents.

4. Political straightforwardness should be a hallmark of a member government. They must care about the observance of the institutions and the staff a good example that Cypriot society needs to fight scandals, decay and corruption. For this purpose, the Council of Ministers is required to establish internal rules of ethics and conduct its members.

5. To establish specialised Social Policy Councils, with the participation of both political and social bodies, whose role will be the formulation of policy proposals and supervision of political actions in areas such as health, the environment, consumer protection, etc.

6. The Planning Office has carried out an important and successful project in the development of the economy of Cyprus. Under DISY government its role has been downgraded to a service that cuts development funds in the name of the economic perception of things on the part of the rulers. The Planning Office needs to regain its real role, to strengthen, to gain greater flexibility and to harmonise even more with modern data. It should place greater emphasis on the strategic approach to development policy and on the planning of programmes and the means for their implementation. Its objective should be the continuous assessment of the state of the Cypriot economy and the reflection on the evolution and continuous adaptation to modern data. The issues to concern the Planning Office need to include the issues of operation and efficiency of the public sector in order to submit proposals for its continuous improvement.

7. To redeploy and redistribute services so that they are related to them are subject to Ministries. For example, the State Scholarship Foundation and the Department of Antiquities should be transferred to the Ministry Education.

8. Good governance and meritocracy must be an essential component of government policy. This will create the conditions for the rational development of society, the fight against decay and corruption and the right messages will be given to the youth. Measures that could be taken by the Government in this direction is:

I. To formulate a Law—a framework for their political and civil responsibilities of the Ministers and the members of the Boards of Directors of the Semi-Governmental Organisations for their decisions.

II. To ensure the correct and effective implementation of the Code of General Principles of Administrative Law, by the Administrative Bodies.

III. To take care of the formulation and implementation of a complete Charter of Citizens' Rights. Organise a campaign for the enlightenment of the citizens for their rights.

IV. To regulate, on the basis of a legislative framework, the issue of the operation of the KYP and the security forces to ensure the principle of non-interference in the personal life of citizens.

V. To complete, extend and consistently implement the laws concerning the recruitment of permanent and temporary staff in Public Service.

VI. Limit the margins of uncontrollable discretion of all levels of administration.

VII. To form a legal framework for their civil and other responsibilities of the officials of the Public and Semi-Governmental Sector with regard to insufficient and discriminatory exercise of their duties, damage they cause to the State with any of their decisions, or malpractices that they allowed, or mismanagement of resources of the Public and Semi-Governmental Sector.

9. The main concern of the Government must be the fast and efficient service of the citizens. The citizen has the right to fast and efficient service. Unfortunately the bureaucracy that exists in the Public Service and in the Semi-Governmental Organisations, as well as the wrong mentality and the approach of citizens by a portion of civil servants, often convert serving citizens in a time-consuming process with great inconvenience, while at the same time they limit the rapid development of society. For the modernisation and greater efficiency of the Public Service and

Semi-Governmental Organisations, with the aim of better serving the citizen, it is necessary:

I. To complete the computerization in all the public service and the semi-governmental organisations.

II. Improve the working conditions of civil servants.

III. To simplify procedures and to decentralise the service of the citizen. To begin a dialogue between the government and PASYDY with the aim of further upgrading of the service of the citizens by the public officials.

IV. Legalize the equal treatment of citizens with implications for those who violate this principle.

V. Strictly implement the institution of interchangeability in the public service.

VI. Develop a permanent training program for civil servants and implement a system of incentives and meritocratic evaluation for increase their efficiency.

10. The know-how of the scientific potential of the Public Service, needs to be used as a basis on which government bodies will rely policy decisions.

In order for this know-how to be used to the fullest extent possible, scientists-civil servants need to be left undisturbed to prepare objectively and impartially their studies. There is also a need to set up reservoirs of thought (vital measures) in vital areas that will advise the relevant Ministers and the Government.

At the same time, in this effort, it is necessary to utilise the Academic staff and other educational and scientists institutions and organisations of the country.

The National Council

The National Council was founded by the late President Makarios through the untold disaster and the ruins of the Turkish invasion and occupation. It was founded as an advisory institution, but very important and necessary for promotion of the Cyprus problem. Indeed, historical experience has shown that when the National Council works well, offers a lot to the country and the people. A great achievement, that proves how useful the institution is when it is functioning properly, are the unanimous Greek Cypriot proposals of 1989.

The National Council must function in a way that sends a message to the people of seriousness, responsibility and the

common will of the political forces to contribute creatively to making the right decisions. This is necessary because no one's shoulders are so strong that they can withstand the unbearable load of a solution, which will definitely not be suitable for celebrations. AKEL is ready to assume its responsibilities. The National Council, as long as it works properly and collectively, it also sends the necessary messages to the international community, something very important for the advancement of our cause.

Each party, however, to be able to contribute substantially to the debate and decision-making and to feel co-responsible for the manipulations, it must be informed in a timely and complete manner. It is not just the number that matters, but mainly the content of the body meetings. The National Council should not be convened for simple information and ex post. Even in cases where the President of the Republic feels that any action or decision will have the support of the majority, again it still has to convene the National Council. The institution of the National Council is based on collective and unbiased reflection.

For the most orderly operation of the National Council, AKEL suggests:

1. Persistence in the basic principles and the unanimous Greek Cypriot positions as approved by the National Council.

2. Timely, complete and continuous information of the members of the National Council before making decisions.

3. Avoid convening the body only for information, for making formal decisions and for approving premediated decisions.

4. The National Council must have the best possible scientific support. For this purpose, the Cyprus Studies Office must be utilised and coordinated of the Ministry of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the special service in the Legal Service for European Union Office, the Subcommittee of the National Council, etc.

5. What is shared and decided in the National Council as well as information and data obtained by participating in it, to be kept confidential, unless the body decides otherwise. The documents submitted to the body by the parties are also be kept confidential, unless the parties themselves submitting the documents decide otherwise.

6. There must be strict compliance with operating regulations of the National Council and in particular with the provision that the President implements unanimous decisions and if it feels strongly disagreement then it should resort to referendum. When there is

no unanimity, the President should take the opinion of the majority seriously.

The above does not in no way mean that the constitutional and other rights of the President of the Republic are not respected. If, however, the necessity of the National Council is accepted, there must be respect for the way the body functions.

The Parliament

The Parliament is the most representative institution of a democratic state. It embodies and expresses the popular will and sovereignty. It therefore has a serious and important role to play in the efforts to modernise society. In order to achieve this, it is necessary to first and foremost modernise the Parliament itself. AKEL proposes:

1. Parliament to be autonomous from the Government in terms of its budget, in order to be more flexible and set its own priorities.

2. To devote more time to the Plenary Sessions of the Parliament, to upgrade its sessions, to make its intervention more substantial in the serious issues that concern society and to give the right image of the House to the people.

1. For the best efficiency in the operation of the Parliamentary Committees, to faithfully implement the relevant regulation adopted by the Parliament.

2. Legislation should be discussed in a timely and effective manner in plenary. There should be time and appropriate staff for the technical control of bills and draft laws.

3. To immediately promote the issue of the scientific and secretarial support of Members in their work by seconding appropriate and competent staff for each Parliamentary Group. In this way the produced work will increase qualitatively and quantitatively.

4. To improve the working conditions, the building facilities, the equipment and the technological means to make the work of the Parliament more efficient.

The Judiciary

The Judiciary is one of the pillars of state power. Its modernization is a necessary condition for the general

modernisation of society. Delayed justice cannot be considered justice.

What needs to be done in order for the sector of the Judiciary to respond in a timely manner to the modern needs of the Cypriot citizen are:

1. Modernisation, codification and consolidation of the Law.
 - Accelerate the review and modernisation process.
 - Abolition of anachronistic institutions and laws.
 - Alignment with the European achievements taking into account the stage development of Cypriot society.
 - Creation of a legal information bank.
 - Systematic training of judicial officials.
2. Reduction of trial time. This can be achieved by:
 - Making practices and recording decisions with modern electronic means.
 - Computerisation of the administrative functions of the Courts.
 - Adoption of flexible procedures of civil and criminal procedure.
 - Introduction of institutions that will unload the material of the courts.
 - Strengthen the staffing of the courts with both judges and administrative staff.
3. Creating adequate and appropriate workplaces and working conditions.
4. Exercise effective control and coordination of staff.
5. Adopt transparent procedures for the appointment and promotion of judicial officials.
6. Study of the separation of the Supreme Court into Administrative / Court of Appeal and Constitutional. Consider also the introduction of higher jurisdiction.

The Political Parties

Parties are the basic cell of every democratic and modern society. It is the organised expression of class interests, of the different political and ideological approaches.

In recent years we have witnessed a constant effort to damage the credibility of the parties to descend to the lowest rung of prestige in the consciousness of the people. We are witnessing a methodical effort to consolidate the perception of the ordinary

citizen that political parties play a catastrophic role in the orderly and meritocratic operation and development of society, that oppress the citizens etc. The result of this distorted perception is that a portion of the people, especially among the youth, to distance themselves from organised political life of the country and lead to passive indifference to political and social processes.

AKEL considers that these phenomena lead to regression and do not contribute in any way to the modernisation of society.

The attempt to degrade political discourse in modern Cypriot society is also sought by proposing legalistic reasoning and arguments. For piles issues, which reached the limits of major scandals, an attempt was made to cover them with standard legal procedures, because this imposed the interests of some circuits.

AKEL believes that in a modern society manipulations and procedures should aim at ensuring and serving the public interest by cultivating proper standards and values. Legal procedures are respected, but in no case can they replace the political dimension of the issues, nor should they be used in a way that prevents scandals from being investigated and political or other responsibilities to those involved.

In a modern society, the content and type of political discourse that is articulated is of great importance. AKEL will continue to pursue how the party rivalry is conducted within a civilised context, away from confrontations on a personal level and on the basis of political arguments. Political dialogue must be based on respect for opponents and citizens.

In order for the parties to play their role in society properly, it is necessary in our opinion:

1. The parties themselves, as living organisms, to take responsibility and implement a policy of modernisation and continuous renewal of perceptions and people. A modern party in our view must be guided at all levels by leaders who by lifestyle and behaviour are an example of selfless, useful, honest and devoted to values and ideal citizen. The parties must function democratically and are in direct contact with their members and the people. The role and prestige of parties will be enhanced with the participation of as many capable people as possible and honest people in the political life of the country, with the greatest participation and exercise effective control by citizens, with the upgrading of collectivity, transparency and meritocracy in their operation.

2. To substantially upgrade the financial support of the parties, inside and outside Parliament, by the State, so as to avoid the risk of dependence from the private, financial sector. Financial support to be offered at the base measurable criteria.

3. To have access to the results of scientific research and to be assisted by the state to set up their own research centres.

The Local Government

Local government decentralises power and therefore provides many opportunities to serve the daily needs of citizens. In order to be able to function more effectively in a modern society, it is necessary:

1. To promote the operation of the 2nd degree of Local Self-Government, with elected representatives and expanded responsibilities.

2. To be financially supported, with substantial funds that will be linked to the Regular Budget, in order to become even more autonomous from the respective Government.

3. To create an institutional framework governing cooperation between neighbouring Municipalities and Communities.

4. To give more responsibilities to the Local Government in order to directly handle the daily problems of the citizens and to make the necessary decisions.

5. In the plans of the State for issues such as health, education, sports etc. the views of local authorities should also be taken seriously.

6. To have cooperation between neighbouring municipalities so as to reduce costs for the provision of services to citizens (e.g. technical services, garbage collection etc.)

7. To have more transparency in operation and procedures, so that the citizen is immediately informed about what concerns him and to be able to exercise control.

8. To form in each municipality control mechanisms of the promotion of requests and problems that concern citizens in order to overcome bureaucratic delays and expedite the time of their resolution.

9. To create a service or to adopt other mechanisms of internal control of both the legality and implementation of decisions of the City Council and financial management.

The Public Service Committee-Educational Service Committee

These two institutions have a very important role to play in relation to staffing of the public and educational services. In operation to date they have many problems and weaknesses. To be modernised you need:

1. The appointments of the members of the two Committees should be made on a strict basis and established criteria to ensure their staffing with persons who stand out for the integrity of their character, their commitment to meritocracy, impartiality and objectivity.

2. Their composition should be representative of the whole social and political spectrum, without necessarily party representation.

3. To ensure transparency in the functions of the Committees and recording of the candidates' oral interviews in the Public Sector and Educational Service. Candidates should have the right to access relevant interviews, in cases of legal proceedings when they consider that were wronged.

4. To fully implement the relevant law regarding the filling of positions.

5. To have full respect for court decisions. When contempt is found, those responsible should be treated accordingly, on the basis of relevant legislation that needs to be enacted.

The Semi-Governmental Organisations.

The institutions of Semi-Governmental Organisations, as public benefit organisations, were strengthened with the establishment and operation of the Republic of Cyprus. In past years they have offered important services to the Cypriot people, contributing greatly to the development of a healthy mixed economy system in our country.

It is an indisputable fact that today, several Semi-Governmental Organisations are facing problems mainly due to the upcoming competition. The Clerides government is essentially proposing that we proceed with the privatisation of these Organisations.

AKEL, having in mind the strategic importance of each individual Semi-Governmental Organisation, and the social benefit arising from the operation is in favour of preserving their public and social character. At the same time, it proposes the modernisation of the Semi-Governmental Organisations so that they can be better prepared and become more flexible and productive to cope with the current data and the expected competition. AKEL proposes the following:

1. Promoting a package aimed at restructuring, austerity and meditation. Each organisation should quickly develop specific measures and proposals in this direction. These will revolve around issues of the introduction of modern technology and computerisation, increase of productivity, reduction of costs etc.

2. Providing greater independence from both the Government and the Parliament to the Organisations in order to become more flexible, in order to become more flexible, in terms of design strategy.

3. Implementation of good administration and meritocracy in recruitment and promotions.

4. Examine each case separately, based on its strategy importance and social benefit. In relation to their ownership status of Semi-Governmental Organisations, AKEL insists on the position of maintaining the their public character and social control to continue to serve the whole society.

5. Providing incentives to staff but also tightening control and imposing penalties on those who do not perform satisfactorily.

6. Enact legislation prohibiting for three years the employment of retired workers in competing organisations.

The proper functioning and efficiency of the Semi-Governmental Organisations depends on the proper functioning of the Boards of Directors. In order for the Boards of Directors to meet the needs of modern society, it is necessary:

1. Their composition should be representative of the entire political and social spectrum, without necessarily having a party representation.

2. For the staffing of the Boards of Directors of the Semi-Governmental Organisations to follow objective criteria, such as knowledge of the subject, professional experience and related scientific training. To select persons who stand out for their ethos, judgment and objectivity, so as to serve the public interest.

3. To ensure that the members of the Board have no related interests with the Semi-Governmental Organisations to which they are appointed.

4. To have full respect for court decisions. Where contempt is found, those responsible should be treated accordingly, on the basis of a relevant legislation that needs to be enacted.

The Commissioner of Administration

The Commissioner of Administration is a modern and effective institution that performs serious social work. It needs to be strengthened in human resources and with additional corresponding responsibilities, in order to better meet the multiple requirements arising from the complex nature of today's society.

The School Tax Offices

On the initiative of AKEL, a relevant law has been approved and the members of the School Boards will be elected from 2001. AKEL's position is that the School Boards must develop the greatest possible cooperation with the local government authorities and obtain the necessary powers and means to meet the needs of education faster and more economically.

THE SOCIAL-ECONOMIC POLICY

The economic and social policy applied in a society determines the development of the living and cultural standard of its citizens. It is no exaggeration to say that economic growth and social prosperity are the cornerstones on which the effort of a society to always be kept modern and capable of renewal. The same applies to the case of Cyprus.

AKEL looks forward to a new century of hope, perspective and prosperity for workers and the underprivileged. This expectation cannot be realised with the implementation of the neoliberal, anti-popular socio-economic policy of the DISY government.

AKEL fights for a socio-economic policy with anthropocentric goals, a policy of multifaceted and multilevel development, a mixed economy system in which the private, the state and the cooperative initiative.

We do not underestimate the impact on the development of our economy of international developments and especially of what is taking place in the European area. However, we must at the same time defend the political and socio-economic choices of our people, their traditions and conquests and the developmental peculiarities of Cyprus, while making sure that these do not become a hindrance to the service of the citizen in the development and competitive potential of our country against other economic factors.

In this direction, AKEL supports the following:

1. Maintenance and modernisation of the mixed system of socio-economic. At the heart of development must be man and his needs and not the absolutisation of market laws and the prosperity of numbers.

2. Promoting a multifaceted socio-economic development that leads through continuous adaptation to technological data and increasing productivity and innovation, to their satisfactory earnings ensure decent living conditions, safety in work in a pleasant environment, satisfactory free time and conditions for creative entertainment and easy access to quality, intellectual and cultural activity.

3. Defending the social character of public benefit organisations.

4. Support and protection of employees' rights. The role of the Trade Union Movement must be upgraded, as one of the key pillars on which the edifice of a modern, progressive and democratic society. Within this framework, AKEL will fight together with other social and political forces to defend the status of free collective bargaining and the conclusion of collective agreements. Rejects the philosophy of "flexible working relationships", with the signing of personal contracts, as well as with the exercise psychological violence against workers.

5. Promoting investment in development in a way that expands and upgrades the development infrastructure.

6. Substantial productivity improvement, through the technological upgrade, the improvement of the administration and management of the Cypriot enterprises and the continuous vocational training.

7. Attribution of special importance in the development of its productive sectors of the economy and especially industry, with

particular emphasis on the fields of research, technology and specialised products.

8. Promoting a fairer income policy with upgraded pensions and benefits, as well as incomes that will increase rapidly higher than productivity thus leading, gradually, to its overthrow of existing revenue sharing system that widens the gap between profits and wages.

9. Introduction of a fairer tax system to be collected based on the amount of income and profits, which will increase the state revenues and will help in the implementation of popular programs.

10. Building a society of employment and not unemployment. The unemployment must be addressed through a series of measures such as:

Acceleration of Economic Growth.

Implementation of an integrated policy for the training of the workforce.

Dealing with the phenomenon of uncontrolled arrival and exploitation of foreign workers.

The creation of new jobs through further reduction of the working day time, and at the same time increasing productivity with the ultimate goal of the 35-hour working week, without this resulting in a reduction in earnings and similar benefits for workers. Additional opportunities for new jobs can be created by supporting the industry with new incentives, especially for small and medium-sized enterprises.

11. Protection, with relevant laws and regulations, of small and medium-sized enterprises in trade and craft production, from the concentration and accumulation of a huge volume of capital from the Companies on the Stock Exchange.

12. Promoting the restructuring of the rural economy with the aim of increasing productivity, increasing cooperatives, reducing costs per unit of production and maximising its competitiveness. The formulation of a rational integrated developmental government agricultural policy, in close cooperation with the organised peasant movement, must basically include:

I. Channelling of new capital investments.

II. Make efforts by taking practical measures to reduce the production costs and invested capital.

III. Creation of modern sustainable agricultural units.

IV. Real crop restructuring with rational use of water resources and long-term support of producers.

V. Strengthening agricultural research and continuous training of peasants.

VI. Permanent monitoring of international market preferences and corresponding timely reorientation of agricultural production.

VII. Simplification of marketing and distribution structures.

VIII. Agricultural income security.

IX. Creation of full-time conditions in the countryside with a subsidising parallel production units.

The dialogue between the Government—Parliament—Parties—Rural Movement must be continuous and in the centre of its attention to have the peasant and in general the rural resident in general. The dialogue must be based on addressing the rural economy with its wider social role and importance, so that the rural people can feel the social solidarity in practice in practice for preservation and upgrading of the primary wider agricultural sector.

13. Substantial support for increasing exports with particular assistance in trying to penetrate new markets such as the countries of Eastern Europe and Africa.

14. Development of new products and new services that will be related to both these new markets as well as the new trends of the international economy (e.g. construction of computers, software development for new functions of the economy, such as e-commerce, etc.)

AKEL looks forward to a welfare state which, through appropriate development plans and structures, can ensure to its citizens:

I. Basic benefits and income that support a satisfactory standard of living for all citizens. Priority will be given to eliminating the unacceptable phenomenon of the lives of tens of thousands of people below the socially defined level of poverty.

II. High quality medical care through a General Health Plan.

III. Introduction and implementation of modern social support and integration programmes.

IV. AKEL supports the creation of a single demographic policy body with the aim of formulating and implementing an integrated demographic policy programme.

V. Social sensitivity in dealing with women's problems and young people.

VI. Providing a high level of free education at all levels without exception.

The Cyprus Stock Exchange

The Cyprus Stock Exchange with its operation to date has created serious problems resulting in thousands of investors losing their savings. The state must take all those necessary measures for the consolidation of the institution.

AKEL closely monitors the operation of the Cyprus Stock Exchange. From time to time he has submitted proposals aimed at the smooth operation of the CSE and the protection of investors. We suggest:

1. Stricter enforcement of the existing legislation by the CSE authorities.

2. Strengthening the role of the Hellenic Capital Market Commission, staffing it with qualified personnel and direct adoption of the legislative framework of its operations.

3. Stricter criteria for introducing new companies on the CSE.

4. Reduction or elimination of the stock exchange fee of 0.6% and introduction of taxation capital gain to combat speculation and encourage it institutional investment.

5. Expedite the introduction of the dematerialisation system.

6. Introduction of transparent procedures in the CSE.

7. Introduction of Mutual Funds.

8. Carry out an investigation into the problems that arose in 1999 and 2000 and assign blame where they exist.

9. Legislative regulation of the activities of the "Investment Advisers".

10. Combatting counterfeit activities.

11. Disclosure of the movements of the major shareholders before selling large packages of shares.

12. Concession of incentives (tax, etc.) to institutional investors and to foreign investors.

13. Setting the subject of private placements.

14. Regulation of the activities and operation of the investment funds.

15. Strict control of the brokerage transactions of the individuals who are affiliated with public companies.

16. Fighting and defeating the rigged games on the CSE.

THE YOUTH

For AKEL, the new generation is the golden reserve of our society, it is its future and perspective. This is not just a matter of the age factor. The new generation, as a social group, is characterised by spontaneity, the search and the momentum for renewal. The new generation is the most dynamic part of society for this and objectively it is a radical, progressive element and a vehicle for change. Therefore it has a key role to play in the modernisation of Cypriot society.

As first steps to improve the living conditions and activation young people in society, AKEL proposes:

1. The qualitative and quantitative upgrade of the participation of young people in the decision-making centres that concern them. The activation of the coordinating and advisory role of the Youth Organisation, the upgrading and strengthening the role of the Central Student Councils, the District and the Pancyprian Student Coordinating Committee can be promoted immediately.

2. The institutionalisation of the participation and intervention of young people for the formation and implementation of a policy, in what concerns them directly, in the Local Government.

3. The promotion of the proposal for the election of committees by the soldiers who in cooperation with the administrations will deal with issues of living conditions and entertainment.

4. For the acquisition of housing by the young couples, which is one of the most burning issues they face, we suggest:

- I. The expansion of the programmes, the adaptation of the criteria to the new socio-economic data and the improvement of lending conditions by the Housing Financing Agency and the Land Development Agency.

- II. The return of the value of VAT from the construction of the first privately owned house, costing up to fifty thousand pounds.

- III. The separation of plots on state land and their concession to young couples at cost price.

- IV. The subsidy from the State of the interest rate for the repayment of any loan for residential, as well as the granting of a one-time sponsorship to needy young couples.

5. For unemployment, which affects a large percentage of young people, in addition to the decisions to be taken at the level of economic policy, we suggest:

I. The upgrading of vocational guidance in schools.

II. The activation of the standing committee for monitoring of the problem of unemployment among the graduates of higher education.

6. Favouritism and unworthiness are a social scourge that crushes the dreams and expectations of young people and must be addressed. However, the adoption, of a series of legislative measures and other regulations can curb the problem. To this end, it is proposed:

I. The establishment of transparent procedures and measurable criteria for issues of recruitment, secondment, transfer and promotions in the Public Service.

II. Strengthening and expanding the responsibilities and powers of the Commissioner Administration.

III. The selection of reserve non-commissioned officers and officers in the National Guard through sound examinations, taking into account the candidate's academic qualifications.

IV. The introduction of a procedure for rotating tenure in outposts first line, so that there are no permanently wronged in the E.F.

7. In parallel with all this, AKEL proposes for young people:

I. The modernisation and democratisation of Education, the adoption of a new system of student welfare and scholarships with increased funds, the expansion and upgrading of Higher Education.

II. The expansion of the infrastructure for the creative employment of young people.

III. The preventive treatment of a series of problems faced by youth, first and foremost that of drugs, adopting an integrated policy.

AKEL seeks the militant mobilisation of young people for action against any inhumane mechanisms of society, against passivity, so that collective action and social solidarity can replace individualism and egocentrism. We advocate social sensitivity against analgesia and thirst for profit.

THE WOMEN

The renewal and modernisation of politics and society needs active participation of men and women. Equality between men and women must be a fundamental principle of democracy and respect for human beings in a society. At a time when parity at all levels of life as a basic human right is taking on a new dimension, this necessity is more urgent than ever before. Women, characterised by the sensitivity of the person who gives life, have the opportunity to contribute to building a more humane society.

Our proposal considers that women's rights are integral part of human rights and are part of the vision of AKEL for a fairer, more humane society. Specifically, we suggest:

1. The state to create the objective and subjective conditions for the women to become an active and assertive citizens. This will be achieved by combating anachronistic perceptions and overthrowing the stereotyped roles, as well as by promoting specific measures and implementation of women's political support so that she is ready to cope in her multiple roles.

2. The equal participation of women in public and political life should to be seen by all as a matter of substance and not just as a matter of numbers.

The aim must be to create those conditions that will give the women the opportunity to compete equally with the man with exclusive criteria for the development of her knowledge and skills so that she finds her place in all bodies of power and decision-making centres.

3. Make intensify efforts to eliminate discrimination in economic life. Auxiliary legislation will be helpful in this direction to ensure equal opportunities between men and women in recruitment, promotion and vocational training. Intensify efforts for practical application of the Law on Equal Remuneration for Equal Work.

4. Strengthen and upgrade the National Mechanism for Rights of Women as a collective body for discussion and decision-making on issues concerning equality.

5. The Ministry of Justice to create a general directorate to supervise the gradual implementation of equality in all areas by encouraging public and private organisations to adopt policies of equal participation.

6. Promote the creation of an Equal Opportunities Committee, as a mechanism and institution of practical and effective implementation of equality laws.

7. To promote campaigns in society, through education and otherwise, in order to eliminate the perceptions that want the woman to work only at home and family, or treat her and project her as a sexual object.

8. Introduce the institution of parental leave for both parents. This should be provided after the expiration of maternity leave.

9. To engage the state and society with more interest and affection in the problems faced by special groups of women.

THE PENSIONERS

A society is judged by how modern it is by its attitude towards it in the elderly. The society that is generous to those who in very adverse conditions offered the efforts of a lifetime for the prosperity and progress of the place and for their families is a modern and civilized society.

A modern society as envisioned by AKEL does not offer the elderly only theoretical support, love and solidarity which is, after all, and its basic obligation. It offers solutions to the existing problems that occur every day.

As a minimum compensation for the many things that AKEL has offered us, it proposes:

1. The Social Pension provision system has been welcomed by the people, and is a step forward. Although the measures introduced so far are considered positive, the level of pensions is so low which does not guarantee the minimum acceptable standard of living. As a result, are many older people are living below the poverty line.

2. AKEL proposes the increase of all pensions. This increase can be achieved on the one hand through the modernisation of the contribution system to the Social Insurance Fund and on the other hand from the state budget. To increase the amounts given as public aid to those who are not entitled pension.

3. The introduction of Home Care Programs for the Elderly solved a number of problems and in particular prevented the institutionalisation of many older people. This type of care needs to be expanded, put on an organised basis, enriched with medical

and psychological support, with excursions and transfer to and from open employment centres for the elderly, etc.

4. Institutional care for the elderly is quantitatively inadequate and qualitatively degraded. The State must support the promotion of institutional policy by the Municipalities and other bodies of the Local Government. We consider the establishment and operation of Open Centres for Productive Employment and Entertainment of the Elderly from all the Municipalities and the large regional centres of the countryside. At the same time, seek to improve the quality of services in private nursing homes by upgrading state control and incentives.

5. Development of programs for active participation of the elderly in the social events. The state, local government and other organised groups must develop programs of social activity for the elderly (e.g. creation of clubs, operation of care and support groups, etc.). In this way their institutionalisation will be avoided.

6. Develop holiday plans for elderly and extend the institution of the pensioner card to cover travel, discounted entry to theatres, cinemas, stadiums, etc.

EDUCATION

In order for education to play a progressive role in a modern society, it needs to be democratic, to provide equal opportunities for success, to view the education system as a whole, to rely on scientific studies and pedagogical research and to ensure the effective participation of all educational policies and social actors in its formation.

AKEL's proposal aims at a modern education with a human-centred character and humanitarian content. It combines the social-educational character with the development its qualitative dimension in order to respond to the internationalised environment of the 21st century.

In a modern Cypriot society, AKEL considers that education must meet the following parameters:

1. Education should be treated as a basic social good which should be ensured through free public education at all levels.

The State to guarantee the quality of public education and guarantee of educational opportunities with free access to education and education lifelong learning. AKEL's proposal gives priority to the creation through from the education of people with

a integrated personality that is imbued with the values of democracy, equality, solidarity, and social justice, on the basis of which educational institutions are judged by society as a whole.

2. Education should be multicultural and connect creatively and fruitfully the national tradition with the knowledge of the culture of others. To contribute to the formation of the common universal values of democracy, peace, ecological consciousness, in a new, open environment of cultural pluralism. To strengthen social solidarity by teaching how to coexist and live together.

3. To express the modern data that are created. Specifically:

In the Political Field

Education must educate young people by teaching them the historical truth about the tragic events of 1974 and other events of recent history of Cyprus, preparing them to live in a united and federal Cyprus. That is why the textbooks and curricula of history should be reviewed and enriched so that the historical reality is fully rendered.

Steps also need to be taken to effectively address the problems arising from the new international realities, especially in view of Cyprus' progress towards the European Union.

In the socio-economic sector

Education must be linked to efforts for economic development and modernisation of the Cypriot economy.

To the epistemology that characterises our educational system should be added and emphasis should be placed on the development of skills, intellectual abilities in order to educate free and creative citizens with a strong element of critical thinking, understanding of social mission, work ethic, etc.

In the scientific and technological field

The modern age is characterised by an explosive development of both science and technology. The scientific achievements on the one hand but also the new possibilities and perspectives created by the rapid development of new and revolutionary media will affect many social processes.

Today's education needs a radical change in goals, structure, and processes, as well as a change in its logistical base to help citizens and entire societies to cope with revolutionary change and not be degraded or marginalised.

The school curriculum needs to be completed to cover all aspects of life. The modern school must create an ecological, economic and legal consciousness, and a spirit of peace and understanding of universal programmes.

It is also necessary the universal introduction of computers in education, with the ultimate goal of a student a computer, the effective use of the Internet and the strengthening of the teaching of the second foreign language in the Gymnasium and the Lyceum, in accordance with the decisions of the European Commission.

In the administrative field

In order for the Cypriot education to meet the modern requirements for planning, organisation and evaluation of the mode of operation and the results, it is necessary to restructure the system, to modernise the administration of education, to create new services on a horizontal interdepartmental structure and the decentralisation.

Teachers must, through ongoing training programs qualifications/skills that meet modern requirements. No educational reform can succeed without ensuring participation and cooperation of teachers.

At the dawn of the 21st century, education in Cyprus needs a new course based on vision, strategy and collective effort. Basic conditions for quality upgrading and modernisation public education in Cyprus in 2000, are a drastic increase in spending for education and research and a comprehensive, progressive reform of the education system, both in structure and content, giving priority in creating an adequate and modern logistical infrastructure: A reform that will promote radical cuts in education and will open fronts against conservatism, anachronism and regression.

Taking into account the above data, changes must be promoted that embrace all levels of education from Pre-Primary to University.

1. Pre-primary education should be extended to cover all children from three years old through a public and free benefit.

The pre-primary must be institutionalised and the last year before admission to primary school must be included in compulsory education.

2. The institution of the all-day primary school is an important educational innovation and there are serious educational and social reasons for its implementation. It must be based on a comprehensive design, the necessary logistical infrastructure and an integrated and upgraded programme.

3. The single twelve-year school, which will be autonomous and democratic, should be the goal for basic general compulsory education.

4. The General Lyceum (GL) degree and the Technical/ Vocational Education (TEE), must be restructured and modernised, based on the free choice and the modern perceptions that the term general humanitarian education has a broader meaning, which also incorporates technological knowledge. The quality upgrade with the introduction of new modern programmes and working methods must gradually lead to the successful integration of the two types of schools. All graduates of GL and TEE must be offered access to higher education and post-secondary vocational education specialisation and training institutions.

5. Higher education is the main axis around which the effort to respond to the challenges of the times will revolve. The free access, universalisation and connection of higher education with society and its needs is in modern times an imperative necessity. The formation of a Unified Higher Education, institutionalised, administratively and academically autonomous, which includes the University of Cyprus, (which should be expanded with the establishment of young people faculties and new departments to cover the full range of sciences), the new Technological University of Applied Sciences and Arts as well as other higher education schools is in the era of the explosion of knowledge and technology, essential necessity and a significant investment with immediate and long-term positive effects on the progress and development of the whole society.

Other proposals of AKEL are:

1. The Educational Council to be restructured and to play a decisive role in the study and formulation of educational policy.

2. Creation of new institutions responsible for the development education (e.g. higher education and development council and formation of development of higher education).

3. Development of research processes in the fields of education, technology and science. It should be supported by the state and be an integral part of the education system. To develop their institution research institutes and research units in areas of high national priority.

4. Development of the State Scholarship Foundation as an autonomous support body supporting the undergraduate and postgraduate studies and as a student welfare institution to cover students in Cyprus and abroad.

5. Establishment of a mechanism for the continuous and permanent evaluation of the educational system.

6. Ensuring the right in the sponsorship and for the students of the evaluated—certified branches of private higher education schools.

7. Extend existing legislation on private higher education in a way that ensures the quality of the education provided and introduces the principle of non-profit organisation.

HEALTH

The health sector and the level of medical services offered in the average citizen are, together with education, perhaps the most basic indicators of social well-being, but also the most basic feature and proof of citizen respect from a modern and well-organised state.

Health as a whole, but also its individual sectors, is a social right in modern societies and by the way it is offered to the ordinary citizen proves the existence or absence of social sensitivities. AKEL notes and proposes the following for the modernisation of the health sector.

1. In our country, the non-radical restructuring and radical reconstruction of the health sector to date is a dangerous and unacceptable anachronism. The outdated, by time and by its basic philosophy and organisation, colonial health system that served the Cypriot society in the very past decades, constitutes to this day, however strange it may sound, the basic organisational structure of the health sector in our country. The fragmentary, random and without basic goal and direction corrective movements in the existing system, the tangle and the spasmodic response to the problems that occasionally arise, characterise the management of this sensitive area to date. This kind of manipulation, to which the

political expedients of the respective rulers are often added, resulted in the creation of the current problematic, both from a scientific and economic and administrative point of view, inadequate health system in our country.

2. The implementation of a modern, universal, flexible, efficient, at high scientific levels and economically feasible National Health System should be one of the primary concerns and goals of a pro-people government aimed at anthropocentric modernisation of society. It should be understood by all that the inadequacy of the current health system, its weaknesses and shortcomings, hurt above all the health but also the dignity and the sense of equality and justice of the weakest strata of the people, who have no possibilities of other outlets or alternative solutions. The modern citizen in a democratic and civilized society demands, rightfully, as he enjoys, a high level of health care when he needs it. The ordinary citizen is not allowed to beg anyone and he owes no obligation to anyone for what his health system gives and offers, because it is social of his right and gain.

3. Those necessary administrative measures must be decisively and immediately enacted so that the health sector from external and irrelevant influences and get away from the sick system of unworthiness and bribery, which are produced and maintained by deficiencies and gaps in legislation but also the discriminatory attitude towards citizens, those who govern and those who manage the system.

4. An immovable goal for any benevolent and sensitive society will should be the adoption of all modern achievements of science and technology so that preventive medicine is one of the two constituent pillars in the field of health. Preventive medicine, with all that this term encompasses, is today the vanguard in the difficult struggle to achieve high levels of health for all. Even for purely economic reasons it has been shown that the cost of expenditure on preventive health measures valued as a highly profitable investment.

5. The health system in our country must quickly overcome its specifics negative infrastructure. A modern health system must address all citizens, regardless of their financial situation, and not selectively to certain strata of the population. Also important is the speed with which patients are served, regardless of policy, their economic or social status. Only in this way is there hope of

minimizing the social discrimination that is the main negative dimension in the field.

6. The costs of the provision of health services from the Health Plan must be distributed to the citizens, not levelly but in direct relation to their economic and income status and with declared social mood of the state to be in solidarity with the weaker social strata. The low income strata to be exempt from paying the contribution.

7. The vertical separation of the health system in our country is an anachronism in the public and private sector, without any organisational and scientific complementarity or interconnection between them. The existing medical staff as well as the comprehensive health services, both private and public, are a national treasure and should be available to all citizens under the roof of a modern and efficient unified health system.

8. The reorganisation of the Ministry of Health and its transformation from simple employer of the public health sector in a coordinating body and regulator of health issues in both the public and private sectors must be the subject of a radical reform. In order to complete the executive role of the services of the Ministry of Health, measures are required for reorganisation of its own services and also to change the overall philosophy in the way of dealing with health problems.

9. The National Health Plan in our country, due to the lack of the necessary political will, has not yet become a reality. It is immediately necessary to adopt a well-thought schedule (6-12 months) for the gradual implementation of all of the individual arrangements included in the occasional studies for National Health Plan, always taking into account the possibility of reversibility of these arrangements, in cases where their implementation is proven inefficient, over time. Any delay in starting the implementation of the National Health Plan, seriously affects the health of our people and increases the costs for any future implementation. It is gradually handing over the health sector in the major financial interests. The blanks, whether intentionally or not, created by the lack of a modern and efficient Health Plan is complemented by private entrepreneurship. It would be a tragic mistake, but also a social setback to leave the health sector in its hands private business and especially with the involvement of foreign multinational companies, active in the health sector.

10. The establishment of a Medical School at the University of Cyprus as well as a University Hospital to be promoted quickly to enable them to be treated in Cyprus all the health needs of the citizens.

CULTURE

The culture, in its broadest sense, permeates every aspect of life. It is no coincidence that faith and commitment to democracy are considered important—a characteristic of a civilized people. Culture shapes the spiritual, material and moral values of the people, its aesthetic criteria, its standards, the quality and organisation of its work, its free time, its attitude respect for nature and other peoples, its respect for that important and established exists in the local, national and universal heritage, its willingness to work for the present and the future of its country and humanity.

Cypriot society needs cultural values and principles that will give vision, content and perspective to man. That will fill him with confidence for a struggle with the aim of building of a free, democratic society, where universal values and ideals will prevail and dignity and pride will be forged.

The ongoing Turkish occupation and the strong rise of consumerism, the commercialisation of art etc. are factors that gradually erode the Cypriot citizen, which is why the need for cultural planning is created our policy. AKEL seeks the cultural shielding of the Cypriot people and especially of the youth, from the corrosive and psychedelic effect of the foreign and local subculture.

For the implementation of a multidimensional cultural policy, AKEL proposes:—

1. The establishment of an independent Unified Authority of Culture, to which all existing public cultural organisations and services.

2. The responsibilities of the Culture Authority will primarily include the preparation of cultural programmes at state, regional, municipal and community level with the direct involvement of the creators and their associations.

3. The creation of a Council of Culture and the use as cultural consultants of cultural and artistic personalities living in Cyprus and abroad, aiming at the promotion of Cypriot culture heritage

and creation and the promotion of the Cyprus problem through art and literature abroad.

4. To make our transnational cultural agreements more substantial and more active and to increase our cultural exchanges with other countries, especially with Greece and the European area.

5. To utilise the possibilities provided by the University of Cyprus as centre of scientific and intellectual creation.

6. To upgrade the teaching and cultivation of the arts at all levels of education. To prepare cultural programmes related to Education, Local Government and the Cypriot Parishes.

7. To establish the participation of organised cultural groups in decision-making centres of all cultural programmes.

8. To encourage and enhance the cultural exchanges between the two communities of Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots in order to help the reunification of Cyprus and the people.

With the finding that Cyprus lags behind other developed countries in terms of infrastructure we propose:

1. To draw up a programme for the creation of infrastructure projects such as: cultural centres, theatres, libraries, specialised museums, exhibition spaces, etc. ait at cultural decentralisation and rational cultural development.

2. To establish a Cultural Offer Bank to provide assistance to amateur cultural organisations and creators so that the various cultural programs can find wider access to the people through them.

3. To create a Cultural Heritage Archive, the purpose of which will be the recording of historical sites, monuments and in general of all our cultural heritage with the aim of saving, preserving and studying them.

4. To separate the role of THOK. The THOK to be responsible for cultural development and creation of a State Theatrical Stage. For the implementation of such a modern political point of view, they need more funds, which is why the funds for Culture should be significantly strengthened in the state budgets. At the same time, to distribute profits from LOTTO and other games of chance as agreed with Greece. To take further organised actions to financially support the Culture sector both in Cyprus and from the United Europe, UNESCO and others international organisations.

SPORT

The consumer society in which we live, the daily bombardment by imported subculture, which cultivates individualism and victory regardless of cost, rapid technological development and other factors negatively affect the modern Cyprus and tend to create serious problems, behaviour as well as his health.

Under the right conditions, exercise can contribute to the physical and mental development of the individual, to cultivate his skills and character and to offer healthy occupation and leisure. The sports must be properly utilised for the benefit of the Cypriot citizen, contributing to the improvement of his quality of life and to the wider modernisation of the Cypriot society.

For adults, sport is a possibility to relax from everyday stress. It serves their health and increase their productive activity. At the same time it is an area of healthy employment of children that can protect them from harmful effects and remove them from dangerous addictions, such as drugs whose spread takes alarming proportions.

For youth sport is a space that will allow her to develop both her intellectual and physical qualities. It is an activity that can be exploited for the entertainment and proper education of youth, but also for the development of skills, which will allow it to satisfy some noble aspirations.

In the particularly difficult political conditions that the country is going through, the sport has to play the role of a worthy ambassador of our state entity and status in the international arena, but also the means for rapprochement of Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots.

In order for sport to meet the needs of modern Cyprus and to contribute to the improvement of the quality of life. AKEL proposes the following:

1. Formulation of an integrated state sports policy which will be based on a scientific study to be conducted by experts. In order to formulate this integrated policy, there is a need for cooperation and exchange of views between the Ministry of Education, the CMO, sports bodies and actors and political parties.

2. There must be a complete democratisation of sport and it must be ensured that sport is not subject to personal ambitions and financial or partisan interests.

3. Creation of the necessary sports infrastructure that will serve the needs of sports organisations and every Cypriot citizen.

4. Combatting violence and combatting pre-arranged struggles to put the sport of the country back on its right footing.

5- Utilisation by the sports bodies of the school premises during unused hours.

6. Massification of sports with the expansion of the Sports for All programme. The aim should be the elaboration of programmes that will be address the whole family so that the sport of all its members is achieved, but also the greatest connection between them. The Local Government to play the its own role in this effort.

7. Creation of neighbourhood sports areas, neighbourhood parks, bike paths, sidewalks etc.

8. Further strengthening of competitive sports with the support of the state and its placement on a scientific basis, so that it performs even more. To have the appropriate care and attention for level athletes, who will not be limited only to financial gains.

9. Introduction of the institution of the physical education teacher in primary education.

10. Exercising effective control by the competent authorities for the financial costs for the construction of infrastructure projects as well as for the development of sports programmes.

Environment

The natural environment in which man lives, moves and creates, decisively affects his quality of life. However, it is constantly in danger because everything that is very important for the quality of the environment—air, water, natural beauty—are sacrificed on the altar of easy and quick profit or for the benefit of other elements that are considered more important for the economic system, the way it works today.

In Cyprus, the environment is further burdened by the presence of foreign troops and British military bases.

AKEL considers that the environment plays its own decisive role, in what we call quality of life. It therefore needs to be given due importance and seriousness. Environmental policy should not simply aim at protecting the existing environment but at improving and managing it in such a way as to avoid foreseeable threats for environmental development to be considered an integral part of an overall development.

Speaking of modern Cypriot society in relation to the environment, a number of important factors need to be considered.

Human Cities—Communities

Cities and communities are the places where the modern Cypriot lives, moves, works and creates. Therefore, it is very important to create those conditions that will allow the most comfortable living, employment and entertainment.

As essential elements of a modern city or community that will improve, the quality of life of the citizen, we consider urban planning, compliance with rules of urban development so as to ensure the construction aesthetically controlled buildings especially for buildings such as schools, hospitals, cultural and sports centres, parks and the operational road network. It is necessary to prepare urban reconstruction plans of cities in order to make cities friendly to the citizen (sidewalks, bike paths, squares, parks, etc.).

As an environmental measure, but also as a way to improve their living conditions of the weakest classes, youth and retirees, we consider the promotion, upgrading and expansion of the transport network both in cities and in the countryside. For this purpose, studies should be made that will take into account all possible solutions. Investments in this area to be a priority.

Water resources

Water is a national treasure for our island, which is why it is necessary to have its rational management. The prolonged drought of the recent years, as well as the over-pumping of water resources have caused serious water shortage problem in Cyprus. The existing needs for irrigation and tourism further aggravate the already difficult situation.

It is therefore necessary to take measures to address the this great problem. AKEL proposes the following to address the problem:

I. The Government to instruct experts to prepare a study on drawing up a comprehensive plan for its development and management of water resources in Cyprus.

II. The idea of transporting water from neighbouring countries should begin to be studied in advance so that we are ready as a country, when and if conditions allow such an undertaking.

III. Implement the legislation that provides for the establishment of a Water Authority.

Akamas

Particular importance and attention must be paid to the protection and preservation of Akamas National Park. The favourable treatment of entrepreneurs for the purpose of reckless development that will have catastrophic consequences for Akamas must be dealt decisively. Simultaneously with the preservation of the National Park should be provided by the State to support their development of the communities of the region within an integrated and balanced plan.

Energy

The issue of utilisation of alternative forms of energy (solar, wind) must be the subject of ongoing study and research. To encourage with financial support the use of solar energy in public buildings, as well as the application of house construction methods that minimise the dependence on electricity for heating and cooling. The training of architects to receive state aid.

Pollution

It is necessary to utilise modern technology in order to prevent and to suppress, where present, air, water and soil pollution.

The ecological cost of economic activities to be borne by the manufacturers themselves with the introduction of “green taxation” with the main aim of course to reduce of any pollution.

Fauna and flora

Taking into account the rich flora and fauna of Cyprus, we emphasise the need to identify, record, study and preserve the ecosystems and species of the island (Larnaca and Akrotiri, Akamas, Cape Greco etc.). There is also a need to create a botanical garden for the presentation of species of Cypriot flora.

Research

In collaboration with the University of Cyprus to establish an independent body to encourage research on the issues related to the environment and its relationship with public health (pollution, water resources, solar energy, etc.)

Waste recycling

The state to support the efforts to set up recycling plants.

Sewerage

Accelerate the creation of sewerage systems in all cities and large communities.

In order to achieve all the above, it is necessary to draw up a long-term programme with specific objectives and to create effective control and monitoring mechanisms. Education can also play an important role in this effort by raising public awareness of historical tradition and culture as well as helping them understand the values of a different way of life.

Finally we need to awaken and activate all members of society for the protection of our country. Encourage them to participate in formulation and implementation of environmental policy.

The Church

The Church is an ancient and respected institution in Cyprus. There have been periods in the Cypriot history in which the Church played an essential and positive role in the social, cultural and political spheres by participating in wider struggles of the Cypriot people. However, there were also periods when it played a negative role which brought it into conflict with popular sentiment and the need for progressive development of the Cypriot society.

AKEL has always defined its attitude towards the Church of Cyprus on the basis of principles and after taking into account the role played, in each case, by the Church in Cypriot society.

Aiming at the modernisation of Cypriot society in a way that serves the needs of the modern Cyprus and its efforts for better life. we can only erase a framework of political positions and views on the role corresponding to the church of Cyprus.

1. There must be a clear separation of State and Church.
2. The Church should proceed with the modernisation not only of the Statue Charter but also of the social perceptions that govern its daily operation.
3. Religious fanaticism was not characteristic of the Cypriot Church. The intensifying efforts to cultivate religious fanaticism raise questions and cause concern. The cultivation of the religious fanaticism, is a dangerous anachronism and carries enormous dangers for any society. It restricts democratic and human rights, is an obstacle to the development of society and is a factor that breeds tension and controversy. A modern Cypriot state must respect, preserve and consolidate the relevant article of the Constitution which stipulates that every citizen has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion.
4. Another important element that should distinguish a modern Cypriot society in combination with the role of the Church is the issue of formulation of political positions by the leadership or part of the leadership of the Church. The priests of Cyprus certainly have the right to express their views on the national problem. However, it needs to be understood that, with the independence of Cyprus and the development of political institutions, the Ethnarchic role of the Church has passed.
5. Continuous political science, engaging in business activities, the creation and perpetuation of establishments with mortals and favours, scandals and corruption are negative phenomena that undermine its prestige of the Church and contribute to the decline of our society. We consider that in a in modern society, the Church and church leaders must dedicate themselves to their spiritual work in order to play a positive and constructive role in dealing with the crisis of moral principles and spiritual values, in cultivating respect for man and promoting social solidarity and justice.
6. There is an urgent need to create independent mechanisms for the management and control of ecclesiastical property to which society has a say and operate with transparent procedures. The taxation of the business activities of the Church must be established.

The Media

The media has been established internationally to be considered as the Fourth power.

They have the ability, if their operation is based on the right philosophy and practice, to have a positive effect on human consciences. They have the ability to offer complete, multifaceted and objective information, to entertain and reflect correctly, to bring us closer to the cultural creation of humanity and to help people get to know each other overcoming differences of origin, culture and language. But they have at the same time the ability to turn people into passive recipients, to level social and cultural values, to impose a crushing ideological consensus.

The media globally, in their overwhelming majority they serve the logic of the new order and the ruling order on the planet. The fact that the Cypriot media derive much of their information from international media, automatically creates negative dynamics.

The “explosion” that took place in recent years in the field of media. In Cyprus, brought with it some positives but also quite negatives.

Recognising the role played by the media in shaping social behaviour and consciences, we need to make the most of this role. But to make this happen:

1. It is necessary to formulate an integrated policy on the part State, with the participation of the Parties, organised bodies and the Media. This policy must have a human-centred character and aims at building a modern Cypriot society, on the basis of correct values and standards.

2. The Broadcasting Authority should operate as independently as possible, correctly, efficiently, effectively and without expediency. The principles and code of conduct governing its operation must be respected and offenders punished by example.

3. The relations between owners-managers of the media and the political parties or politicians should be based on sound foundations and should be relations of mutual respect and not interdependence. The promotion of the positions and political activity of the parties must be done in a balanced way and throughout the year.

4. It is necessary to give the right importance and to show seriousness in the content of the programmes promoted by the media. The aim should to be the objective and multifaceted

information, the right reflection and the promotion of correct values and standards as well as the offer of healthy entertainment, rest and discharge from the intensity of daily life. Programmes aimed at children under 12 years of age should be specifically regulated. It is imperative that the Regulations adopted by the organs of the State be respected and implemented.

5. RIK, as the public Radio and Television, needs to be financially supported and institutionally to meet the demands of the times and to be a point reference and comparison for quality offer to the people. At the same time, it is necessary to promote a democratic and meritocratic management of RIK, to consolidate the Foundation and to operate much more efficiently.

6. The Writers' Union has its own role to play in this effort, by promoting and upgrading professionalism and ethics among journalists.

EPILOGUE

A new century and a new millennium always bring with them the hope and expectation for something better.

However, the Cypriot society of 2000 is seriously injured and it is not able, with the current data, to cope with the challenges of the times. The current government, imbued with a conservative and anti-popular philosophy, lacks vision and fails to open up prospects for the future. It lacks the strength and will fight decay, corruption and crime. It is responsible for unworthiness and heterogeneity. It is controlled to shrink democratic institutions. It is co-responsible for the spread of social injustice. In short, it deprives the Cypriot society of the opportunity to join the world with demands and to compete effectively with other countries while creating conditions for a better quality of life for the Cypriot citizen. Consequently the change in the governance of the country is a prerequisite for the modernisation of the progress of the Cypriot society.

AKEL's proposal to the political forces seeking change, but also to the entire Cypriot people, aspires to release those forces in Cypriot society that can take the fate of the Cypriot people in their hands and lead them safely, confidently and prosperously to a sheltered port in its own Ithaca.

This is the proposal of AKEL. We are ready to discuss it and to exchange views with political parties, organisations and ordinary

citizens. We are ready to adopt any creative point of view that differentiates or complements our own thoughts and suggestions. But we are also interested in result. We seek to contribute to the modernisation of society, to offer its vision and perspective.

The goal of each of our proposals and activities is the social progress and the improvement of human life. AKEL has proven in all its years of life and function that it has the vision, the will and the skills to achieve it. We assure the Cypriot people that this time too we will give our best and hand in hand with it, we will fight for its realisation of our ambitious but achievable goal.

Our motto: To create the vision, to give back hope, to build a better future for man, for our Cyprus. Our promise: we will succeed.

THE TWENTEETH CONGRESS OF AKEL, 24-27 November 2005

THE DECISION OF THE CONGRESS¹⁰⁶

THE POLITICAL DECISION OF THE 20TH CONGRESS OF AKEL

From the 24th to the 27th of November 2005, the 20th Pancyprian Congress of AKEL took place in Nicosia. The Congress was the culmination of many months pre-Congress work, comradely internal and public dialogue and deep reflection that continued during Congress itself.

The Congress, after a fruitful, free and democratic debate, approved the “positions of C.C. to the 20th Congress”, the introductory speech of the General Secretary of the C.C. of AKEL Dimitris Christofias, the Report of the Central Audit Committee and the Report on the Finances of the Central Committee of the Party. The Congress elected the new Central Committee and the Central Audit Committee of AKEL.

Concluding its work, the 20th Congress discussed and approved the following political decision that determines the parameters of the Party’s policy until the next regular Congress.

80th Anniversary of the KKK-AKEL

1. The 20th Congress fully adopts the declaration of the Extraordinary Pancyprian Congress on the 80th anniversary of the CPC-AKEL. On the occasion of the 80th anniversary of the foundation of the CPC-AKEL, the 20th Congress extends a warm militant greeting and heartily congratulations to the members and friends of the Party, especially to the veterans of the Party and the

¹⁰⁶ Publications C.C. AKEL, *Decisions and Other Documents*, 2006.

Popular Movement, to the Cypriot working people and to the Cypriot people in general. The 80th anniversary of the CPC-AKEL is a very important anniversary for the Party, the workers movement and for Cyprus. The CPC-AKEL through its struggles, sacrifices and services has been recognised in the consciousness of the Cypriot people as the eminent force of progress, the force that defends and promotes the rights of the working people, the Party which fights for Cyprus and its cause and which expresses the aspirations and visions of the Cypriot people Greek Cypriots, Turkish Cypriots, Armenians, Maronites and Latins. It is the Party which is fighting for peace, democracy, social progress and socialism.

2. The 20th Congress expresses its satisfaction with the events in honour of the 80th anniversary of the CPC-AKEL, which will come to a head in 2006. It calls on the Party memberships to work for the greatest possible success of these events, which present an opportunity to project the history, service and gains of the Party and of the broader Movement of the Left. It also presents an opportunity to project our revolutionary and always timely ideology, the contemporary and renewed image of the Party, its patriotic, responsible, militant and campaigning character, its visions for the future.

3. The 20th Congress states that the Party will honour deservedly the anniversary of the 80 years and its whole history and service through new struggles for Cyprus and the working people, for the further strengthening and unity of AKEL. The 20th Congress calls on the members of the Party in honouring the 80th anniversary since its foundation to all work together earnestly, with enthusiasm and self-sacrifice to fully carry out our political, organisational and other duties.

4. The 20th Congress of AKEL underlines emphatically that the members and cadres of the Party and of the broader Popular Movement who were murdered unjustifiably during the years 1955-1962 are heroes and martyrs of Cypriot freedom. AKEL is committed to continuing the struggle until their names have been finally cleared and their memory rehabilitated.

The International Developments and the International Progressive Movement

1. The understanding of the developments in Cyprus cannot be complete without taking into account the general situation in the

world that has decisively affects and our small homeland. The 20th Congress notes that international developments characterised by the continuation and consolidation of the imperialist “new order”, which was the culmination of arbitrariness, reactivity and aggression of the imperialist stage of capitalism and is expressed with the circumvention of International Law and the enforcement of the law of the powerful in international relations, but also in its neoliberal anti-popular form in interior of the countries. The Congress condemns the “new order of things” and that it expresses and represents.

2. In an effort to combat terrorism, wars of conquest are unleashed, while laws restricting human rights and civil liberties are promoted and enforced within states. The AKEL Congress recognises the right of every people to use various forms of struggle, including the armed for national and social struggles. At the same time, it condemns terrorism as a means of claiming national rights and conducting national liberation and social struggles. We also condemn the state terrorism perpetrated by various leading imperialist countries. Countering terrorism is a collective affair that must be brought under the auspices UN. The root causes of terrorism must be addressed first, that is, poverty, social injustice, racism, religious fanaticism, national oppression and any form of violation of international law.

3. The Congress demonstrates the Party’s support for international law, respect for independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of states. It also expressed its support for respect for cultural and religious particularity. It is in favour of UN’s exemption from American and generally any guardianship. It advocates strengthening the role of the International Organisation in addressing international problems.

4. The process of economic globalisation, a change that is taking place serves the interests of big capital and especially multinationals companies in developed countries. Injustice and inequality, inherent features of the capitalist system, are becoming more evident today with globalisation and are driving millions of people into poverty and impoverishment.

5. The European Union remains an advanced form of capitalist political-economic integration, starting with the needs of enlargement within the potential of large European capital for ever larger area of action, but also by the need for the largest possible strengthening Western European political and economic interests

against the other powerful poles of the capitalist world—the US and Japan. Neoliberalism prevails in the European Union. The reaction of the peoples of Europe against neoliberalism has been clearly expressed in results of referendums on the European Constitutional Treaty.

6. The anti-globalisation movement and the anti-war movement constitute promising prospect of challenging neoliberalism and the new order. But they are still in the first steps of their development. The task of the left and the progressive social forces is to further develop cooperation with social forums at world, European and national level, and to strive to acquire a proper class orientation and to play an important role in resisting the imposition of a single global economic model without the consent of peoples and citizens.

7. The left around the world is facing the challenges of the “new order” and globalisation. Only the left forces can work out and offer the world and peoples an alternative course. Legally, the fate of humanity cannot be predatory anti-labour, anti-popular system that prevails today. With their struggles the workers will bring about change, which will lead to the implementation of the principles of democracy, social justice and human-centred socialism. Strengthening the coordination and cooperation of the left and progressive parties at European and global level is necessary so that the popular movement becomes again a driving force in the struggle for change. AKEL will continue to work to the best of its ability and to undertake initiatives in this direction.

8. Following the accession of Cyprus to the European Union, AKEL participates as a full member of the United Left-Northern Green Left Group in the European Parliament, while continuing to participate in the United Left of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe. Through action in these groups AKEL aims to contribute to the formation of a more democratic and socially just Europe but also in promoting our positions for a just solution to the Cyprus problem.

9. Regarding the creation of the European Left Party, AKEL from the beginning supported and participated in the efforts of its creation believing that the Party can meet the need for better coordination and unity between the parties of the Left in the EU. However, it believes that hasty steps were taken in the course of these efforts before the conditions for the establishment of the Party really matured. AKEL considers that there is a real need

for universal unity of the left in Europe, that is why any action in this direction should be made with firm position and sure steps.

Cyprus

The Congress reaffirms the firm position of the Party that the Cyprus issue is a problem of invasion, occupation, foreign intervention and violation of human rights of the entire Cypriot people. It is a matter of violation of the independence and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus. It is a matter of national security imposed by force of arms. The Cyprus problem is also a problem of normalising the relations between the two communities.

2. Since 1974, all efforts to resolve the Cyprus problem clashed with Turkey's intransigence, its obsession with the solution of two separate state entities and its claim of sovereignty rights over Cyprus. Whatever mistakes were made during these years by the Greek Cypriot side do not in the least disenchant Turkey and the chauvinist Turkish Cypriot leadership for the responsibilities they bear for the perpetuation of the Cyprus problem.

3. Turkish positions have always resonated with Ankara's NATO partners, who have great responsibilities both in creating and the perpetuating the problem. The situation in Cyprus became even more difficult after 1990. On the one hand, Cyprus was deprived of traditional friends and supporters such as the Soviet Union, the community of socialist countries and the Non-Aligned Movement. On the other hand, within the framework of the so-called new order, there has been a gradual divergence from the letter and spirit of the United Nations resolutions on Cyprus, the result of which is the Annan Plan. The government has not been alarmed by its mistakes, omissions, contradictions, concessions and commitments that it has made.

4. The initiative to resolve the Cyprus issue based on the Annan plan was the most concerted effort to solve the problem. The Annan Plan is the most comprehensive and detailed ever developed. But it is neither fair nor balanced, as its proponents have argued and continue to argue. AKEL, judging that the Annan Plan had both positive and negative elements, accepted it as a basis for negotiation in the same way that almost all political forces had accepted it. He fought with all its might to bring about the necessary changes that would allow the plan to be

accepted by both communities and lead to a viable and functional solution of the Cyprus problem. The suffocating schedules and the prescribed arbitration procedure of the Secretary General did not allow it to become a substantial negotiation of the two sides on the plan and get there in an agreed solution. The arbitration of the Secretary General was unfair and unequivocally in favour of Turkish positions. AKEL did not share the assessments of the President of the Republic, as they were expressed in his speech, regarding the provisions of the Annan Plan and in particular with the assessment that this “does not catalyse the de facto division, but instead legitimizes and deepens it”. If there was such assessment then the plan should not be accepted even as a basis for negotiation.

5. The Pancyprrian Congress of the Party convened on April 14 2004, requested a postponement of the referendums in order to allow time to negotiate on the points of concern to the Greek Cypriot community and to fill the gaps in the plan. AKEL’s proposal was unfortunately, not accepted by the Turkish side. That is why AKEL was forced to call on the people to vote against the Annan plan as it was submitted to the referendum. The result of the referendum is fully respected by AKEL. After the referendum, different facts were created which our Party had to take into account in its policy and actions. The 20th Congress approves the decisions and the manipulations of C.C. before, during and after the referendum, considering that the position taken by our Party took Cyprus out of an extremely difficult position and has kept open the prospect of resuming the negotiation procedure and solution of the Cyprus problem as soon as possible.

6. In the period after the referendums, our Party, in cooperation with him President of the Republic and other powers are working hard to repel of attacks against the Republic of Cyprus and to defend its legality. It is working to repel attempts to upgrade the occupation and to understand the positions of the Greek Cypriot side. At the same time, our Party worked creatively to codify the areas of the Annan plan on which the Greek Cypriot side seeks changes and to receive this codification of the broadest possible support in the National Council. Codifying the intended changes and communicating them to the UN Secretary General has helped reverse the negative climate. The requirement of the Americans and others to prioritise the positions of the Greek Cypriot side at this stage cannot be accepted. Any prioritisation of

the positions of the Greek Cypriot side can be done within the framework of the negotiations and taking into account the overall development of a new negotiation.

7. AKEL very rightly works to constantly repel the two extreme trends manifested on the internal front. The one tendency, for the possible consequences of the rejection of the plan and on the pretext of real risks from the extension of the pending Cyprus issue, in essence is in favour of restoring the Annan plan to its original form it had in the referendum, regardless of the verdict of the people. The other trend on the occasion of 76% of the referendum and in the name of a vague European solution calls for rejection of the project and the solution of a bi-zonal, bi-communal federation. The Congress considers that both trends are catastrophic and calls on the new C.C. to continue to repel them and to indicate the dangers they conceal.

8. Despite the reactions that continue to be expressed mainly by the Americans and the British today, it seems to be generally accepted (a) that insisting on restoring the Annan plan as it stands, leads nowhere, (b) that changes must be made to the satisfaction of the Greek Cypriot community, (c) that the new initiative should be well prepared; and (d) that there should be no suffocating schedules and arbitration. It is up to the Secretary General to decide what the next steps he will take in the Cyprus issue and when he will manifest.

9. The 20th Congress of AKEL emphasises that in the current phase of the Cyprus problem, our Party continues to work hard in cooperation with the President of the Republic and the National Council to create the conditions for the resumption of negotiations within the United Nations. Creating the right conditions is of paramount importance as a new failure to find a solution would be a severe blow to the Cyprus case. We seek as soon as possible the resumption of substantive talks away from suffocating schedules, without of course this referring to endless talks and a solution in the depths of time. We realise that time consolidates the accomplishments of the occupation. We are interested in both the time of reaching the solution and the content of the solution. We aim to restart the talks that will lead to an agreed solution, away from arbitrations. We are working to convince of the need for those substantial changes to the Secretary General's plan that will allow the Greek Cypriots to accept it and will lead in a fair under circumstances, viable and functional solution. The changes which

we seek not to alter the philosophy of the design, in its parameters which solution should be sought, nor do they remove rights from the Turkish Cypriot community. We aim for a solution that will serve the Cypriots, Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots and not any foreigners.

10. The key to the solution is still in Ankara. Both the Turkish government and the Turkish Cypriot leadership seem to have at least at present stage as their priority the capitalisation of their position during the referendum and the international upgrading of the status of the occupiers. Turkey through the formulation of the Annan plan after its arbitration last year managed to maintain or even gain advantages to the detriment of Cyprus and the entire Cypriot people, Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots. Persistence in these advantages cannot lead to a correct and mutually acceptable solution to the Cyprus problem. Turkey must accept that it is also in its own interest to change its philosophy on the Cyprus issue.

11. In order to force Turkey to change its philosophy and, therefore, to pave the way for a solution to the Cyprus problem, the international community, and especially the American-British, must end Ankara's policy of appeasement. They must stop nurturing divisive tendencies and expectations of Ankara and the Turkish Cypriot leadership to upgrade the occupation regime and constantly remind them of their obligation to cooperate for a solution to the Cyprus problem.

12. The Cyprus problem as an international problem must remain within the framework of the UN. AKEL insists on the position that the appropriate place to seek a solution to the problem is the United Nations, where Cyprus can seek and have the widest possible support in its case. At the same time, AKEL emphasises that the European Union can and must play an important role in the efforts to resolve the Cyprus problem, given that Cyprus is already a member and Turkey aspires to join the EU. This is the right basis for approaching things. Any discussions and positions aimed at replacing the UN by the EU can only cause damage.

13. Since 1 May 2004, the Republic of Cyprus, with its entire territory, is an equal Member State of the European Union. On the other hand, Turkey has officially started accession talks on October 3, with the aim to its own accession to the EU. The accession of Cyprus to the EU in conjunction with Turkey's European ambitions,

they create a positive juncture that we must continue to use to solve the Cyprus problem. The EU declaration responding to Turkey's statement that it does not recognize the Republic of Cyprus and that it is not obliged to implement the Ankara protocol and towards the Republic of Cyprus, as well as the negotiating framework of Turkey are judged by AKEL as satisfactory for Cyprus within the specific conditions. To achieve this satisfactory result, Cyprus fought a hard battle and the contribution of our Party to this development was important. Turkey took over against EU and by extension towards the Republic of Cyprus certain obligations which, if utilized will serve as an incentive for Ankara to cooperate for the solution of the Cyprus problem.

14. AKEL will continue to fight with all its might for peaceful solution to the Cyprus problem on the basis of the UN resolutions and 1977 and 1979 High Level Agreements, which provide for a bi-zonal, bi-communal federation. The bi-zonal, bi-communal federation is the point where Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots meet and enjoys international support. Abandonment will not lead to a better solution but to new adventures.

- The solution must be in line with international law, international conventions on human rights and Community law.

- The federal bi-zonal, bi-communal Republic of Cyprus must have a single sovereignty, an international personality and a citizenship.

- The solution must provide for the removal of the Turkish occupation troops and settlers and the demilitarisation of the Republic of Cyprus. The ultimate goal remains the demilitarisation of Cyprus.

- The solution must also restore respect for independence, unity, the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the Republic of Cyprus without granting unilateral intervention rights to any foreign country.

- Restore and guarantee the human rights and fundamental freedoms of all Cypriots, including the right of return of refugees to their homes and properties. We condemn the illegal construction on Greek Cypriot properties as a new accomplice that aims in gaining political advantages in the context of the debate on solution to the Cyprus problem.

- AKEL consistently supports the political equality of the two communities within the federation as defined in the United Nations resolutions.

Re-rapprochement – The Turkish Cypriot Community

1. Cooperation, peaceful coexistence and the common struggle for a common homeland which will ensure a happy future for all its children was never for AKEL policy, which changes depending on the Party considerations or proposals from outside. For AKEL, this policy derives from the ideology of Marxism-Leninism and scientific socialism that was and remains the guiding compass in its life and action. AKEL's relationship with the Cypriot community is built on the common class and political struggles, in which many of our comrades were sacrificed, with the sacrifice of Kavazoglou and Misiaoulis. That's why the rapprochement holds an important place in our Party's policy for the solution of the Cyprus problem and for the building of a common homeland of Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots. Our Party regards the rapprochement as a component element of the anti-occupation struggle of our people and therefore attributes it to political and social content. We reject rapprochements that consider the rapprochement as simply a matter of combating prejudice through specific work to change the psychological mood of a community against the other, or disengage it from the anti-occupation struggle. We are against any attempt to prevent the rapprochement from foreign centres. The rapprochement is a matter for the Cypriots themselves, Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots, and the organised ensembles that express them. The Congress resolutely repels the slanders launched against the Party that allegedly has abandoned the established policy of rapprochement.

2. The rapprochement must continue to be the opposite of nationalism and chauvinism, expressed either by nationalist-chauvinist slogans, either by rejecting the federal solution, or by becoming addicted to its structures of the pseudo-state and the defence or by accepting the national cleansing that has taken place in our country. AKEL and the People's Movement with their struggles promoted the policy of rapprochement and contributed to the maximum acceptance and establishment. AKEL and the People's Movement will continue to be the vanguard of the rapprochement.

3. AKEL, without ignoring the decisive role played by Turkey in occupied Cyprus, attaches great importance to the Cypriot community and its own role in resolving the Cyprus issue. Greek

Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots are objectively strategic allies in the struggle for the reunification of our homeland.

4. The 20th Congress welcomes the removal of Denktash—the pre-eminent exponent of division and chauvinism—from the Turkish Cypriot leadership. The change that has taken place, at least to date, does not justify the expectations of the Cypriot people, Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots. The leadership of the Republican Turkish Party has long been removed from common positions on the Cyprus issue, which we have worked out together in the past. The current Turkish Cypriot leadership is in line with Ankara's policy and presents an excessive identification with the structures of the occupation formation and an excessive zeal in their defence. The attempt to internationally upgrade the pseudo-state, the attempted acquisition of political profits to the detriment of the Republic of Cyprus by the moves made for the economic development of the Turkish Cypriot community, the continuous creation of new accomplishments with increased rates on the ground—especially in the property—and the frequent verbal attacks against President Papadopoulos, the AKEL leadership and the political leadership in general, do not facilitate the efforts to resolve the Cyprus problem.

5. AKEL was right from the beginning in favour of economic development and standards of living of Turkish Cypriots, meaning that this is done on the basis of international and community legitimacy and does not aim at bypassing the Republic of Cyprus. In this context, AKEL welcomes all those measures which the government of the Republic took for the strengthening of the Turkish Cypriots and the expansion of relations, including economic ones, between the two communities. AKEL will continue to work for the better implementation of these measures, considering that there is room for adoption of others. AKEL in cooperation with the Trade Union Movement will continue to fight for the Turkish Cypriots working in the free areas to be employed on the same terms as their Greek Cypriot colleagues so that they do not fall victim to exploitation.

6. The Turkish Cypriot leadership, fully in line with Ankara, seems to set as its first priority, at least at this stage, not the resolution of the Cyprus problem, but the lifting of the so-called isolation of the Turkish Cypriots and through its international upgrade of the pseudo-state. In order to create the conditions for the resumption of talks, the Cypriot leadership must once again put

in practice and not in words, its priority the solution of the Cyprus problem. At the same time, the Turkish Cypriot leadership must understand the concerns of the Greek Cypriot community and the issues it raises.

7. The Congress considers that the dialogue conducted by AKEL with Turkish Cypriot parties including the RTP, in an effort to understand both sides' positions and concerns is an important contribution to creating the best conditions for the resumption of negotiations.

8. The Congress considers that contacts between ordinary people of Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots, as well as the joint events of groups and organised groups, contribute significantly to the understanding of the common elements as well as the particularities of the two communities. They also help to eliminate any suspicion between them.

The Internal Governance – The Internal Front

1. In the period since the 19th Congress we have achieved the goal for further strengthening the influence of the Party through the increase of its rates in the parliamentary elections, as well as the goal of changing the governance of the country through a broad cooperation of democratic and progressive forces. The contribution of our Party and the wider Popular Movement in the election of T. Papadopoulos, was decisive. As a result of the election victory AKEL participates for the first time in the Council of Ministers with party officials. AKEL also has a substantial participation in the wider governance.

2. The people had high hopes and expectations on the government of change and especially looked forward to AKEL as that pro-country political and social force for the implementation of the governance programme. For AKEL, the implementation of the government programme was and remains a matter of paramount political importance. The Congress confirms the commitment of the Party to work until the end for the implementation of the programme despite which any objective and other difficulties.

3. The poor state of public finances and other problems left behind by the alarming decade, the impact on strata of the population of membership to the European Union in conjunction with incorrect pre-accession negotiation, the staffing of the state

apparatus in the vast majority of right-wing people, the bureaucratic mentality, the reduced productivity in the public sector, insufficient control and evaluation system and perceptions in the state mechanism, are some of the most basic factors that create problems and obstacles in its implementation of the government programme. The problems are exacerbated at times by the influence of external factors such as the war in Iraq and other adventurist actions of imperialism, which resulted in the rapid increase in the price of oil on the international market.

4. The 20th Congress notes that despite the problems and difficulties, the report of the Papadopoulos government to date is positive. The government provided writing samples that show a different mentality and approach to the socio-economic affairs of the country, the tidying up of public life, the promotion of meritocracy and the good administration. He recognised the Resistance Against Fascism and paid tribute to the Resistance. He addressed budget deficits without imposing additional taxes. It kept inflation and unemployment low levels. The positive work of the government recorded the cancellation of the privatisation policy, maintaining and defending the ATA, substantial increase in minimum wages, the withdrawal of the bill on strikes in the essential services, the operation of the Cyprus Agricultural Payments Organisation, the educational reform, the creation of TEPAK, the institutionalisation of the public and free compulsory pre-primary for all children, the institutionalisation of student, the direct community sponsorship program, the program sponsorship for the inhabitants of mountain communities, the construction of landfill sites, the announcement of a housing policy for refugees, the enclaved and indigenous people, the reductions in car prices, the benefits for large families, the restructuring of the Anti-Drug Council and the formulation of an integrated national strategy against drugs, the new pricing policy for medicines which led to a significant reduction in prices, the implementation of development budgets at an unprecedented rate over 80%, the package of measures to address fuel costs, the social cohesion package and much more.

5. Despite what has been done, the 20th Congress of AKEL finds that the pace of implementation of the government programme is not what is expected, resulting in discomfort in sections of the population. Such discomfort when justified must meet the sensitivity of the government. Sometimes, of course, it is

unjustified because it does not take into account the circumstances in which the government programme is implemented, or distinguished by an eagerness to do everything that the programme involves immediately.

6. AKEL considers that the successful implementation of the economic convergence programme, implemented by the government creates the conditions for the implementation at a faster pace of the government programme and for addressing in a more effective and populist way of the problems that exist and afflict the popular strata. The government must promptly anticipate the effects of various problems and situations, and propose satisfactory treatment before friction and disturbance can arise within specific strata of the population.

7. The Congress notes that AKEL's participation in the government is proving effective and productive on a daily basis. The ministers of AKEL are among the most remarkable executives available to the present government. The Party is asking by its ministers to contribute even more decisively to the shaping pro-people policies of the government, to handle matters more decisively that come before them, to be more decisive towards the government bureaucratic mechanism and have greater and more direct contact with the people and its problems.

8. The 20th Congress calls on the bodies and the members of the Party and the Peoples Movement as well as the Parliamentary Group of AKEL-Left-New Forces to play an even more decisive role in the future intervening to implement the various aspects of the government programme.

9. The cooperation of AKEL with President Papadopoulos and his government is characterised by friendly dialogue, mutual respect and joint action to implement the programme of change. This good climate must constantly be strengthened for the good of the country and the people. Good cooperation and climate in general exists among the political forces that support the Government, despite the wide range and diversity of these forces and despite the different approaches that create tension from time to time. This and the need for further coordination and conciliation between the coalition parties and with the government itself.

10. The 20th Congress makes it clear once again that participation in government does not mean a denial of the independence and autonomy of the Party. Where we disagree with decisions and policies pursued by the government, we have a right

and duty to differentiate and even to publicise our opposition and different positions. We will continue to do so responsibly because our aim is not to undermine but to help the government.

11. The Congress underlines that as AKEL we are not willing to tolerate phenomena of disrepute, populism and demagoguery on the part of co-governing party executives. It does not mean executives from coalition parties to criticise the government in the easiest way and to identify essentially with the levelling opposition of DISY and on the other there is a requirement that AKEL as a responsible Party support the government.

12. The Congress notes the tensions on the internal front caused by the attitude of the leadership of the DISY, which exercises levelling and sterile opposition. The DISY leadership often resorts to demagoguery and populism. It causes conflicts in the parliament. It exploits acute problems in the easiest way, most of which were created under its own government. It does not hesitate to incite unnecessary mobilisations in order to corrupt the government and the coalition parties. This attitude of the DISY, which is often reproduced by a portion of the media, creates tensions and undermines unity on the inner front. AKEL will continue to expose the sterile and levelling opposition of the DISY leadership.

The Parliamentary Elections and Other Elections

1. The forthcoming parliamentary elections will be held in special circumstances internationally and domestically. Conditions different from every previous time and with completely special characteristics. The imperialist “new order” prevails in the world. Cyprus is a member of the EU. For the first time our Party participates in the governance of the country. The repercussions of referendums and European elections are still alive. There is expected to be a strong involvement of the media and Public Relations Offices. All parties will seek to expand their ballots. An unprecedented outburst of populism is expected with starring the leadership of DISY and others. All political move before and after the elections will be conducted with a view to the presidential elections.

2. AKEL’s strategic goal in the upcoming parliamentary elections is to maintain its leading role with high percentages, as the largest political force. To achieve this goal AKEL should:

I. To formulate an effective strategy and tactics and an original and inventive election campaign.

II. To compile the widest possible ballot papers representative of the power and prestige of AKEL and the Left more broadly.

III. To reaffirm the policy of enlargement with New Forces by including even more remarkable and capable people from wider democratic space.

IV. To reaffirm the policy of renewal with the inclusion of remarkable young people from the wider Left.

V. The Congress with the aim of promoting the renewal in the AKEL Parliamentary Group Left-New Forces, decides to limit the mandates of the deputies to three consecutive terms. For the members of the Politburo holding the parliamentary office each case will be discussed separately. The MPs who will complete three terms will be used in various ways by the Party.

VI. Immediately after the Congress, all the forces of the Party and the Popular Movement should be mobilised and put in the service of the elections. The appropriate organisational, financial and technical preparation should be designed in a timely manner.

3. The emergence of local government principles in modern conditions is gaining special importance and is increasingly gathering the interest of citizens and local communities. In the local government elections of 2006 we will seek confirmation and strengthening of the recognised role of AKEL in the Local Government. A role that was won with the right positions that we also promote our struggle to upgrade the quality of life of the locals communities. In addition to the daily life of the citizen who is interested in the local communities, our offer and decisive intervention in infrastructure issues and development creates the conditions for our role to emerge as a catalyst in such issues as: Social welfare and solidarity, culture and sports, the environment and ecology, the clustering of services, the quality and efficiency of the services offered, the isomeric and balanced development, the support of the rural population.

4. Having in mind the above, the policy of promoting our most capable executives at the level of Local Government, both partisan and wider, remains stable. And in this election, the pursuit of enlarged ballot papers to express the full breadth of the AKEL-Left-New Forces, remains in force. The policy of cooperation and alliances will once again at the centre of our electoral tactics, keeping in mind and local peculiarities.

5. The strategic goal for the 2008 presidential elections remains one pro-people, progressive, democratic government. Governance, which will have as its first policy priority, the solution of the Cyprus problem or the implementation of a solution if until then it is possible to achieve a functional and sustainable solution. And at the same time the extreme promotion of the modernisation of the Cypriot society in a pro-people direction. How to achieve this goal is a matter that the Party should consider at the appropriate time, taking seriously the experience of the present participation in the governance of the country and the conditions as they will have been shaped by the developments in the Cyprus and internal governance.

The Party and its Unity

1. As a result of the struggles, the successes and the strength of the Party, the situation in Cyprus regarding the achievements of the workers, the functioning of democracy and many other aspects of life, is an example to imitation. In the intervening period from the 19th Congress onwards, the party mechanism, voluntary and salaried, was called upon to carry out a host important political and organisational tasks. The 20th Congress notes that despite all the difficulties and problems observed, the Party mechanism responded positively and worthily. We note in particular the work done in the various electoral contests which resulted in victory in the 2001 parliamentary elections and the 2003 presidential elections, positive steps were also taken in the operation of bodies and auxiliary Offices, to meet the objectives of the annual organisational plan, to mobilise members and supporters of the Party and the Popular Movement.

2. However, there were also serious weaknesses and obvious shortcomings and gaps in the functioning of the Party mechanism. The negative effects of the reduced supply of voluntary work, relaxation and productivity continue to appear in the lines of the Party and are an inhibiting factor in the effort for qualitative and quantitative growth in our work. AKEL does not reconcile with these phenomena, which are nurtured and reproduced by the capitalist society. Efforts were made to address them, but without much success.

3. Special efforts must be made to realise the political and ideological significance of organisational work, which is often

difficult, hard, and stressful. We must proceed with the strengthening of the mechanism, voluntary and salaried, without procrastination and scepticism. The issue is important and must be promoted at the same time as other aspects of the Party's action, such as those concerning new members. their proper assimilation, the strengthening the political and ideological background of all members and executives of the whole scale.

4. The Party Base Organisation (KOV)—which is the foundation of the Party, its link with the workers and our people in general, a component link in the process of making important decisions and the means of implementing the Party decisions—must receive more attention not only from the governing bodies, but also the executives themselves, of all levels, whether they are Party executives who serve in the Party mechanism, or hold public office.

5. The effort to study and combat the negative phenomena, the need to solve problems caused by them, is combined with gradual and multifaceted quality improvement of operation and efficiency of the Party. Making these findings, the 20th Congress decides to hold an extraordinary Congress between the 20th and 21st Congress, which will deal with the organisational situation of the Party and possible statutory changes.

6. Starting from the 17th Congress of AKEL in 1990, the activity of our Party expanded to almost all areas of the political, social, economic and cultural life of the country. Our work in the mass organisations covering all these areas multiplied. The Congress notes with satisfaction the positive results of our intervention in the various mass media. The organised factions of the Party in professional-trade unions are remarkably successful. At the same time, the Congress notes shortcomings, weaknesses and omissions that do not allow us to offer to the extent that the Cypriot society expects from AKEL. There is room for further improvement of our action and at the same time the need arises for the formation of factions in even more new areas. There is also a need for an upgrading, more organised and more systematic work of the auxiliary Offices of C.C. In relation to the representatives Party in institutions while a positive and similar contribution is recorded, there is a need for better understanding and coordination here as well.

7. The unity of the Party is our greatest conquest and the most powerful weapon we have. In the five years since the 19th Congress until today, unfortunately the phenomena of violation of collective

decisions of the Party intensified. We had such phenomena in the various electoral contests and especially during the referendum in April 2004. Violations of collective decisions demonstrate a gap in our ideological and political education, which must be addressed. The Congress notes that in difficult times when we were called upon to take a stand on crucial questions, in times when the unity of the Party was even more necessary, we were not all able to rise to the circumstances. Some put their personal conscience above the collective conscience of the Party, thus creating a problem of coherence and effectiveness of the Party's politics and struggle.

8. The Congress calls on the Party to continue to fight against this negative phenomenon, as well as with any negative phenomena presented in our work, struggle and behaviour. Only in this way will the Party become more and more capable of advancing its decisions, implementing its policy, promoting its unity and facing difficulties. The dedication of all of us to the Organisational Principles of the Party and to the virtues of communist ethics is necessary.

9. The bodies of the Party must not show tolerance towards the negative phenomena. With companionship and persuasion but also with taking measures, where necessary, they must protect the unity, the policy and the principles of the Party, as defined by our statutes and interpreted by collective bodies.

10. The ideological education and training of Party members and executives is still one of our core tasks. The bourgeois ideology, the imperialist "new order" and the globalisation of multinational corporations promote de-ideologicalisation, the concept of elimination of the borders of the Left Right, depoliticization, cosmopolitanism, the discrediting of organised struggle. This situation also affects our Party life, creating negative phenomena. The intensification of our ideological work is a key factor in successfully combating these negative phenomena.

11. At the heart of our ideological work must be the basic principles of the Marxist-Leninist worldview, our perception of socialism, internationalism, contemporary concerns in the world progressive movement, the struggle against nationalism-chauvinism, the organisational principles that govern the operation of our Party. The militant defence of our ideology, the exposing of the deadlocks, contradictions and delusions cultivated by the bourgeois ideology, the documented revelation of the anti-popular

character of neoliberalism, the struggle against subculture and cosmopolitanism, have not only ideological but also enormous political significance.

12. The Congress appreciates the efforts made to upgrade and modernisation of our ideological work, including exploitation means offered by modern technology. Nevertheless, it is a fact that we have managed to upgrade our ideological work to the extent that we want and that the conditions themselves require. The most organised and planned continuous effort is necessary. It is also imperative to make greater and better use of our international relations. Our work in the ideological field should be more extroverted and aimed at transmitting our messages to the broad masses of the people.

13. The times of KKK-AKEL must be utilised in the ideological field. The long years of struggles, the invaluable contribution and the great sacrifices of our Party contain lessons of timeless importance that must be property of every Akelists and more broadly of every progressive man in Cyprus.

14. Despite the findings on the necessity of the “*New Democrat*”, the theoretical and political journal of the Central Committee in essence has been inactive. The issue of the role, the regular publication and the upgrading of the content of our theoretical and political body, remains as a task and must be taken very seriously and very specifically the new Central Committee.

15. Vigilance must continue to be part of our daily Party work. AKEL as a major political Party needs to be constantly aware of the various developments in order to be able to properly formulate its policy and tactics. On the other hand, it must be able to prevent any actions directed against it and its cadres. At the same time, as a Party that operates in a semi-occupied and threatened by many dangers homeland, we consider it our duty to be vigilant in matters concerning the security of the Republic of Cyprus. The Congress emphasises the need as Party and politics vigilance, which is the duty of all of us, to be intensified and upgraded.

16. The presence of the AKEL Parliamentary Group Left-New-Forces within the Parliament is characterised by seriousness, responsibility, documentation of positions, respect for other political forces and collectivity. The Congress expresses a generally positive appreciation for the presence and action of our

Parliamentary Group and at the same time notes that there is clear room for improvement.

17. The members of the AKEL Parliamentary Group-Left-New Forces throughout their term of office developed substantial and multidimensional extra-parliamentary activity, in particular in relation to the shaking and solve hundreds of problems. The Congress, considering as satisfactory in general the contact with neighbourhoods, the communities and organised groups, but also the ordinary citizen, calls on our Members of Parliament to further upgrade their contact with the people and their problems. The Congress also positively assesses the institution of Parliamentary Associates, noting at the same time the wider possibilities that are provided and must be exploited.

18. The Congress finds that the election of the Secretary General of the C.C. of AKEL in the presidency of the Parliament of the Republic of Cyprus is an event of historical significance for the political affairs of Cyprus. It inaugurated a new period during which AKEL not only supports in the framework of collaborations the promotion to high positions of the Republic personalities from other areas, but also rightfully claims these offices for himself. The promotion to the presidency of the Parliament of the General Secretary of the C.C. of AKEL is a justification for our Party and its long struggles.

19. The presidency of the Parliament during the last five years has functioned consensually and promoted understanding. It further developed and cultivated excellent relations with foreign parliaments. It further developed the parliamentary diplomacy, putting it at the service of the Cyprus case in a difficult time for our country. With initiatives of the presidency, the Parliament established the communication with the citizen and developed multifaceted activity in various fields such as culture. Working conditions in Parliament have improved. The institution of the scientific collaborator was introduced. The institution of the scientific collaborator was introduced. A number of unprecedented institutions were supported, such as the House of Elders, the House of Children and the House of Youth. Our Party has proved that it is capable not only of holding but also of highlighting with its work the higher institutions of the Cypriot state.

20. AKEL since June 2004, participates in the European Parliament (EC) and in the Political Group of the European United Left/Northern Green Left (EEA/BPA). For AKEL, the participation in

the EP is another wall of struggle for the promotion of the Cyprus problem, the confrontation of the neo-liberal policies and restrictive for democracy decisions of the EU. It is the rampart for the promotion of popular-assertive positions in favour of the broad strata of workers. The 20th Congress, evaluating and utilising the experiences of one year of operation in both the EP and the political group of EEC/BPA and being aware of our size and difficulties, finds that our Party has room to further improve both its operation at this level as well as its effectiveness.

21. The Congress emphasising the importance of *“Haravghi”* (*“Dawn”*) as everyday expressive body of the Party finds that the newspaper in the latter five years has made serious and substantial changes in both content and form and the new shape helped to acquire a new, modern face. The improvement of the image and content of the newspaper was unfortunately not accompanied by increase traffic. The negative phenomenon of general relaxation, the problems created by the loss of newsagents and the plethora of SMEs and even electronics, have a negative impact on growth of the release of *“Haravghi”* (*“Dawn”*).

22. Awareness of the need for daily market and study of *“Haravghi”* (*“Dawn”*) is a permanent ideological-political task. The dissemination of our expressive organ and the development of its circulation is an organizational task, but it has an important political-ideological content. The development of the circulation of *“Haravghi”* (*“Dawn”*) must be constantly in the centre of attention of all the bodies of the Party, central, provincial, local, but also of all the members of the Party.

23. The need for continuous upgrading of the content and appearance of *“Haravghi”* (*“Dawn”*) in order to meet the social development and the modern requirements of information, and analysis of the policy, positions and proposals of the Party, is imperative. In this direction, the Congress invites the management and all the contributors of the newspaper to work continuously for the further improvement of the content, the quality and the appearance of *“Haravghi”* (*“Dawn”*).

The Economy of Cyprus

1. The Cypriot economy with its peculiarities is now developing in the environment of Europe and globalisation. A globalisation which attempts to impose as a model socio-economic the

“neoliberal” neo-conservative capitalist model of development. A model that unfortunately prevails today in the European Union. AKEL works for a modern economy in which we want to coexist, to complement each other and collaborate the social with the private sector. For an economy with anthropocentric goals and adapted to the needs of the broad popular masses.

2. The decade of Clerides’ rule was characterised by neoliberal conservative approaches and by economic policy which in general identified with the goals and priorities of big business. The negotiation of harmonization with the achievements was carried out in the shadow this policy, thus weakening the possibility for a more decisive one and effective trading, which could protect more effectively both the interests of the popular and vital strata important sectors of the economy, in the context of a smoother and more controlled adjustment process.

3. The change in the governance of the place has created conditions for a different economic and social philosophy and an approach with a popular and progressive content as it is expressed in the governance program and as it is seen through several aspects of the policy pursued.

4. The new government has taken over an economy in recession with almost zero growth rates, with huge budget deficits unprecedented for the post-war phase of development of the Cypriot economy, with significant deterioration in public debt and lower productivity points after 1974. Nevertheless, the Congress notes that today the economy has entered a recovery trajectory with growth rates significantly higher and with significant performance of fiscal discipline as the deficit is limited and public debt is improving. The fact is important that this improvement is achieved without measures that particularly affect the people layers and reduce development effort.

5. It is also a fact that under these circumstances the economic and social measures that fully meet the expectations of the grassroots who have supported change and are included in the program have not yet become as obvious as AKEL seeks and claims. governance. The improvement of the economic data as it is presented today allows and imposes more drastic social policy measures for which AKEL will continue to work systematically and persistently on the basis of the commitment for full implementation of the spirit and the letter of the governance programme.

The Economic and Social Problems

1. The 20th Congress of AKEL finds notes that despite economic growth and the progress that has been made, which is largely due to struggles of the Left, Cyprus faces quite economically and socially problems. Some became more acute after the accession of Cyprus to EU, mainly due to unsatisfactory negotiation by the DISY government in their attempt to serve the big capital, but also because of the conditions of the capitalist integration and impunity of big capital that dominates the EU. The main problems are:

- The one-sided development of the economy towards services and especially towards the tourism industry.
- The continuous shrinkage of production sectors and the need modernisation of the material base in the manufacturing industry.
- The budget deficit and public debt.
- The phenomenon of poverty leading to social exclusion.
- The constant rise in land prices and housing costs that exacerbates the housing problem.
- Unemployment which, although it remains at comparatively low levels, nevertheless needs constant vigilance and attention.
- The increase of problems in the rural economy.

For all these problems, the Party and the wider Popular Movement have worked out positions to address them, fight for their solution and are in constant dialogue with the government to formulate policies to address them.

2. The employment of foreign workers has taken on massive proportions due to the high demand for workers in mainly manual professions and of the free movement of workers, mainly from the newly joined the EU countries. The phenomena of cruel and often inhuman exploitation of foreign workers, who are used as cheap labour, are not only unacceptable and morally reprehensible, but at the same time, also work in the direction of undermining the acquired working conditions and collective agreements. AKEL will continue to work with trade union movement so that the terms and conditions of employment of foreigners legally employed in the country (EU and non-EU) to be those who provided for in the collective agreements. AKEL as an internationalist party will stand in the way of exploitation efforts and any forms of racism and xenophobia.

3. Tackling illegal employment is a matter for the state. The strict enforcement of the law and the imposition of sanctions on

offenders employers are the responsibility of the state. Where there is an offer of local labour force, the issuance of foreign work permits should be suspended, in parallel with the revision of the criteria for granting employment permits for foreign workers.

4. The 20th Congress of AKEL considers that it is imperative to create independent mechanisms for the management and control of the ecclesiastical property to which society has a say and to operate with transparent procedures. The taxation of the business activities of the Church must be established.

The Workers and the Trade Union Movement

1. The Congress notes that the change in the governance of the country has put a brake on the neo-liberal attack on the workers during the decade of DISY on the part of the government. It was formed a new, more favourable scenario for workers and the trade union movement. There was a noticeable difference in the general treatment of the workers' movement by the government regarding the issues of the dispute resolution process, the renewal of collective agreements and respect for the procedures of social dialogue and tripartite cooperation as well as collective bargaining.

2. The full accession of Cyprus to the European Union has created new data in the social and economic field, as AKEL had predicted and had warned, which affect the workers and their gains. The policies of the European Union reflect the neoliberal philosophy, which unfortunately prevails at European level. This encourages employers in their attacks on rights and employee gains.

3. In these circumstances, the 20th Congress of AKEL considers that the role class trade union movement is becoming increasingly necessary and essential for defending the economic, social and trade union gains and for the claim of their fair and reasonable share within framework of economic development. The Cypriot Workers' Party will continue to stand by the class trade union movement competing in the struggles for the toiling people. The Congress addresses the workers emphasising that the defence and expansion of their gains can only be achieved through their mobilisation in their trade unions and especially the pioneering class trade union organisation of the PEO and organised struggle. The Congress calls on the Akelists to be pioneering trade

union leaders and with their action and example to inspire and guide the workers.

4. The 20th Congress of AKEL notes with satisfaction that the budget deficits are drastically reduced and the economy appears to be recovering. The improvement creates the conditions for a more active social policy on the part of the government that aims to alleviate the weakest strata of the population and in improving the position of workers. An expression of this policy was also the package of social cohesion measures announced by government last October.

5. AKEL will fight together with the class trade union movement for fulfillment of the following objectives:

- The full implementation of the governance programme.
- Effective resistance to employer attacks.
- The promotion of institutional and legislative measures to strengthen the right of workers to organise.
- The defence of the social character of the state and the protection of the social security system.
- The promotion of a fairer distribution of the results of economic development.
- Coordinating with the other Left progressive forces in European area to strengthen the struggle against neoliberalism, expressed in anti-labour measures and policies that span decades behind the living and working conditions of workers.

The goal also remains to restore the way ATA is calculated as it was before it was stumped by the DISY government.

The Peasants and the Agrarian Movement

1. The 20th Congress of AKEL notes with satisfaction the government's interest in the field of agricultural policy. The decision to settle agricultural debts, which has been a long-standing request of the rural world and agricultural organizations, is the latest proof of this interest.

2. Regardless of the positive steps that have been taken under the governance of change, the problems plaguing the rural world remain many and difficult. Cyprus' accession to the EU has exacerbated several of these problems. AKEL's unwavering goal remains to support and strengthen the peasant and the rural resident, through the implementation of the government programme.

3. AKEL insists on the positions both for complete protection of the peasant from the effects of adverse weather conditions and extreme weather phenomena, as well as for full insurance coverage of plant and animal production.

4. AKEL in close cooperation with EKA and the organised Agricultural Movement will continue its efforts to create all those conditions for promoting progressive agricultural reforms, at the centre of their attention who will be the peasant, generally the rural resident's concerns.

The Women and the Women's Movement

1. The 20th Congress of AKEL considers that the recognition of women as equal members of society and as equal citizens, their promotion, recognition and development in the family, at work, in social life and in public office, has never been a matter only for women. It has always been and remains the case and responsibility of the whole society. It has always been and remains the case of those wider forces fighting for social advancement and social justice. AKEL will continue to support the women's movement and especially the pioneering organisation of POGO.

2. AKEL will continue its efforts aimed at the woman, both within the Party itself and in Cypriot society in general, to upgrade its presence and its contribution. AKEL continues to consider as the main condition for achieving the above formulation a comprehensive strategy for the implementation of its positions and proposals so that the woman can find the position they deserve in Cypriot society, will continue to work for:

- Adjustment of the attitude of society towards the roles of the two gender.
- Integration of more women both in the Party and in the party events in general.
- Elaboration and reflection for the promotion of AKEL positions on issues that arise and concern the female population.
- Exercise parliamentary control over the practical implementation of the laws passed.
- Upgrading the role of AKEL in controlling the implementation and integration of the principle of equality in all areas.

The Youth and the Youth Movement

1. The 20th Congress of AKEL addresses a militant greeting to the progressive youth of the country and especially to the EDON youth who with their struggles and successes prove daily that the youth is inspired by the ideals of the Left and is mobilising it in the struggle for reunification of Cyprus, for a better and socially just world. The gain of consciousness in the field of youth is achieved through consistent and militant defence of positions of authority and through assertive struggles.

2. The struggles and the struggle of the Left with EDON at the forefront, to serve the interests of the youth continue today in a favourable environment that the government of DISY has created with its rise to power. Already in the two years of government, has achieved the implementation of an important part of the government programme for youth. Assessing the implementation of the government programme for youth, while recording our positive assessment of the progress that has been made, it is clear that many and important remain to be done. AKEL in collaboration with EDON will continue to exert our influence for the implementation of the government programme for youth at an even faster pace.

3. Given the close—inseparable ties of AKEL and EDON and the position that there is a dialectical relationship of the course and its successes of EDON with the course and the successes of AKEL, relationship which largely shapes the perspective of the Party, the 20th Congress notes the need to discuss ways of even closer contact, better coordination and cooperation AKEL-EDON with the main goal of further support and strengthening of EDON. Particular emphasis should be given to upgrading the role and the role and intervention of EDON organisations locally, the development of the policy, educational, trade union and cultural action by harmonising its content with the modern needs and requirements of the youth. Special consideration must be given to the content of local action associations and the presence of EDON in them, as well as the formation of youth spaces through which EDON will be able to embrace young people.

The Pensioners

1. AKEL always honours the survivors of work and fights for society to reciprocate what it owes them and rightly claim it after devoting an entire life to the service of society as a whole.

The 20th Congress of AKEL notes with satisfaction that the government of DISY expresses in practice its solidarity and affection for pensioners. AKEL has contributed significantly by exerting its own influence to take the measures that have been announced in favour of pensioners.

2. AKEL will continue in the future to promote the demands of the pensioners and their organisation of EKYSY and to join forces with them in the struggle for the resolution of these demands.

The Middle Classes

1. Our Party since its inception has embraced the middle classes on the basis of the proximity of the interests of workers with the self-employed and the middle classes in general. AKEL contributed the most to the organisation of the middle classes professionally and supported their claims and struggles. The middle classes today face the pressure and competition of big capital than ever before. The globalisation of the economy as planned and shaped by the group of rich countries and the neo-liberal EU policy, helps big capital. In the name of the market economy, gains achieved through joint struggles are being circumvented. Consequently, the need to further strengthen the middle classes on the part of the Party and the Popular Movement is even more urgent.

2. The Party in its policy towards the middle classes must:

- Constantly reaffirm the community and affinity of the interests of middle classes with the working class and the peasantry.

- To contribute through the Akelists who socially belong to the middle classes to the further massification of their organisations as well as and to the study, classification and prioritisation of their problems.

- To project these problems to the competent bodies inside and outside the Parliament and fight together with the middle class to claim the just demands.

- To guide and fight together with these layers so that the course of our country within the EU, and the completion of our harmonisation with *acquis communautaire* not to adversely affect their standard of living.
- In shaping the general policy and tactics of the Party to carefully take into account their own interests.

The Refugees - Refugee Problems

1. It was and remains AKEL's position that adequate living conditions must be ensured for the refugee world. Therefore, the problems of housing, activity, education and equal distribution of burdens are always on the priorities of our Party together with tackling the daily problems of the refugee world. The Pancyprian Commission Refugees (WFP), with the decisive contribution of our Party, played for years a very important role in solving refugees problems. The 20th Congress, after the last amendment of the Legislation for the WFP and the appointment of a new President and new members in the Secretariat, considers that it is necessary to hold elections for the WFP so that the refugee movement can play its role again and in turn support the refugee world. The Congress calls on the executives and members of the Party in view of the elections in the WFP to be even more involved in the refugee movement and in efforts to solve the problems of the refugee world.

2. The Government of DISY with the change of power changed the way of thinking and handling the refugee problems by solving many of them. However, much remains to be done and even AKEL has specific proposals both for the solution of the refugee problems and for the better operation of the Central Agency for Equality burden distribution.

3. The DISY government for purely pre-election expediencies provoked a big problem with property titles and many inequalities among refugees. The 20th Congress calls on the government to move quickly and give property titles to those who legally own houses in settlements and in self-housing and to address in practical ways the issue of solvency of the refugees whose current homes are built on Turkish Cypriot land.

The Missing Persons

1. The 20th Congress of AKEL insists on the position of determining the fate of the missing in order to put an end to this tragedy that has plagued our people for 31 years and especially the relatives of the missing persons. At this stage, a process is underway for excavations in the occupied and free areas with the help of an organisation of experts from abroad. The Congress expresses the wish for cooperation on both sides to make progress in this humanitarian issue.

2. The issue of the missing persons must remain one of our priorities and the pursuit of its continuous internationalisation so that, with the activation of States, Parliaments and Humanitarian Organisations and Institutions, such pressure can be exerted on Turkey and the Turkish Cypriot leadership that they can lead to the actual investigation of each missing person and the verification of their fate.

The Enclaved

1. It is imperative that the government and the political world must continue the efforts to ensure that the rights of the enclaved are respected by the occupying authorities and that the agreements that have been signed are demonstrated in practice in the UN Charter, but also in the international human rights conventions.

2. After the assumption of power by the present Government, it became possible to reopen the high school in Karpasia but also to deal with due to the partial removal of the obstacles to trafficking various other problems that face our enclaved. Nevertheless, many problems remain. The Congress calls on the government to tackle the problems more effectively both those enclaved and their children living in the occupied territories or in the free areas. Special emphasis should be given to the issues provided pensions and allowances, home care, home repairs of the enclaved, their training and vocational rehabilitation children of the enclaved.

The Suffering People

The victims of the Cypriot tragedy are constantly in the spotlight of AKEL. The Party develops concrete and important initiatives inside and outside Parliament for the solution of the daily problems of the victims, but also for the return to them of the corresponding ethical and special values they deserve.

Families with Many Children

AKEL all these years showed great sensitivity and contributed significantly to the provision of all possible assistance to solve the multiple and serious problems faced by large families (large families and five members). The 20th Congress of AKEL notes with satisfaction that the large families are at the heart of its social policy of the current government. This was evident in both packages of measures announced by the government in October, in particular with the increase of the national guardian allowance and the extension of the mother allowance. Nevertheless, much remain to be done, such as the creation of a single body for the formulation and implementation of a comprehensive demographic policy programme, for which our Party will continue to submit proposals and exert influence to address with problems.

The Cooperative Movement

1. The Cooperative is a great social conquest of the people for which AKEL pioneered and worked hard. The 20th Congress considers that in the current difficult conditions of harmonisation with the *acquis communautaire* and liberalisation of the credit sector, ways must be found that way that the Cooperative can be guarded and further strengthened. The Congress calls on the Party and its executives active in the Cooperative to reflect more carefully on the issues that arise and especially on the issue of structural changes, always guided by interest of the people.

2. The Congress considers that the Cooperative Movement in its attempt to secure its achievements and the interests of its members during the great stock market boom, but also of the great challenges of private capital, proceeded with moves and decisions that taking into account the finances-economic data prevailing in those days was correct and imperative, but then it seems that it

was not possible to have full control over the course. It is imperative that measures be taken as soon as possible to heal the wounds created. With the right management and the right moves in the new conditions that have been formed, any values that may have weakened can be recovered.

3. Our Party is rightly concerned with the amendment of the legislation governing the Central Cooperative Body with the aim of its most democratic mode of operation.

The Peace and Solidarity Movement

1. In the conditions of the so-called new order, the role of the Peace and Solidarity Movement is being upgraded. The world anti-war movement is on the rise. It acts in parallel with the global movement against neoliberal globalisation. AKEL as always participates and supports the action of the Pancyprian Peace Council (PSC), with which he has built strong relationships forged in the long common struggles and mobilisations, for the establishment of peace in Cyprus and in the world, for the abolition of foreign military bases and the complete demilitarisation of the island, for the development of solidarity in favour of the peoples fighting for national independence, for freedom, independence and social progress.

2. The 20th Congress declares the readiness of the Party to continue to support the PSE and its initiatives as well as its efforts for reorganisation in the modern conditions. In the same way, AKEL will continue to support the action of the Social Forum and the Solidarity Committee (EPAL) to support the peoples fighting against the intrigues of imperialism.

Education - Training

As a result of the policy pursued by the DISY government in the Cypriot education system, dangerous impasses had accumulated. AKEL has been arguing for years that Cypriot Education needs a radical reform with deep cuts in both its structure and content in order to get out of the impasses and crisis that plague it and to be able to meet the modern needs and challenges of the time. A reform that will open fronts against conservatism, anachronism and regression, bringing new and change. The government of DISY, implementing its pre-election commitments, promotes with a vision

and strategy a comprehensive Education Reform that embraces all levels of education. The 20th AKEL Conference considers that our main task in the field of Education is to work to implement and achieve educational reform.

2. In addition to the educational reform by the DISY government, important steps have been taken in the implementation of its programmatic commitments. Assessing positively what has happened at the 20th AKEL Congress, he believes that the implementation of the government's programme in the field of education must be promoted more decisively and at a faster pace. Priority and emphasis should be given to the correct, complete and objective teaching of the recent history of Cyprus, based on the real facts and choices that led to the current division of our country.

3. For AKEL, the overall progressive reform of the education system based on the vision of a modern democratic-public education and the free access to education for all at all levels of the education system, are the necessary preconditions for the modernization of the society, the upgrade quality of life, the avoidance of educational-social marginalisation and the alleviation of social and educational inequalities.

Culture

1. The culture holds a special place in the action of AKEL. Our Party in the years of its existence was and remains a carrier and creator of culture. The change in the governance of the place created the conditions for a substantial cultural activity. Our Party with specific suggestions contributed to the shaping of the Government program and in the field of Culture. After the election of the President, we took many initiatives for the implementation of the Government's program. The 20th Congress notes, however, that in the field of Culture the Government presents a stagnation and hesitation in the implementation of its program.

2. AKEL will continue with determination to promote its positions in the field of Culture and to exert its influence for the implementation of the government programme. We will especially insist on our proposals that provide for the creation of a Unified Cultural Authority, for the establishment of a Cultural Heritage Archive, for the participation of the creators in the decisions concerning culture, for the creation of a Cultural Offer Bank, for

the establishment of a Council of Culture, for the reorganisation of the theatrical organisation of Cyprus and other proposals. It is still necessary to allocate more financial resources for the cultural infrastructure and development.

3. The accession of Cyprus to the European Union creates significant opportunities for the promotion of our culture in European countries and in parallel with the right political decisions and manipulations we can make Cyprus a European Cultural Centre in the Eastern Mediterranean and a bridge of cultural activity with neighbouring countries with different cultures.

4. The Congress notes that the magazine "*New Era*" is appreciated among the literate people and artists, both among the Greek Cypriots and the Turkish Cypriots and beyond. An effort is needed to increase the circulation of the magazine by subscribing, in particular among party members, with an emphasis on young people.

5. AKEL considers the cooperation with the Turkish Cypriot creators important chapter for the reunification of our homeland. The cultural meetings and activities with our Turkish Cypriot compatriots for the common interest of our country will continue with greater density.

Health

1. The 20th Congress of AKEL notes that the health sector in Cyprus faces many and serious problems. The public sector is facing problems caused by deliberate decisions of the previous government and is also the result of the war of those forces that always aim to shrink it. At the same time, there is no strategic planning for the development of the private sector.

2. During the government of Tassos Papadopoulos and with the participation of AKEL in the government of the place, great efforts have been made to improve the situation. More typical examples of the work that has been done are the settlement and control of drug prices, the restructuring of the Anti-Drug Council, the acceleration of the completion and operation of the New Nicosia Hospital, the timely completion of the Famagusta Hospital, the creation of regional clinics and other. But much remains to be done to implement the government programme in the field of health.

3. First of all, the GESY must be promoted. The public sector must be the central axis of operation of GESY, with the necessary

upgrade and continuous renewal. Until the implementation of the GESY, the urgent issues that affect the smooth operation and the development of the hospitals must be addressed, and solutions must be tracked as a measure for the implementation of GESY. Also promote the creation of a Medical School at the University.

The War on Drugs

1. The scourge of drugs is a complex psychosocial problem. It is a simplification that leads to dangerous approaches to treat the problem as a purely individual, psychological or pharmaceutical problem. The ignorance of the problem for many years by the previous government despite the warnings of AKEL, led to the current situation that all the people are watching with awe. The radical solution to the drug problem cannot be achieved without addressing the social causes that lead young people, and not only, to drugs.

2. The 20th Congress considers that the formulation of a national strategy by the current government and the functioning of the Anti-Drug Council constitute important steps in the right direction. But much remains to be done. AKEL has developed specific proposals that cover the prevention-treatment and suppression of trafficking with the main burden falling on prevention.

3. The AKEL and the wider Popular Movement will continue to lead the fight against drugs by mobilising their forces through the Local Government, the youth, organised parents, and all other voluntary social organisations.

Sport

1. In the current conditions that have developed in our country, where the intensity of social conflicts and problems, the rise of crime, drugs, subculture and the pursuit of easy profit and economic development have become commonplace in everyday life and have undermined principles, values and ideals, the further promotion and development of sport and its use as an integral part of the development of the individual society as a whole is an indisputable necessity.

2. AKEL has always attached great importance to proper organisation, cultivation and development of sports in our

country. We will continue to work on the basis of our elaborated positions and focusing on our efforts the need for democratisation and consolidation of sports, develop infrastructure and tackling the economic problems facing unions.

The Local Government

1. The 20th Congress considers that a bold policy of decentralisation with integration of the institutions of the local-government is imperative. This perception of ours is not limited to a simple transfer of responsibilities and resources but to a broad redistribution of political and economic power. Cyprus is called upon to adopt in practice the European Charter of Local Self-Government and adapt its structures to modern needs and requirements, taking advantage of the great potential that stems from this popular institution. It is called to support the Local Government so that it can be a body of planning, programming, and implementation of projects, actions and initiatives for the benefit of local communities.

2. The Congress notes with satisfaction that a number of commitments made in the DISY programme are being implemented, such as the study for modernisation of the institutional framework, the establishment of joint urban planning authorities, the establishment of the institution of Public Hearings in a number of procedures. We note with satisfaction the steps that are being taken to create an infrastructure for integrated waste management, to accelerate the creation of sewerage systems, especially in the communities, and to expand the institution of environmental studies. It remains worrying that the substantial redistribution of central and local government resources has not been promoted, with the result that many local authorities are unable to meet their basic obligations.

3. AKEL will continue to fight for:

- the modernisation and upgrading of the institution as well as the strengthening of the autonomy of the Local Government,
- the assurance and securing of its financial independence,
- the institutionalisation of the cooperation of neighbouring Municipalities and Communities in the provision of services but also in the formulation of development policy,

- the expansion of the participation of the citizens in the processes of local administration and development as a precondition of democratic decentralisation.

4. At the same time, we consistently support and encourage every effort for urban reconstruction, for the protection and development of the environment, for the creation of conditions for strengthening the supply in culture, sports, social welfare. To achieve these goals we seek consensus and joint action with other political forces, but also direct participation of the people in the management of local affairs in various forms and ways. We seek the continuous upgrade of our presence and intervention in the field of Local Government, thus confirming daily its competitive physiognomy and human-centred approach of our Party.

The Ecology and Environment

1. The issues of the ecological crisis are in the centre of attention internationally and especially in Europe. Unfortunately, in the conditions of the unbridled market economy, the solutions sought to provide are aimed at serving the interests of big capital instead of man and his environment. In recent years in Cyprus there is a special awareness of the public opinion on the problems of ecology. AKEL also contributed towards this direction with events, analyses, proposals, claims, which are not are sufficient in general wish list, but are based on a comprehensive approach to the development process focused on the human concern and the environment in which he lives and creates.

2. An important role in promoting a model of sustainable development is played by the actions of the Government of DISY towards strengthening of the legal framework for the protection of the environment and modernisation of environmental management structures, as well as the promotion of specialised issues such as the development of integrated plans for solid and hazardous waste management and the exploitation of alternative forms of energy.

3. AKEL will continue to work on ecology and the environment, having as main objectives of its action the creation of effective monitoring mechanisms and monitoring of the implementation of the environmental legislation and policy, the consolidation of valid, integrated procedures, comprehensive environmental impact studies, the radical revision of the concept of the character of cities, the promotion of a rural revitalisation policy, the

orientation of education towards raising public awareness of culture, our historical tradition and the understanding of the values of environmental policy.

4. AKEL highly appreciates the development of a politically independent, organised, environmental movement in our country that finds its expression in the Federation of Environmental and Ecological Organisations, considers its contribution and action positive and will seek to strengthen it in the future cooperation together, on the basis of common aspirations. In this context, the Party Base Organisations should be assisted in the development of specific action in the field of work for ecology and the environment. The training and specialisation of KOV members in ecology and the environment will contribute to achieving this goal.

The Expatriates - Repatriates

1. The AKEL Congress finds that despite their efforts made, more information and better coordination of the Expatriate Movement is needed, in order to make more use of their actions for promotion of the Cyprus issue and the enlightenment of the international community, especially in countries that are the decision-making centres.

2. AKEL believes that the reorganisation that has taken place in the Expatriate Service while contributing to the improvement of the service, however, it is necessary to appoint an Adviser for Expatriates and Repatriates. Be a politician and head the Expatriate Service. Establish an Advisory Committee Abroad which will work closely with the Minister of Foreign Affairs and shall consult the President of the Republic on a regular basis, for coordination, activation, utilisation of Abroad and for the better promotion of enlightenment on the Cyprus issue.

3. AKEL will continue to work to strengthen the assistance provided by the Cypriot state to the local educational institutions, so that there is continuation of the important work carried out to preserve the identity of expatriates in their countries of residence.

4. The strengthening of relations between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots in the Communities abroad needs to be promoted more decisively. To formulate a special policy concerning the relations with the Turkish Cypriots Abroad and addressing their problems.

5. The establishment of the Youth P.O.M.A.K. and the Youth Departments of the Federations and the local unions is a right and creative development. But this is not enough because the new generation that was born and raised in the second homelands does not have the same experiences and is not attracted by the same concerns. The problems that arise from this finding should to be addressed very specifically.

6. The state must address the problems of repatriates with more interest and affection and provide incentives to encourage return and permanent resettlement. The affection for the repatriates, their acceptance and reintegration into the Cypriot society under decent conditions is a duty of the state and our people. AKEL, knowing the problems they face, will continue to work for their solution.

The 20th Congress of AKEL addresses the new Central Committee, the executives and all the members of the Party and calls on them to fight with all their might and with Akelian zeal, with enthusiasm and self-denial, with method and determination to implement the above decision. It calls on them to work to further strengthen the unity of the Party around the programme, its statutory principles and decisions. The Congress addresses the friends of the Party and calls on them to continue to do support by participating in the struggle for a better future.

The gathering around the decisions of our Congress and the implementation in practice of these decisions will be the most important expression of respect towards the anniversary of KKK-AKEL. It will further strengthen and empower AKEL and the wider Popular Movement to continue to play a decisive role in the Cypriot events, always guided by the interest of Cyprus, our people and workers.

THE ANNOUNCEMENTS OF THE CONGRESS ¹⁰⁷

THE DECLARATION TO THE CYPRIOT PEOPLE

The 20th Congress of AKEL which met in Nicosia from 24 to 27 November 2005. addresses to the entire Cypriot people, a warm militant greeting.

The 20th Congress took place at a time when the Party is proudly celebrating the anniversary of life and activity of KKK-AKEL. An anniversary of honour but also of responsibility for the Party and the labour movement of our country, which in the past eight decades have indelibly sealed the struggles of the Cypriot people for freedom, democracy and social progress.

The Congress

- Strongly opposes the new order which serves specific imperialist interests that are in conflict with law and international law.

- Opposes neoliberal globalisation, which benefits capital and multinational corporations, sharpens inequalities, turns against workers, and condemns vast areas of the planet to poverty and misery.

- Considers the accession of Cyprus to the EU, as an achievement of an important goal of the Cypriot people, which it has inextricably linked to the expectation that the accession of Cyprus will act as a catalyst for a short, functional and a sustainable solution to the Cyprus problem.

- Considers that accession, while contributing to the creation of unprecedented mobility around the Cyprus issue, has not yet brought positive results in terms of the content of the solution.

- Appreciates the handling of the Cypriot Government for utilisation of accession as well as the accession process of Turkey so that the dynamics created to act as a catalyst in the struggle for the reunification of Cyprus and considers that this effort should

¹⁰⁷ *ibid.*

be continued with persistence and patience, with collectivity and determination.

- It points out the continuation of Turkey's uncompromising stance, which unfortunately is followed by the Turkish Cypriot leadership, which is also the main source of perpetuation of the Cyprus problem. This attitude is supported by the policy of consolation of Turkey, which is followed by the Americans, the British and their other allies.

- Considers that the Cypriot people in the April 2004 referendum did not say "no" to the solution but "no" to the specific plan and especially to its negative aspects.

- Expresses the Party's firm commitment to a bi-communal, bi-zonal federation solution which ensures the unity of the state, respects the human rights and relieve Cyprus from the presence of foreign troops and the guardianship of the guarantor forces.

- Considers that the talks should be resumed as soon as possible for a solution to the Cyprus problem. The basis of the talks will be the plan of the UN Secretary General which, in order to become a solution, needs substantial changes that will make it acceptable to the entire Cypriot people, Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots. The new initiative must be well prepared, without suffocating schedules and without arbitrations, in order to reach an agreed, mutually acceptable solution. The changes will not overturn the philosophy of the plan and will not revoke the rights of Turkish Cypriot compatriots but will aim for a solution that will serve the Cypriots, Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots and not any foreigners.

- Expresses satisfaction with the changes in the Cypriot leadership and ousting of Rauf Denktash. At the same time, it expresses disappointment at the fact that the new Turkish Cypriot leadership, despite its different style, with the positions and its policy to date does not justify the expectations of the Cypriot people, Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots.

- Declares the insistence of AKEL on the policy of rapprochement and joint action for the reunification of Cyprus, as well as the consultation with the progressive Turkish Cypriot parties for the common peaceful future of Cyprus. For AKEL, rapprochement is part of its timeless policy. It has social and class content and has nothing to do with the emerging theories of psychological atmosphere.

- Welcomes the great success of the progressive forces in the last presidential election that led to the change of government in the country. The change was a key political goal set by the previous Congress and has been implemented.

- Notes that in matters of internal governance the new government, with the direct participation of AKEL, has provided written samples for a different perspective based on the strengthening of democratic institutions and meritocracy, good governance and social sensitivity.

- Despite the clear positive steps, in the various areas of the internal governance AKEL expects and demands faster pace in the implementation of the government programme and declares its commitment to fight for the implementation of all its provisions.

- Considers that accession creates a new arena for the progressive popular movement, for the defence and expansion of the workers' rights and the popular masses in general, bearing in mind that the forces currently dominating in the European Union are promoting neoliberals and anti-popular economic and social choices. The action of AKEL in the European Parliament within the group of the United Left, in which it participates with the aim of a Europe of peoples and not of monopolies, is also moving in the direction of defending and expanding the rights of workers.

- Supports the class trade union movement in the struggles for better living and working conditions for workers, against the capitalist effort to deregulate labour relations and shrink their rights.

- Supports the just demands of all social strata of the people, peasants, artisans, professionals, shopkeepers, small and medium-sized businesses who feel the pressure of big capital.

- Supports the struggles of women and youth for an upgraded role in society and solving the problems they face.

- Supports refugees, relatives of missing persons, enclaved and suffering people.

- Expresses its class, comradely solidarity with the foreigners who live and work in our homeland, defends their legal rights and condemns all forms of discrimination against them. It works against any form of racism or xenophobia.

Male and female compatriots,

The Congress having in mind the critical point at which the struggle of our people is the methods of the circles that serve the

new order but also the opportunities currently presented for positive developments.

- Calls on the people of Cyprus to a broad democratic rally for full implementation of the goal of change, for the reunification of Cyprus, for democratic modernisation of society according to the requirements of the 21st century.

- Supports President Papadopoulos and the government on the basis of parity and cooperation with other co-ruling parties and movements and as the largest political force of cooperation that elected the government continues to play and claim its role.

- Declares that with consistency and determination, with the rich experience of an eighty-year historical path, AKEL will give all its strength to continue to meet expectations of the workers and the people in general with a vision of a democratic, modern and just society in a peaceful, reunited common homeland for all Cypriots, Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots, Armenians, Maronites and Latins.

THE RESOLUTIONS AND MESSAGES OF THE CONGRESS¹⁰⁸

THE MESSAGE TO THE TURKISH CYPRIOTS

Dear compatriots, Turkish Cypriot compatriots

The 20th Congress of AKEL that met in Nicosia from 24 to 27 November 2005 sends you a cordial militant greeting.

The Cyprus issue has entered a new phase after the accession of the Republic of Cyprus to the European Union and the recent start of Turkey's accession negotiations with the EU

Against the background of these data, it is a challenge for the Cypriot people and especially the progressive forces in both communities, as we make the most of the dynamics created by these developments thus in order to achieve the reunification of our country and our people.

We have a duty to intensify our struggle to find a viable and workable solution based on UN resolutions and decisions on Cyprus, high-level agreements, International Law and the EU principles.

As AKEL, we remain firmly committed to finding a bi-zonal, bi-communal federation solution that will guarantee fundamental freedoms and human rights of all our people, Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots, as well as the political equality of the two communities.

We continue our struggle to find a solution as soon as possible, as we recognise that time is consolidating the division both on the ground and in people's consciences.

We seek an honest compromise that will ensure a hopeful future for our people and our country, serving first and foremost the interests of the Cypriot people, Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots, and not of any foreigners. We therefore consider it necessary to properly prepare a new UN initiative, to avoid suffocating schedules and arbitration. A new initiative to focus on the effort to achieve those substantial changes to the Annan Plan

¹⁰⁸ *ibid.*

that, while not altering the Plan's philosophy or depriving the Turkish Cypriot community of rights, will allow us to reach a mutually acceptable solution.

The role played by the struggle of the Cypriot people and their political leadership remains important in achieving this goal, despite our assessment that the key to the solution remains in the hands of Ankara.

In this context, the progressive, peaceful forces in both communities envisioning a reunited homeland should:

- To further utilise the new data that emerged with the partial lifting restrictions on free movement, massing the movement rapprochement and intensifying the joint struggle of Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots. In the same direction, the goodwill measures should be continued and strengthened, which, while they should not and cannot function as a substitute for the solution, help to create a positive climate.

- To resolutely continue the fight against nationalism-chauvinism that so many badly accumulated in our country.

- Intensify the dialogue at the leadership level in a such way that in addition to cultivating a positive climate at home, mutual understanding is sought, in an effort to create better conditions resumption and a positive outcome of a new negotiating effort on the Cyprus issue.

- To remain consistent in the principles of the solution of the Cyprus problem as they were jointly formulated and agreed for many years were a commonly proclaimed goal.

- To avoid actions and statements that do not help the fight against the separation and division of our homeland and our people, thus strengthening feelings of frustration and undermining the prospect of reunification, AKEL for its part is committed to defending and promoting without hesitation these goals.

It is committed to its glorious history as the pre-eminent Cypriot political force that expresses and represents the interests of all Cypriot workers, Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots.

It is bound by its own ideology, nature and character, it is bound by the blood of our dear comrades with whom they watered the tree of Greek-Turkish friendship and the peaceful coexistence of the two communities.

AKEL and the organisations of the popular movement are committed to continue to lead the way in the formulation and practical implementation of the policy of rapprochement by

building bridges between the two communities of the island even more decisive way.

Finally, we send a message of faith and optimism that, despite the adversities, our struggle is justified and that day will come. Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots will be real masters in their country.

THE RESOLUTION TO THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE UN, KOFI ANNAN

Your Excellency,

The 20th Congress of AKEL that met in Nicosia from 24-27 November 2005, appreciating your efforts to solve the Cyprus problem, submits the following:

1. Denounces the long-term occupation of a large part of the territory of Cyprus as a result of the Turkish invasion. The Turkish invasion and the foreign interventions in Cyprus violate the independence and territorial integrity and violate the human rights of the entire Cypriot people.

2. At the same time, it condemns Turkey's insistence on a two-state solution, two separate state entities and its claim to sovereignty rights over Cyprus. Turkey has a huge responsibility for its refusal to implement UN resolutions by lifting the occupation and division of Cyprus.

3. Notes that in recent years there has been a gradual deviation from the spirit of the resolutions on Cyprus, which unfortunately was also expressed in plan. It believes that the last initiative was the most concerted effort to resolve the Cyprus problem. The attempt unfortunately failed because there were in the plan negative elements that could not be accepted by the Greek Cypriot side.

4. Stresses that AKEL's proposal to postpone the referendums and continue the negotiations on the points of concern of the Greek Cypriot community was not accepted by the Turkish side, so it was forced to call on the people to vote against the plan as submitted in the referendum. AKEL's "no" in the referendum is not "no" to the solution, but "no" to specific aspects of the plan. The

position taken by the Party kept open the prospect of resuming the negotiation process for a quick solution to the Cyprus problem.

5. Considers that your May 2004 report is not balanced for the Greek Cypriot side. Following its rejection by the Security Council, any reinstatement in order to be adopted, would create problems for the resumption of talks.

6. Stresses that AKEL's aim is to resume substantive talks as soon as possible, away from suffocating schedules and arbitration, without referring to endless talks.

7. Looks forward to making those substantial changes to your plan, which will allow the Cypriots to accept it and lead to sustainable and functional solution.

8. Seeks a solution that will serve the Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots and not any foreigners, while the changes we seek do not change the philosophy of the plan nor do they remove rights from the Turkish Cypriot community.

9. The Congress considers that the key to the solution remains in Ankara. However, both Ankara and the leadership of the Turkish Cypriots do not seem to have as their priority is the solution of the Cyprus problem but the international upgrade status of the occupied territories through direct trade, the bypassing of the Republic of Cyprus and international legitimacy. It is our position that any action which encourages Turkey and the Turkish Cypriot leadership in promoting this goal does not help to strengthen the efforts for a quick solution of the Cyprus problem but opposes it.

10. Finally, the Congress reaffirms its position that the Cyprus issue can and must be resolved peacefully within the framework of the UN. The solution of a bi-zonal, bi-communal federation, as provided for in the UN resolutions and high level will agreements pave the way for Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots to build a happy future in their common reunited European homeland.

THE MESSAGE TO THE LEFT PARTIES AND PROGRESSIVE MOVEMENTS THROUGHOUT THE WORLD

The 20th Congress of AKEL, which met in Nicosia from 24-27 November 2005 sends a militant message of solidarity and joint action to the Left parties and Progressive movements all over the world.

International developments are characterised by the continuation and consolidation of the so-called new order. The position that what prevailed now is the circumvention of international law and the enforcement of the law of the powerful is confirmed. The United States and its allies want to maintain and expand their political, economic and strategic hegemony in every corner of the globe. The terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 in the United States were the occasion for the strengthening of their imperialist policy and the pretext for greater arbitrariness, mainly the doctrine of pre-emptive war, but also the attacks on political and human rights and individual freedoms. The main example is the great wars in Yugoslavia, Afghanistan and Iraq. In addition, under the guise of democratisation, all means are being used to overthrow all US-friendly regimes.

The delegates of the 20th Congress of AKEL condemn all forms of terrorism as a means of conducting national, political and social struggles. However, they believe that tackling terrorism is a collective matter that must be brought under the auspices of the UN. The root causes of terrorism, namely poverty, social injustice, racism, religious fanaticism, national oppression and all forms of violation of international law. Democratisation cannot take place through coercion and the threat of weapons. Supporting international law, respecting the sovereignty and territorial integrity of independent states, freeing the United Nations from American influence, and the strengthening of the Organisation's role in dealing with international problems are the only way to ensure world peace and stability. The 20th Congress of AKEL considers that the process of capitalist globalisation, in the way it takes place, serves the interests of capital and especially of the large multinational corporations of developed countries.

In the name of neoliberal globalisation, workers' achievements are affected, labour relations are deregulated, the social role of the state is reduced, and class and social inequalities are strengthened. The absence of "rival awe" and an alternative economic model has led to the strengthening of capital and the imposition of a conservative capitalist model, neoliberalism. This model of capitalism can only survive with attacks on the workers' achievements and the welfare state and with rising unemployment and poverty. As for the developing and poor countries, they are receiving the greatest impact of the neo-liberal globalisation. They are obliged to adopt the requirements and conditions of western developed countries, which condemn them to further exploitation and impoverishment. Injustice and inequality, inherent features of the capitalist system, is evident both with the uneven development of states at the international level as well as inequality among citizens at national level.

The effects of neoliberal globalisation have led to several reactions and especially in the creation of the first World Social Forum in Porto Alegre in 2001, protests against the World Trade Organisation, the World Bank and the Group of Eight in the most developed countries, is called the "movement against globalisation". The role of the Left and the progressive social forces is to cooperate with social forums at global, European and national levels, so that they play an important role in the resistance against the imposition of a single global economic model without consent of peoples and citizens. Of particular importance tackling neoliberal globalisation and the imperialist New Order is the strengthening of regional and international cooperation between states with progressive Governments.

The wars of the Americans and their allies in Yugoslavia. in the Afghanistan and Iraq have resulted in the rebirth of a truly of the global anti-war movement, with intense activity within it as well of American society. The anti-globalisation movement, the anti-war movement and the successes of the Left in various countries, constitute promising prospect of challenging neoliberalism and the new order. But they are still in the first steps of their development.

On this occasion, the 20th AKEL Congress expresses solidarity and his support to all the peoples who fight for the inalienable their rights, independence and freedom. Especially to the brother Palestinian people still fighting for their right to have their own independent state.

We raise our voice against economic and political exclusion, which is leading entire peoples into conditions of poverty. We express our support to all peoples defending the right to choose their socio-economic system and especially to the heroic people of socialist Cuba, which suffers from American exclusion because they continue to defend their right to choose their own path economic and social development.

The delegates of the 20th Congress call on the Left and Progressive movements, all the peaceful forces of the world, the trade unions and all the social forces to continue, revitalise and strengthen the effort in local, regional and global level to strengthen resistance and joint action against neoliberal globalisation and imperialist New World Order.

The 20th Congress address to all Communists, Workers, Left and Progressive parties at European and world level, stressing the need to strengthen coordination of action and cooperation, so that the Left can resist the imperialist new order and neoliberalism, to achieve change for the benefit of the peoples of the world and put forward an alternative progressive proposal for a world of peace, democracy, social justice and socialism. AKEL assures that to the best of its ability it will continue to support and take initiatives in this direction.

THE TWENTY-FIRST CONGRESS OF AKEL, November 25- 28, 2010

THE DECISIONS OF THE CONGRESS¹⁰⁹

THE POLITICAL DECISION OF THE 21ST CONGRESS OF AKEL

From the 25th to the 28th of November 2010, the 21st Pancyprian Congress of AKEL took place in Nicosia. The Congress has been the culmination of many months of pre-Congress work, comradely internal-Party and public dialogue and deep reflection that continued during the Congress itself.

The 21st Congress of AKEL took place in special conditions and new data that determine its significance. These data are:

- (a) the choice of Dimitris Christofias to the Presidency of the Republic of Cyprus,
- (b) AKEL as the ruling Party,
- (c) the ongoing decisive effort to resolve the Cyprus issue and everything related to the developments in the Cyprus issue,
- (d) the enhanced prestige of Cyprus internationally,
- (e) the very important work produced by the government,
- (f) the global economic crisis, its effects on Cyprus and the struggle to deal with them.
- (g) the situation on the internal front.

The Congress noted once again the historic success of the election of Dimitris Christofias as President of the Republic of Cyprus, not only for AKEL and the wider Popular Movement but also for Cyprus and the entire Cypriot people. The election of Christofias also had a positive effect on the European and the international movement of the Left.

¹⁰⁹ Publications C.C. AKEL, *Decisions and Other Documents*, 2011

The election of Christofias overturned decades of prejudice and opened new ones, promising prospects both in terms of the fight for a just solution to the Cyprus problem and in terms of shaping a fairer society. The more than two years that went through the election victory Christofias justified the assessments that this is an event of historical importance, and they justify the expectations of the people on a daily basis, despite the obstacles that are systematically interfered in the work of the President and his government by various situations.

The Congress, after a fruitful, free and democratic debate, approved the “Positions of C.C. to the 21st Congress”, the introductory speech of the General Secretary of the C.C. of AKEL Andros Kyprianou, the Report of the Central Audit Committee and the Report on the Finances of the Central Committee of the Party. The Congress elected the new Central Committee and the Central Audit Committee of AKEL.

Concluding its work, the 21st Congress discussed and approved the following political decision that determines the parameters of the Party’s policy until the next regular Congress.

The International Developments

1. The 21st Congress of AKEL meets at a time when the imperialist order continues and strengthens, with the US, NATO and its closest allies, including leading forces within the EU, seeking to maintain and expand their world hegemony in all fields, economic, political and military-strategic. At the same time, globalisation led by multinational monopolies is strengthening. The imperialist powers have largely replaced the pretext of communist danger with the threat of terrorism, in the name which they seek to “legitimise” their criminals actions and policies. And where there are no cases of terrorism, they invent them. AKEL condemns all forms of terrorism that causes death of innocent people and victimize peoples. Terrorism does not promote the struggles of the peoples but instead gives weapons and reasons to the imperialists to strike at these struggles. The crimes of imperialism fuel terrorism. Terrorism is being fought by eliminating the root causes, such as poverty, hunger, impoverishment, epidemics, exploitation, injustice, inequality and oppression, which are plaguing entire regions of the world under the responsibility of the imperialists themselves. Terrorism is fought with respect for international law,

the sovereignty and territorial integrity of each country and the dignity of its people. In addition, under the guise of rapid democratisation, the aim is sought to undermine and overthrow the governments and regimes unfriendly and disliked by the US. No country, no matter how powerful, has the right to impose its own perceptions and its own way of life. Is the right of every people to choose its own path of development and to carry out its own struggles.

2. The imposition of the imperialist order of things takes place through circumvention of international law and the enforcement of the law of the powerful, through policies and practices of two measures and two stations, through invasions and invasive wars. It is expressed through the effort of guardianship and substitution, by adopting and promoting doctrines such as NATO doctrine of “pre-emptive strike” and with some so-called peace and humanitarian missions. It is promoted through intensifying militarisation international relations, the intensity of armaments race, the constant effort to expand the spheres of influence, the expansion of the network of military bases of the US and NATO, inciting conflicts over racial or religious bases and support for corrupt criminal regimes. It is promoted through the incitement of so-called velvet or coloured revolutions, through the restriction of human rights and freedoms, and through the imposition of monopolies.

3. In the modern world, intra-imperialist rivalries are evolving at the same level, which concern groups of states, separate states and international monopolies. Competitions permeate even allied states or groups of states within alliances and coalitions.

4. The 21st Congress of AKEL condemns once again the so-called new order and the globalisation of multinational corporations, which is the expression of the “new order” at the economic level. We condemn the wars of aggression, the interventions and violations of international law. We demand respect for the UN Charter and the principles of the international community of law. We demand the dissolution of NATO, which has no reason to exist. We express our full solidarity with the peoples fighting for freedom, independence, democracy and social progress.

5. The so-called new order is consolidating its positions internationally, but at the same time other developments on the international scene that have the their own growing importance

should not be overlooked. The “new order” finds resistance in various parts of the world. China is emerging as a major economic and consequently political power that is upgrading its own presence in international developments. Russia, which is claiming the role of a superpower is constantly getting stronger. The struggle of the peoples makes it difficult for the leaders of the “new order” to implement their plans in the way that they would like. Revolutionary processes are taking place in Latin America.

6. In the opposite of imperialism, the progressive movement exists and struggles with the workers’ and communist parties on the front lines. The progressive movement continues to operate under particularly very adverse conditions, after the dissolution of the Soviet Union and the community of Socialist States in Europe. The progressive movement nowadays is characterised by ideological-political heterogeneity that in some cases extends to within specific parties. As a result, the progressive movement continues to present the well-known deficits of ideological-political cohesion, which in turn affect its effectiveness. The nihilism of socialism that is persistently cultivated by the establishment of the right and social democracy, which exploit mistakes and distortions in the countries of the former socialist community, must be addressed. Unfortunately even some Communist and Left Parties assist in this process with their levelling criticism or self-criticism, which is done in such a way that is tantamount to undoing their character.

7. The 21st Congress of AKEL addresses a cordial comradely greeting to progressive parties and movements fighting for national independence, democracy, social progress and socialism. It expresses to them its undivided international support and solidarity. The Congress most emphatically condemns the unprecedented efforts being made within Europe and elsewhere to equate communism with fascism.

8. The 21st Congress of AKEL reaffirms the choice of our Party to continue working for the maximum cooperation, coordination and unity between the Communist, Workers and Progressive parties at regional and international level, aiming at joint actions and policies, where possible and on the basis of respect for diversity that characterises each party. We do not adopt any of the approaches that move in the logic of exclusion, paternalism and movement leadership, interference in the internal affairs of other parties and taking over hasty initiatives that may harm the effort to

building the greatest possible unity between the parties of the Left. This certainly does not negate the right of every party to maintain a critical view for the realities of the Left, always of course within the framework of mutual respect.

9. Despite the signs of recovery, the global financial crisis continues to plague the world. The economic crisis is a structural crisis of the capitalist system. Capitalism develops the productive forces and socialises production to the maximum. But at the same time it concentrates wealth and power in the hands of a small minority of people who own the means of production and especially the multinational giants. This basic contrast is the deepest cause of the economic crises of capitalism. The imposition of neoliberalism on a global scale has resulted in the current economic crisis taking over unprecedented proportions and standing out for its intensity and scope. The workers in the world were paid a heavy price crisis. Millions are lost jobs. The chapter under the pretext of dealing with the crisis is cut off achievements of workers, attacks head-on in labour relations and the gains of the workers. Bourgeois governments are looking for ways out of the crisis by placing even greater burdens on workers. As a result, class struggle is intensifying across the world. Millions of workers around the world are fighting to defend their rights and their gains. The apologists of capitalism and the unscrupulous market who solemnly spoke of a prosperous society for all, of end of history and the end of class struggle are solemnly refuted. The global economic crisis brings back even more urgently the idea of socialism and need of a society to be built not on exploitation and the pursuit of profit, but on liberation from exploitation and social solidarity.

10. The 21st Congress of AKEL addresses a warm comradely greeting of solidarity to the workers of the world who are fighting for their rights and freedoms, who are fighting against capitalism, against neoliberalism and the impunity of the great multinational society and socialism. The global economic crisis is shaking the foundations of capitalism but it does not mean that it is the end of the exploitative system. The resistances and endurance of the old world are great. The propaganda mechanisms driving the consciousness are huge. It will take many and great organised struggles for the sun to rise on true freedom and social justice. The cohesive class forces, the international workers' and the communists' movement have a duty to be at the forefront of these

struggles, to unite with their politics wider forces and masses people and pave the way for the future.

The European Union

1. The 21st Congress of AKEL reaffirms the position of the Party that the European Union is an advanced form of political-economic capitalist integration. In today's EU, which is evolving on the basis of the Lisbon Treaty, neoliberalism prevails and is increasingly tied to NATO structures and policies. This EU is far from our vision and the vision of consistent Left forces within the EU, and more broadly for a Europe of peoples, workers, solidarity, social justice and peace. AKEL will continue to serve this vision. Continue to defend the rights of European workers and to fight neoliberalism through the European Parliament and the Left Group of which is active and enjoys respect. AKEL does not approach the EU from dogmatic positions. Within the EU under the pressure of the workers and the popular factor, positive developments are taking place. The speeches of President Christofias at the European Council and Ministers in the Councils of Ministers contribute to the fact that in some cases to decisions are taken that have positive elements. AKEL will continue to study European policies based on its own socio-economic and political criteria. We will continue to appreciate and take advantage of everything positive that comes from the EU. At the same time, we will continue to fight against our own values by submitting creative counter-proposals. AKEL will continue to develop relations with institutions and political and social forces in the EU. The main concern of AKEL's participation in the European development is and remains the promotion of the Cyprus case.

Cyprus

1. The Congress reaffirms the firm position of AKEL that the Cyprus issue is international problem of invasion, occupation and foreign intervention. The issue of the violation of the independence, territorial integrity and sovereignty of Cyprus by the Republic of Turkey. The issue of national cleansing, illegal settlement and violation of the human rights of all Cypriots by the occupying power. At the same time, there is the internal aspect of the Cyprus problem, which concerns normalisation of relations

between the two communities and the evolution of the Republic of Cyprus into a bi-communal, bi-zonal federation. AKEL considers wrong both the degradation and ignorance of the international aspect of the problem as well and the degradation and disregard of the internal aspect of the Cyprus problem.

2. There are specific responsibilities for the creation and perpetuation of the Cyprus problem. The main responsibility lies with Turkey, which has pursued and continues to pursue an expansionist policy towards Cyprus. The American imperialism, with its interventions and conspiracies against the independence of the Republic of Cyprus and with the tolerance and even support for the Turkish politics over time, bears his own irrevocable responsibilities. Therefore we consider that within the mechanisms NATO and the various structures, Cyprus cannot find its right. The junta of Athens played a particularly shameful and catalytic role in the conspiracy against Cyprus during the 7-year overthrow of democracy in Greece. Turkey's plans and foreign intrigues would not have been possible without the internal espionage of the Republic of Cyprus by the nationalist chauvinist forces in both communities and especially the treacherous, fascist action of EOKA'B and TMT, and condemnation of the crimes of fascism and nationalism-chauvinism to the detriment of both communities is the necessary cleansing in order to build the relations between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots on the basis of mutual respect. The Congress welcomes the fact that President Dimitris Christofias shows political courage fighting to restore the historical truth regarding the responsibilities in the Cyprus issue. The Congress considers AKEL a title of honour for the fact that the Party fought consistently and resolutely against the foreign intrigues and the treacherous action of the fascist far-right.

3. From 1974 onwards, all efforts to resolve the Cyprus problem clashed with Turkey's intransigence, its insistence on the dissolution of two separate state entities and its claim to sovereignty over Cyprus. Any manipulations made during these years by the Greek Cypriot side do not in the least absolve Turkey and the chauvinist Turkish Cypriot leadership of their responsibilities for the perpetuation of the Cyprus problem.

4. The 21st Congress of AKEL reaffirms the firm position of the Party that the Cyprus issue must be resolved within the framework of the United Nations and on the basis of UN resolutions, the 1977 and 1979 High-Level Agreements, international and European

law. The framework for the solution of the Cyprus problem has been concretised with the agreement of 8, July 2006 and the joint announcements of Christofias-Talat of 23 May and 1, July 2008. The framework provides for a solution of a bi-zonal, bi-communal federation with political equality such as defined in the United Nations resolutions. Solution of a state with a single sovereignty, an international personality and a citizenship.

5. The solution of a bi-communal, bi-zonal federation constitutes the historical compromise between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots agreed since 1977. Incorporated in United Nations resolutions and brings together the support of the international community and the European Union, who expect it to be the solution of the Cyprus problem. AKEL is absolutely in the position that the Greek Cypriot side must remain steadfast in the pursuit of a bi-zonal, bi-communal federation solution and must constantly demonstrate political will to achieve it. Any abandonment of this goal, as some have suggested, will not bring a better solution. It will deprive Cyprus of its foothold in the international and European space. It will give Turkey the opportunity to demand it in the most formal way the recognition of two states in Cyprus. It will give to any of Turkey's allies the opportunity to support the Turkish demand for two states. I will send wrong messages to our Turkish Cypriot compatriots that we do not want to live with them in a common homeland and a common state. It will cancel any prospect of a solution to the Cyprus problem, resulting in the finalisation of the division, which will become the cause of new troubles for Cyprus and our people.

6. The solution must also provide for:

- The withdrawal of the Turkish occupation troops and the end of colonisation, which is a war crime. The bulk of settlers must be resettled in their homeland, with the exception of a specific number to whom citizenship will be granted by federal government, which will not alter the composition of the native Cypriot population and who could possibly remain in Cyprus for humanitarian reasons. AKEL considers the registration necessary of those currently residing in Cyprus by an independent international organisation.

- The restoration of territorial integrity and sovereignty of the Republic of Cyprus, as well as the restoration of the unity of the state, the people, the institutions and the economy.

- The abolition of the anachronistic regime of guarantees, given that Cyprus has been an equal member of the European Union since 2004.

- Ensuring the human rights and freedoms of all Cypriots, including the right of return and property of refugees and their rightful owners. Cypriot citizens must enjoy all the rights enjoyed by its citizens of the European Union.

7. The people will be the final judge of the solution through separate referendums which will be held in the two communities. AKEL unreservedly supports the position of the President of the Republic that Referendums will be held only if there is an agreed solution between the leaders of the two communities.

8. Cyprus is one of the regions with the largest concentration of troops. Our people have suffered a lot from the presence of foreign troops and the use of weapons. The people of our region have suffered as many times as Cyprus has been used as a base for serving imperialist interests. Our country, our people, peace and stability in the region and our neighbouring peoples, we all have to benefit from a demilitarised Cyprus. AKEL remains firm in its position that the solution Cyprus problem must provide for the demilitarisation of the Republic of Cyprus. The Republic of Cyprus as a bridge of peace has a lot to offer to the world and the European Union.

9. The so-called British sovereign bases are violating the territorial integrity of Cyprus. It is a foreign body and a remnant of colonialism. AKEL will continue to demand for the abolition of bases. With the solution of the Cyprus problem and the consolidation of a reunited federal democracy, Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots, united, we must fight for the liberation of Cyprus from the British bases. As long as the bases remain in Cyprus the British must respect the Republic of Cyprus and the commitments they have made regarding the bases. Their rights of Cypriot citizens, who live or have property in the territory of the bases, must be respected.

10. The objective analysis of the data in the world and our region, but also of our potential as the Republic of Cyprus has led from 1974 to the conclusion that the effort to resolve the Cyprus problem must be peaceful. The developments of the 36 years that separate us since 1974 confirm the correctness of the position for a peaceful settlement of the Cyprus problem. A peaceful effort to

resolve the Cyprus issue means a dialogue between the two communities and at the same time the internationalisation of the problem to ensure the greatest possible support for our positions and to prevent the plans of the Turkish side.

11. Especially on the internationalisation front, the 21st AKEL Congress welcomes with great satisfaction the international activity of the President and pursuing a multidimensional and multilevel foreign policy. A policy that strengthens ties with traditionally friendly countries that support the Cyprus case and build better relations with various countries on the basis of mutual respect. The numerous visits of the President abroad, the Memorandum of Understanding with Britain, the Cooperation Protocol with Russia, the visits to Cyprus of the Greek Prime Minister, the Pope Benedict XVI, the Presidents of Russia, Slovenia, Serbia and Syria, the Lebanese Prime Minister and as well as the forthcoming visits of Chancellor Merkel and President Sarkozy demonstrate how correct and multidimensional our foreign policy is and how much it serves the cause of Cyprus. On the other hand, they refute the claims of the opposition, for ideological swings in our foreign policy and for supposedly international isolation.

12. Consistent with his election commitments, President Christofias has worked hard since the first day he took office to resume the inter-communal dialogue and reversing the negative climate which unjustly prevailed in the international and European arena since 2004 to the detriment of the Greek Cypriot side. The Working Groups and the Technical Committees provided for in the of 8 July agreement were staffed, started working and producing work. The basis of the talks was formulated and agreed with the announcements of 23 May and 1 July 2008. It was also ensured with the UN Secretary General that the ownership of the Cyprus settlement process will be Cypriot without suffocating schedules and arbitrations and that role of the United Nations will be auxiliary (Leviticus). Finally, the direct talks began in September 2008. At the same time, the activities of President Christofias and the government in the international and European arena, the positions, policy, initiatives and the well-known political will of the President for a solution, reversed the negative climate abroad. The Republic of Cyprus, with President Dimitris Christofias gained enhanced prestige and credibility in the international and European arena, a fact that allows us to fight for the cause of Cyprus under better conditions.

13. The 21st Congress of AKEL considers that throughout the duration of the direct talks between the leaders of the two communities, the President of the Republic defends resolutely and consistently the principles of the solution of the Cyprus problem. It is guided by the need to safeguard the interests of the Cypriot people as a whole of the Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots. It rejects any suggestion of the Turkish side that is outside the agreed framework, refers to the perception of the two states and opposes the resolutions and the principles of the UN and the European Union. President Christofias submits to the negotiating table proposals that are serious, well-crafted, logical, constructive, feasible and realistic. Proposals that are consistent with the timeless positions of the Greek Cypriot side and serve the goal of reunification and the creation of a bi-zonal, bi-communal federation with political equality as defined in the UN resolutions. Proposals that aim to solve in the most correct way the problems accumulated by the 36-year occupation and division. These problems exist and do not disappear with the mere invocation of our law and the proclamation of certain principles. The President of the Republic submits proposals that are appreciated by the international and European factor and thus strengthen our negotiating position. It submits proposals that are accepted by ordinary Turkish Cypriot compatriots and that their possible acceptance by the Turkish side would pave the way for a solution.

14. The 21st Congress of AKEL demonstrates its full support for proposals of the Greek Cypriot side as presented by President Christofias and in particular the proposals for governance and property as well and the triptych concerning the acceleration of talks with the interconnection property with the territorial and the issue of settlers, the issue of Famagusta and the international conference. In particular, for the proposals on the property, the Congress highlights their essence, which is nothing more than the securing of property rights, the recognition that the first reason belongs to the rightful owner and the position that any deviation from the European achievements will cease to exist, for a specified period of time, so that every Cypriot citizen has the right to settle and acquire property throughout Cyprus.

15. The 21st Congress of AKEL demonstrates in the most visible way its full support for the policy, manipulations and initiatives of President Dimitris Christofias. It expresses undivided confidence in

him. It resolutely repels the attacks and criticism levelled at him by various political forces and the media, considers the criticism unfair and destructive. It believes that attacks on the President often go beyond the bounds of political culture. The attacks and criticism received by the President weaken the Greek Cypriot side, undermine its negotiating position and send the message that some either do not want a solution or are ready for any solution.

16. The 21st Congress of AKEL considers that in the criticism and attacks against President Christofias and at the same time against AKEL, meet and identify various political forces and persons from different places. Political forces and individuals who:

- never accepted the solution of a bi-communal, bi-zonal federation with political equality as defined in United Nations resolutions.
- choose the division instead of federation
- put the partisan expediencies above the interest of Cyprus.
- seek self-justification for their placement or manner of placement in 2004.
- consciously or unconsciously collude with circles outside Cyprus attempting to reinstate 2004 solutions and procedures.

AKEL will continue to stand a bulwark against all these forces and to defend with all its might the President of the Republic and policy of the Party.

17. In the more than two years that direct talks have been going on, the 21st AKEL Congress notes that concrete progress has been made, especially in the chapters on governance, economy and the European Union, which were discussed with Mehmet Ali Talat. The Congress rejects estimates that nullify the any progress in the talks. At the same time, the Congress notes that, unfortunately, in critical chapters that compose the Cyprus problem, there is still a gap in the views of both sides. This is due to the fact that many of the proposals submitted by the Turkish side both when the negotiator was M.A. Talat, and now that the negotiator is D. Eroglou, are outside the agreed framework and are guided by the philosophy of the two states and of the two peoples. Philosophy that is still the official position of the National Security Council of Turkey.

18. The promotion of Dervis Eroglou to the leadership of the Turkish Cypriot community is proving in practice, as AKEL had predicted, a negative development. Mr. Eroglou's beliefs are dichotomous. Any good mood he tries to show at the negotiating

table has as his only spring the service of Ankara's communication policy. The proposals he submitted in the property lead to the logic that the only cure is compensation and the exchange of property. His refusal to discuss property in combination with the territorial and the issue of settlers shows a lack of goodwill and political will for solution. In addition, the blatant lie and distortion of the positions of the Greek Cypriot side is now at the forefront of the Turkish Cypriot leadership and Turkey in an effort to cover before the international community the negative philosophy and daily behaviour of Dervis Eroglou. The 21st Congress of AKEL considers that Eroglou's policy is in line with the expectations of a large part of the Turkish Cypriot community that wants a real solution to the Cyprus problem.

19. The 21st Congress of AKEL finds that the direct talks are a key point. For the first time, various aspects of the Cyprus problem have been discussed in such depth, and for the first time, convergences on certain issues have been identified. On the other hand, there are still big differences between the two communities in critical aspects of the problem, while some chapters have not even been discussed under the responsibility of the Turkish side. The possibility of Dervis Eroglu challenging those points where there is an approach in principle, adds to the worries and concerns about the prospects of the talks.

20. The 21st Congress of AKEL reiterates the position that the political will President Christofias—which is given and has been proven many times in practice—is not enough to lead to a solution to the Cyprus problem. A prerequisite for paving the way to the solution is to change the Turkish policy and finally align with United Nations resolutions. The philosophy of the two peoples and the two states in Cyprus and the perception that for reasons of national security Turkey must exercise control over Cyprus, unfortunately continue to guide Turkish policy. The Congress notes that apart from some verbal communications, Ankara does not seem ready to take the steps necessary for the solution. The internal rivalry in Turkey and the problems facing the country in its accession perspective, make the Turkish leadership even more reluctant to make the decisions. We support the position of President Christofias for direct contacts with the Turkish leadership. AKEL, must also seek to have similar contacts. AKEL, expressing its solidarity with the left, progressive forces in Turkey, will seek to further develop its relations with them.

21. The Congress also notes that certain circles of the international community, wanting to promote a solution that is pleasing Turkey—which they consider as a valuable ally and partner in the region—continue to devise ways to support Turkish policy, to pressure on our side, and enforcing a solution through timetables and arbitration.

22. The above findings should not discourage us as Greek Cypriot side and weaken our struggle for a solution to the Cyprus problem. On the contrary, despite the difficulties and adversity, we must intensify our efforts at all levels because the passage of time makes it increasingly difficult to solve the problem. The time and accomplishments work against solution and reunification. The Congress categorically rejects the theories referring to a solution in the long run on the grounds that Turkey's position in international affairs is weakening. These theories clash with reality, they lack scientificity and reduce the desirable to real. Whenever Cyprus was guided by similar perceptions it led to worse adventures and setbacks. The Congress also rejects the theories that approach the Cyprus issue as a matter of prevailing only legal principles of law. We do not refuse, on the contrary, we must use the legal weapons given to us by international and European law. But the Cyprus issue is primarily a political problem and as such must be resolved. The 21st Congress of AKEL, while noting the criticality of the time factor, emphasises that for AKEL the decisive criterion of its actions and policy is the content of the solution. Therefore, the Congress insists on the content of the solution as formulated in this decision and will not sacrifice it for the sake of the time factor.

23. In the further effort to achieve a solution to the Cyprus problem, the 21st Congress of AKEL considers that it is necessary:

- To keep the Cyprus issue within the framework of the United Nations and to continue the process of resolving it by offering the good services of the UN Secretary General.

- To remain consistent in the solution of a bi-communal, bi-zonal federation with political equality as defined in the United Nations resolutions.

- The negotiation process should remain under Cypriot ownership. The obsession with Cypriot property does not mean the acquittal of Turkey or denial of international interest, which we are pursuing in every way. The Cypriot property shields Cyprus from methods of imposing a solution from outside and in the interest of others outside the Cypriot people.

- To continue to resolutely reject any schemes for extortionate schedules and arbitrations and for the adoption of direct trade.

- To continue to be positive and constructive at the negotiating table by submitting logical and feasible proposals that serve the goal of the desired solution.

- With our seriousness and responsibility to maintain prestige and credibility in the international and European arena, which constitute our strongest weapons in the fight to secure international support.

- To continue to strengthen and enhance the already excellent relations with Greece, which is our main support.

- Continue to take advantage of the international and European factor. To keep the partners of Cyprus in the European Union constantly informed. To further strengthen our relations and contacts with the permanent members of the Security Council, and in particular Russia, France and China.

- To constantly denounce the proposals and policies of the Turkish side that leave the framework of the solution and United Nations resolutions. To constantly point out the need for the international community and the European Union to turn their influence and pressure on Ankara and the Turkish Cypriot leadership.

- To constantly promote the triptych of the proposals of President Christofias as the only correct answer to the need to speed up talks, to create a dynamic solution, in the issue of Famagusta and in the removal of the so-called isolation of Turkish Cypriots, which to the extent that it exists due exclusively to the Turkish occupation.

We remain firm in the position that an international conference should be convened when the two sides reach an agreement on the whole spectrum of the internal aspect of the Cyprus problem. The international conference should deal with the international aspects of the Cyprus problem. In addition to those directly involved in the Cyprus problem, the permanent members of the Security Council should participate and the European Union and also to ensure the presence of the Republic of Cyprus.

The Turkish Cypriot Community and Rapprochement

1. The 21st Congress of AKEL expresses appreciation and respect for those patriotic forces of the Turkish Cypriots who

remain consistent in the solution of a bi-zonal, bi-communal federation with political equality as defined in United Nations resolutions and strive to achieve this solution. The solution of a bi-communal, bi-zonal federation is under attack from several directions in both the Greek Cypriot and the Turkish Cypriot community. The forces that are consistently in favour of this solution we have a duty to both communities to defend it daily and to point out that it is the only solution that can lead to the reunification of our homeland. In the fight for reunification of Cyprus the Turkish Cypriot community has an important role to play. The recognition of the decisive role played by Ankara in no way means a disregard for the Cypriot community and the political forces that express it. The political and social forces of the Turkish Cypriot community that remain consistent with the federation solution have potential to exert their own influence on Turkey and on the Turkish Cypriot leadership to pursue a constructive policy in the Cyprus problem.

AKEL will continue to cultivate and develop relations of friendship, mutual respect and understanding with the patriotic forces of the Turkish Cypriots, giving a special attention to organisations and ordinary people.

2. Occupation and division prevent the normalisation of relations between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots. They create risks of assimilation of Turkish Cypriots by the settlers. Regardless of the obstacles posed by the occupation, AKEL will continue to study and suggest to the state ways to expand relations between the two communities in all areas. AKEL will continue to expose and oppose those who in one way or another interfere with the development of friendship and cooperation of between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots.

3. The 21st Congress of AKEL renews the invitation of the Party to our Turkish Cypriot compatriots for a common struggle for the salvation of our common homeland.

4. The policy of reunification and the cultivation of a culture of peaceful coexistence are necessary preconditions for the normalisation of relations between the two communities, for finding a solution and for ensuring the viability of the solution to be agreed. Therefore, AKEL will continue to be a flag bearer of rapprochement and the cultivation of a culture of peaceful coexistence by taking specific initiatives and actions. As AKEL we appreciate the assistance of international organisations and the

support they provide in the case of rapprochement. However, we emphasise, that the rapprochement is primarily a task of the Cypriots themselves and the organisations that express them. Reunification is also primarily a political process that does not overlook but instead seeks to delve into the problems created by segregation data.

5. Nationalism-chauvinism has always been the evil demon of Cyprus and the vehicle with which the foreign intrigues against our country were carried out. AKEL will remain a steadfast and unwavering opponent of nationalism-chauvinism and all those ideologies of the far-right that cultivate the hatred between the two communities. To support with all its might the cultivation of a culture of peaceful coexistence both at the level of education as well as at the wider level of society.

The European Union, Cyprus and Turkey

1. *Cyprus has been an equal member of the European Union since 2004. Cyprus's accession to the EU* in which Greece already participates as well as Turkey's aspiration to join the EU, create a conjuncture that favours the solution of Cyprus problem. Despite the difficulties presented in Turkey's accession perspective, AKEL believes that the favourable situation still exists and we should continue to use it as Cyprus EU membership gives answers to many of the problems caused by long-term division of Cyprus as well as to issues raised by the reunification of our country. AKEL has never had illusions regarding the EU, and its capabilities. It recognises, however, that the principles on which EU is based implemented in Cyprus can greatly satisfy the concerns and fears of both communities and contribute to building a peaceful and secure future for all Cypriots.

2. As a result of the initiatives of the President of the Republic, the Monitoring Group of the Cyprus Commission of the European Commission was set up, headed by Mr Barroso and Mr Maurer was assigned the task of Special Envoy of the President of the European Commission for the Cyprus problem. The active participation of President Christofias in the European Councils and the relations he develops with the leaders of European countries contribute in support of the positions of Cyprus. The 21st Congress of AKEL appreciates the work done by the President and the Government as well as the activity developed by political forces in

the respective political arenas in Europe. The Congress rejects the accusations of underutilisation of the European factor. However, there is always room for better use in the struggle for the reunification of Cyprus.

3. The 21st Congress of AKEL reaffirms its position in favour of Turkey's accession to the EU provided, however, that it fulfills all obligations imposed by the accession of a country to the EU. Turkey will always be the big neighbour of Cyprus. It is desirable that this neighbour to be a democratic country that respects the rules of good neighbourliness, and partner in a wider family of countries, rather than a hostile country, a source of anomaly and constant threat to the whole region. The democratisation of Turkey which presupposes its accession perspective, will work positively not only for Cyprus and Turkey's other neighbours, but also for the Turkish people themselves.

4. Turkey has taken on the EU, and consequently to Republic of Cyprus specific obligations which it has a duty to implement and is not meant to bargain for and demand in return. The EU itself must resolutely demand the fulfillment of Turkey's obligations, including those to the Republic of Cyprus. This is in the interest of the Union and the principle of solidarity between its Member States governing the functioning of the EU. As long as the occupation continues, will we will resist Turkey's accession process.

The Internal Governance

1. The 21st Congress of AKEL notes with satisfaction that despite the adversity of the effects of the global economic crisis, the pro-people programme of the Christofias government is being implemented and is bearing fruit that the citizen feels. A very important project has been produced and continues to be produced, which changes the Cypriot reality and upgrades the quality of life of the citizens. The Christofias government has reached out and is resolving chronic problems of Cypriot society, has expanded the welfare state by resolutely supporting the sections of the population in need of state assistance, is proceeding with institutional changes, modernising society and progressive reforms, introduces innovative innovations for the Cypriot reality. Tangible examples are the path to a final solution to the water problem, the settlement of agricultural debts, the practical support of peasants, ensuring its viability of the Social Insurance

Fund, the upgrading of transport, the introduction of the pension support scheme, from the poverty line, the introduction of the Easter allowance, the increase of pensions, public assistance, the increase in benefits to refugees and the strengthening of student welfare. In general, the social benefits have increased by 38% since the Christofias government took office. In addition, we have the formulation and implementation of an integrated multilevel housing policy, the formulation of immigration policy and the resolution of the Akamas issue. The modernisation of the public administration and the simplification of administrative procedures are promoted. The foundations were laid for a modern system of urban and spatial planning and control of the development of the whole of Cyprus. The reform of the Local Government is also an intersection. In the field of Education, the educational reform is being implemented. In the field of energy, for the first time, the foundations are being laid for an energy policy. In the field of the environment, the sustainable development and construction of Integrated Solid Household Waste Management Units is promoted, the complete restoration of garbage landfills and the creation of a network of green spots that cover all Municipalities and Communities. The legislation governing the National Guard is being consolidated and modernised.

2. The 21st Congress of AKEL emphasises that the work of the government could be even more if it did not meet at almost every step the negative attitude of the opposition and other situations, constantly insert obstacles and difficulties. Despite these difficulties, the Congress calls on the government to continue implementing the programme and policy on the basis of which the people have elected Dimitris Christofias. The Congress indicates the need for a more determined defence of government work and a more comprehensive and systematic promotion and popularisation of it. The promotion and popularisation of the government project is the most powerful response that demolishes the nihilistic propaganda of the opposition and other situations. AKEL also has an important role to play in promoting popularisation and defence of the government project, which must upgrade its involvement in this matter.

3. AKEL with its analyses, interventions, suggestions and proposals will continue to assist the government in prioritising and implementing the various provisions of the government programme. The Auxiliary Offices of C.C. of AKEL are called to

intensify their work in this field by proposing specific policies, measures and actions in the bodies of the Party, which in turn will submit them to the government.

4. The global economic crisis naturally hit Cyprus as well, since our country is actively participating in the global economic development. The tourism sector and the construction sector have been mainly affected. The impact of the crisis in Cyprus are much less than many other countries in the world and especially in Europe. This is due to the strength of the Cypriot economy, in the strong supervisory framework. The fact that despite the pressure of DISY and other situations, neoliberal policies were not adopted that in other countries are responsible for the breadth and depth of the crisis. AKEL together with the class trade union movement were the strongest embankments in the neoliberal movement and that is another offer of the Party to the workers and the country.

5. The 21st Congress of AKEL welcomes the fact that the Christofias government is handling the crisis responsibly. It supported the economy of the country with three packages of measures amounting to 510 million Euros. These measures were taken in a timely manner and were in the right direction as the European Commission has found. Important is also the finding of international organisations that the Cypriot economy was affected to a lesser extent than the rest of Europe, due to the measures taken by the Christofias government. The measures played their part and the first signs of economic recovery are already being seen. More measures could be taken, such as increasing the corporate income tax and the taxation of large real estate, although there were no partisan and pre-election expedencies that lead to opposition and other situations in sterile denial.

6. The crisis mainly affects employees and especially those who lose their jobs. AKEL is not complacent about the recovery points. It will continue to fight until the final exit from the crisis. A basic philosophy that will continue to govern the policy of our Party is that the burdens of the crisis cannot be placed on the workers. The capital must take on that share which is due to it and it owes a large share to it. We will continue to seek and work for a broad consensus in dealing with the effects of the economic crisis by submitting concrete proposals that move within the framework of the above philosophy.

7. The 21st Congress welcomes the Government's efforts to combat profiteering. It is obvious that even in the context of the

so-called free market, certain measures must be taken to protect consumers. The theory of market self-regulation, like so many other neoliberal theories, has been refuted by the realities themselves. The Congress welcomes the measures taken by the Government to strengthen the Competition Protection Commission and the Consumer Protection Service, as well as the establishment of a Price Observatory at the Ministry of Commerce. It calls on the state services in charge of monitoring and regulating market to be more decisive in combatting notoriety and to take the appropriate measures in a more timely manner. AKEL is mobilising with the citizens, the organised consumers and the trade union movement in the fight against notoriety.

8. The 21st Congress is deeply concerned about phenomena of corruption, entanglement and organised crime which are intensifying in the Cypriot society. It is obvious that these phenomena are related to major economic interests not only of the underworld. The Congress calls on the state to be more decisive in the fight against corruption, entanglement and organised crime. As AKEL we will support every effort in this direction by submitting our proposals.

The Internal Front—Unity

1. The election of Dimitris Christofias as President of the Republic of Cyprus was the result of a broader consensus on the domestic front with gentlemen protagonists, apart from AKEL, the parties DIKO and EDEK. The contribution of the Support Movements for the candidacy of Christofias, of the United Democrats, of the Ecologists, of the Reconstruction Rampage of the Centre, of the Free Citizens' Initiative and of the Socialist Initiative was also of great importance. AKEL recognises and honours the contribution of all to the electoral success of the 2008 presidential elections. Either they supported Christofias' candidacy from the beginning, or they were added along the way.

2. The 21st Congress of AKEL notes with regret that the picture presented by our internal front today is disappointing. Exterminating and unsubstantiated criticism is exercised. Fierce attacks are launched against the President and AKEL regarding the policy and the manipulations in the Cyprus issue. Government work in internal governance is zeroed and levelled. This situation undermines the titanic effort to resolve the

Cyprus issue and reunite our country. It raises obstacles in dealing with and overcoming the financial crisis. It creates problems in the implementation of the pro-people and reform program of the government. All this is to the detriment of the Cyprus issue, to the detriment of the workers and the underprivileged sections of the population, to the detriment of the modernisation of the Cypriot society and the institutions of the Cypriot state.

3. The disappointing picture of the internal front is due to:

- The fact that political forces in Cyprus refuse to accept the fact that the Left took over the government of the country, with the vote of the people. They seek to reduce everything the Christofias government does and to cancel its important work in the consciousness of the people, so that nothing positive is credited to President Christofias and AKEL.

- The reforms of the government overthrow the wrongdoers, harm interests and status quo and this provokes reactions from those who have a privileged position in the Cypriot society since the establishment of the Republic of Cyprus.

- The organised, consistent and decisive effort for a solution of a bi-zonal, bi-communal federation brought to the surface the reaction of all those who had never really accepted the solution of the federation, and who, whether they realise it or not, favour the division by the federation. It is obvious that the opposition to the federation is due in part to economic interests and institutions that have developed over all these years of division.

- Micropolitical ambitions and pre-election expediences sacrifice on the altar of party interests and methods for the good of the homeland and of the people.

- A significant portion of the media in violation of any notion of objectivity and ethics is actively involved in anti-government and anti-nuclear campaign.

4. The 21st Congress of AKEL reaffirms the firm position of the Party that unity within is a prerequisite for a successful outcome of the struggle for the vindication of Cyprus. At this point they can meet all political forces and work together within the National Council, whose operation has been upgraded under Christofias. Wider unity is also needed to promote solutions to the problems of Cypriot society and the implementation of progressive policies and reforms. Here can be found forces that have similar approaches to socio-economic issues. Unity is built on the basis on principles, common goals and aspirations. Unity does not mean

levelling different perspectives and approaches. Unity means dialogue, respect for the entity of each political force and different point of view. Unity means sincere effort to find convergences and cooperation on the basis of these convergences. Unity means taking responsibility and repelling demagoguery and populism.

5. The 21st Congress declares that despite the difficulties AKEL will continue to work for unity on the home front on the basis of the above principles, we will continue our efforts to maintain, improve and upgrade the cooperation with DIKO within the government, we consider this effort to perform must be reciprocal. We are ready to discuss with the leadership of DIKO any proposal aimed at strengthening cooperation. However, we also expect from DIKO the leadership and its executives to behave as a party that participates in the government and not that opposes it. The disagreement and criticism is legitimate, but they should be the exception and not the rule. The 21st Congress also expresses the certainty that, as in the past, so in the future AKEL and EDEK will be on the same ramparts.

6. Unity is built at the leadership level, but also at the grassroots level. Despite the methodical effort of some circles to cause continuous escalation on the internal front, a large portion of the people support the President of the Republic with their confidence. On the basis of this finding and on the basis of AKEL's long tradition of cooperation with other forces, the possibilities of a broad political and social cooperation at the level of citizens, local government, organised groups, organisations and committees in power, always exist and must be constantly exploited. It is the duty of the executives, members and friends of AKEL is to constantly utilise these opportunities in a spirit of friendship and mutual respect, to build bridges mutual understanding and trust and work for the common good. In particular, we must further strengthen our relationship with the friends of the New Forces and the friends who through various movements supported the candidacy Christofias.

7. AKEL, faithful to its history and firm positions, will continue to work hard for unity—both at the level of leadership and at the level of people—with consistency, determination and a sense of responsibility. With the same determination, however, we will continue to defend the dignity of our Party, and the correctness of its policy, we will continue to defend the President of the Republic, his policy and manipulations.

8. The 21st Congress expresses its deep concern about at the activism of far-right, fascist-type organisations in Cyprus. Their rhetoric and slogans are reminiscent of the period of the treacherous action of EOKA-B. The racism and xenophobia they advocate introduces inhumane mentalities in Cypriot society. Their organisational structure and appearance refer to paramilitary organisations. Those who tolerate or favour these organisations have a huge responsibility because they are against the federation and President Christofias. Cyprus cannot afford to be dragged into new adventures in the name of patriotism and ethno-centrism. The highest degree of vigilance is required for the political isolation of these dangerous situations, which particularly trap young people. The Congress calls on the state to deal decisively with these fascist organisations. AKEL will continue to expose and denounce the fascist organisations. In collaboration with EDON and the wider Popular Movement, it will continue to educate the youth by promoting anti-fascist values and standards, and will take initiatives to mobilise and joint action of the forces of Cypriot society, which opposes fascism, racism and xenophobia.

The Presidency of the European Union in 2012

1. The exercise of the Presidency of the EU by the Republic of Cyprus during the second half of 2012 is a great challenge for Cyprus. The government of D. Christofias works diligently in both the political and the organisational part to prepare for the six-month presidency. AKEL has presented views and thoughts on the priorities to be promoted by the Cypriot presidency, contributing to the government's effort for a program with social priorities and priorities that highlight the key role that Cyprus can play in the wider region, both in peace process as well as at the level of Union initiatives focusing on international and intra-Community solidarity.

2. The Congress calls on the political parties and the Cypriot people to embrace the government's effort for successful exercise of the presidency, as a matter of fact of the whole of Cyprus. The presidency also avoids finding itself in the vortex of factional and pre-election controversies.

The Parliamentary Elections

1. The parliamentary elections of May 2011 are the first electoral battle that AKEL Left New Forces after the 21st Congress. We recognise the importance of this electoral contest. On the other hand, we are committed as a Party that we will not subordinate everything to the needs of this electoral contest. The forthcoming parliamentary elections stand out from every previous parliamentary contest, mainly because the former leader of AKEL is now at the helm of the state. The Party itself is a ruling party, a major effort is underway to resolve the Cyprus issue, while on the home front the picture is disappointing.

2. Based on the above findings and in view of the parliamentary elections as a Party should:

I. To formulate an effective strategy and regular and original and inventive election campaign.

II. To compile the strongest ballots representative of the power and prestige of AKEL and the Left in general.

III. To reaffirm the policy of enlargement with New Forces and renewal, with the inclusion of even more remarkable and capable men and women from the wider area but also young and worthy people from our area.

IV. Immediately after the congress, all the forces of the Party and the Popular Movement should be mobilized and put in the service of the elections. Along with the political aspect, the organizational, financial and technical aspect of our election campaign should be planned in a timely manner.

V. To intensify the effort to solve the problems of the people.

The Local Government Elections

1. We hope that the forthcoming Local Government elections will be held in the new framework of a progressive review of the institution promoted by the Christofias government and which AKEL strongly supports.

2 In view of the Local Government elections of 2011, pre-election programmes should be formed that will clearly define goals, will highlight the care for the person and will respond to his modern needs. Particular emphasis should be placed on health and hygiene, the environment and ecology, social welfare, sports and culture.

3. Our long-term goal remains the promotion in the local government of our capable executives, both party and wider. We also seek in this election layout of enlarged ballots to express all the breadth of the space of AKEL - Left - New Forces. Their policy and alliances must also be at the centre of these elections of our attention, especially with regard to the elections of Mayors and Presidents Community Councils.

4. In a society where entanglement and corruption are gaining momentum, AKEL candidates at all levels and especially in local government must be distinguished for their honesty, the integrity of the character and their determination to confront unacceptable phenomena, our society.

5. The same basic principles apply in the case of the election School Euphrates where the focus of attention and interest will be the well-being of school communities.

The Party

1. The 21st Congress finds that AKEL adequately fulfills its duties as a ruling party. The main task of AKEL remains to assist in the implementation of the government programme and to work for success of the Christofias government. AKEL must continue to provide its unwavering moral and political support to the President of the Republic. Continue to develop suggestions and proposals that help in the concretisation, and the prioritisation during the implementation of the government programme. To continue to suggest solutions to problems that life and especially the economic crisis put on the agenda.

2. In the daily agitation, especially in the media, the presence of AKEL needs to be strengthened. All the executives who appear in the media should be more decisive in their positions and in confrontation with executives other parties. Their interventions should be more documented, more specific and focused on the messages we want as a Party to send. To show even more confidence in new executives by assigning them tasks without interruptions and to help them respond successfully.

3. AKEL was and remains an exponent of the interests and expectations of the broad masses and especially of the workers. In this respect it will continue to be a force for the protection of these interests, a force for assertion and struggle for the consolidation and expansion of the people's gains. The existence of

a pro-people government, which does not embrace the philosophy and practices of neoliberalism, creates a favourable environment for successful development of social struggles. The just socio-economic demands of various social strata and groups of the population and especially of the workers will always meet the support and help AKEL. AKEL and its executives will continue to help, always within the framework of legality and meritocracy, in solving fair and the rational problems that citizens face and are due either to the government bureaucracy, or to established or unfavourable discrimination. At the same time AKEL will continue to point out the destructive perception of the “medium” and the **rusfetti** and educate the world in the culture of meritocracy.

4 AKEL derives its power from the people. The lively two-way contact with the people, the constant renewal of the Party's ties with the popular masses, the organised excursions of the leadership of executives, deputies and heads of local government of AKEL. will continue to be the focus of its daily activities.

5. The Party is a voluntary organisation in which everyone joins to contribute through collective work and struggle. Party members and executives have rights that they must claim, but also obligations which they must honour. As Party members and executives the main obligation is the implementation of the decisions of the Party through this practical, political work of each member in the area of responsibility of each KOV. The change of times and conditions not only does not negate this obligation but instead makes it even more compelling given the huge potential for propaganda and manipulation of conscience that the bourgeois parties have political.

6. The organisational situation of the Party was a solid political background and his electoral successes. The continuous improvement of the organisational situation of AKEL is a permanent and timeless task. The identification of weaknesses and shortcomings in our organisational work and the need to deal with some negative phenomena led to the holding of the extraordinary Organizing Congress on December 2008. In the course of the implementation of the decisions of the Organisational Congress took positive steps to improve the organisational situation of efficiency and effectiveness of the Party. But they are still to appear serious weaknesses and shortcomings which must be overcome to constantly occupy the bodies of the Party, the Party Base Organisations and each Party member.

7. What needs to be realised is that organisational work is primarily ideological-political work that is directly related to the ideological level of AKEL members and the political duties we are called to we carry out. The practical approach to organisational work, and much worse its approach as a bureaucratic process, limited to meeting some numerical objectives of the Party plan, must expelled from the conscience of every Party member. In the same way, the devaluation towards the organisational work and the executives who deal with it must be expelled. The Party executives are at the same time organisational and political executives. Every task they undertake has its political aspect.

8. The organisational effort must focus on:

- The best and most essential function of the bodies from the Central Committee to the Office of KOV.

- Upgrading the role and offer of its Auxiliary Offices K.E. and District Committees.

- To improve the operation of KOV with emphasis on the content of the session and the political activity in the area of responsibility of each KOV.

- The promotion of executives and the registration of new members in the Party.

- In the fight against relaxation and factorisation, in view consecutive electoral contests, the Party will be decisive and strict in adhering to o the statutory principles and rules of party conduct. No violation of these principles and rules should and will not be tolerated.

9. **“Haravgi” (“Dawn”)** is a conquest of the Popular Movement, a weapon in the our daily struggle, which has existed since 1956. We kept the “X” alive in difficult times. We have a duty to keep it alive and fighting and in today’s conditions. Despite the explosion in the electronic and print media, nothing can replace the value and importance of the daily study of “X” for each Party member. Much more with the landscape that has been formed in the media where the most objectively absent anti-government and anti-establishment propaganda is abundant. The workers in “X” have a duty, by conveying the messages of the Party, to improve constantly the newspaper and its content to be attractive to every reader. The bodies of the Party from the C.C. up to the offices of KOV and the Party Groups themselves must be constantly in their care and work to increase the circulation of “X”. It does not mean that a Party member does not buy and study “X”.

10. The main political task of the AKEL Parliamentary Group Left-New Forces is the mobilisation in the efforts for the solution of the Cyprus problem and reunification of our homeland and at the same time the promotion of the project, the decisions and government innovations. At the same time, we must oppose the opposition attacks of DISY and others and to respond with arguments to any criticism. Also a key aspect of the daily work of the Parliamentary Group is the most essential contact of our members with the people and the solution of the problems that plague it. The role of our Parliamentary Group in the efforts to promote unity on the home front is important. The House of Representatives has an international activity in which our Group must continue to participate actively.

11. The AKEL Parliamentary Group Left-New Forces must continue to take initiatives both in terms of its legislative aspect parliamentary work as well as in the exercise of parliamentary work always guided by the interests of the country and the popular strata.

12. Fulfilling this task requires better coordination with the government and mutual efforts in this direction. It is also necessary to make the best use of the possibilities given to us by discussion of issues in Chapter D. We must react decisively to occasional, oppositional collaborations in Parliament aimed at to hurt our government and our Party, as well as unacceptable phenomena of violation of the rules of procedure of the Parliament and abuse of powers by Chair of Parliamentary Committees.

13. Parliament is the field where there is fierce debate of policies and ideas every day and the most extreme criticism is exercised. Therefore, It is the duty of all members of the Group to be constantly vigilant, so that our Party is always the progressive and pioneering force in social, political, economic life. Above all, however, to continue to rank high in the consciousness of the people, as the most responsible and serious force.

14 Mass organisations play a multifaceted and important role that touches on all aspects of modern Cypriot society. Hundreds of executives, members. even friends of the Party are active in a number of wider or even specialised mass organisations. Without any driving disposition, as a Party we have an obligation to ensure a more organised and more methodical presence and intervention in these bodies. This is necessary in order to contribute even more to the important work done by the mass institutions.

15. The organised factions of the Party in professional-trade union areas have multiplied in recent years and have been successful. However, there is room for further improvement of their action. At the same time, due to the expansion of needs and possibilities, there is a constant need for the formation of factions in new areas. Experience to date shows that the operation of the various departments depends on the degree of operation of the respective auxiliary office. In places where there is and operates a satisfactory Auxiliary Office of the party, our factions have proven to work better and have remarkable successes. It is important that the party does not limit its action only to electoral contests and turns it into an electoral mechanism. It needs to be constantly active, take initiatives, meet at regular intervals and constantly upgrade its work.

16. In the modern world, an increasingly important role is played by the Non-Governmental Organisations dealing with specialised issues and activities. Leading circles in the EU and elsewhere are trying to give non-governmental organisations a character and content counterweight to organised social and class struggle, counterbalanced to partisan character and trade union action. As AKEL we disagree with this approach. We do not see NGOs as a counterweight to organised social struggle, but as a complementary element. AKEL urges its members and friends of the Party to be active in non-governmental organisations and to transfer in these progressive social and political conceptions of the Left.

17. The ideological struggle, as a part and expression of the wider class struggle, continues unabated. The prevailing bourgeois ideology today consciously cultivates anti-communism, the discrediting of Marxism-Leninism, de-ideologicalisation, apathy and aversion to the organised struggle. Anti-communism is intensifying nowadays in various countries. The most unacceptable form of anti-communism is the attempt to equate communism with fascism. In fact, in some European countries legislation is being promoted that criminalises the actions and symbols of the communist Left. We strongly condemn these actions as AKEL.

18. The atmosphere of the dominant bourgeois ideology inevitably affects the lines of the Popular Movement. This is due to negative phenomena such as relaxation, unsatisfactory response to the tasks of party life, reduced volunteerism, indifference and factorism. Phenomena with which we cannot compromise on the

basis of changing circumstances, but we must constantly fight them. The intensification of our ideological work is a key factor in successfully combating these negative phenomena.

19. The basic principles of our Marxist-Leninist worldview, our conception of socialism, internationalism, contemporary concerns in the world progressive movement must be constantly at the centre of our ideological work. It must also be at the centre of our ideological work, the defence of the organisational principles that govern the operation of our Party. At the same time, the militant defence of our ideology, the unveiling impasses, contradictions and delusions of bourgeois ideology, the documented revelation of the anti-popular character of neoliberalism, the struggle against nationalism-chauvinism, the struggle against subculture and of cosmopolitanism, have in the special conditions of Cyprus, not only ideological but also enormous political significance.

20. The 21st Congress finds that there are weaknesses in our ideological work both inwardly, towards the Party itself, and outwardly, towards society. Therefore we must intensify the work of the Party in the ideological-educational field. The implementation of the decision to establish a Party School and the encouragement of the establishment of a Research Institute should be found at the heart of the Party's effort to upgrade our ideology work.

21. The critical moments that Cyprus is going through require the greatest possible political vigilance so that with our contribution to ensure the smooth democratic functioning of political life. Therefore, the Congress calls on all the members of the Party individually, but also the Party as a whole to upgrade our political vigilance.

22. Our Party's International Relations is a very important area especially in the current political situation in the world and in Cyprus. Based on our internationalist ideology, through international relations we aim at expressing genuine and practical solidarity with peoples suffering from imperialist wars, interventions or internal violence and violation of rights and freedoms. Undoubtedly, drawing support and solidarity in the struggle of our people for liberation from occupation has always been a priority in the development of our international relations. The support and solidarity we receive as the Cypriot people from the parties and the forces of the Left, which are consistently and firmly on the side of AKEL and our people in general, was and is

valuable. The 21st Congress calls for more greater development of the Party's international relations, further consolidation of good traditional relations that we maintain with a number of parties and their expansion of our relations in areas of particular interest such as Latin America.

The Mass Movement, Areas of Social Life

1. The preamble to this Decision states that the 21st Congress adopted the "Positions of the C.E. to the Congress". The assessments, positions, policies, objectives, the actions and measures provided in the "Positions of the C.C." will guide her AKEL action in the next five years in all aspects of the life Cypriot society.

- AKEL as the Workers' Party of Cyprus will continue to focus on its policy and action the defence of interests, achievements and rights of workers and their trade union movement led by PEO for the expansion of these gains.

- AKEL will continue to support the rural world, the development rural economy, the progress of the countryside and the assurance of agricultural income. It will always be a helper in the efforts of the rural movement at the forefront of which is EKA.

- Reaffirming to a large extent their community of interests workers and the middle classes AKEL will continue to support the middle classes and to defend their interests against the pressure they feel from big capital.

- The Left identifies with the visions of the new generation for a world of justice where the right to education and employment will be guaranteed. For a society that will secure the future of young people and make the most of their offer, without tearing their dreams and dignity. AKEL will continue to be a companion and competitor to struggles of the youth and the organised youth movement led by EDON.

- The Left has contributed as much as any other force to the cause of emancipation of the woman. The labour and women's movement from object are in the same trench. AKEL will continue to support the struggles of the women's movement led by POGO in the fight for ensuring equality and the rights of women not only in level of declarations but also in practice.

- AKEL is next to the refugee world and fights for justice from the first moment of the exile. AKEL will continue to support the

refugee movement and especially the WFP in the struggle for a solution refugee problems and securing their right to return to their homes and property.

Enclaved, relatives of missing persons and victims of the Cypriot tragedy will continue to feel AKEL's practical interest in solving their problems. Especially on the issue of missing persons AKEL will ask at every opportunity to verify the fate of each one.

AKEL welcomes the 100 years of cooperative in Cyprus. As in the past and today the Cooperative Movement for which thousands of AKEL executives worked and continue to work, will have the full support of the Party against any attempt to shrink it.

The ideals of the Peace and Solidarity Movement are completely identical with the ideals of the Left. Hence, AKEL and the Peace and Solidarity Movement, in the modern world of the imperialist "new order", they will continue to walk the same path of struggle.

AKEL's close relationship with the Local Government goes deep back in time to the era of colonialism. In the current conditions, AKEL will play a leading role in the implementation of its progressive reform of the institution of Local Government promoted by the Christofias government.

As far as Education is concerned, AKEL has been involved from the beginning in the great undertaking of educational reform and we will continue to fight together with the Christofias government to complete the reform and the achievement of the goal of a democratic, modern and people-centred school.

The Left has always been and still is a player and a creator of culture. This is evidenced by the history of the Left in Cyprus. AKEL will continue to fight with the people of culture for upgrading the cultural infrastructure and cultural level of our people at a level worthy of Cyprus and its important contribution that our country has in the world cultural heritage.

The health sector, despite its progress, is still facing serious problems. The quality of life of citizens depends to a large extent on quality of health services provided by a state. The AKEL will continue to fight in the Health sector led by axiom that Health is a social good, which a society has an obligation to offer to its citizens.

The participation of AKEL in the war will continue to be decisive against the scourge of addictive substances. Approaching

the issue globally we focus our attention and efforts on the need tackling the social problems that lead to the hell of drugs.

In the field of Sports, AKEL will continue to give special weight to the confrontation of the negative phenomena in this field and in development of mass sports as a precondition for a healthy society.

The destruction of the environment mortgages the very future of humanity. In the fight for defence of the environment and the cultivation of environmental awareness, AKEL will continue to be at the forefront, indicating that the main cause of environmental destruction to be addressed is the reckless pursuit of profit.

Expatriate Cypriots are a great asset for Cyprus. Recognising this truth as AKEL, we believe that the Cypriot state has a duty to constantly care and warmly embrace our expatriates, but also our repatriated compatriots. In AKEL expatriates and repatriates will always find a consistent competitor. The AKEL will contribute to the formulation of an integrated repatriation policy.

For the first time during Christofias' rule, an integrated immigration policy is being formed. AKEL as an internationalist party will always stand up against racism and xenophobia and will propose class solidarity defending the dignity and rights of immigrants. We will insist on the basic principle of employing immigrants under the same conditions as Cypriot workers. This in no way conflict with the interests of Cypriot workers.

THE ANNOUNCEMENTS OF THE CONGRESS¹¹⁰

TO THE CYPRIOT PEOPLE

Men and Female Compatriots,

The 21st Congress of AKEL, having in mind the decisive point in which the struggle of our people is, as well as the opportunities and challenges that are created by the presence at the helm of the state of President Christofias:

1. Calls on the Cypriot people to for a democratic rally for the realisation of the goal of liberation from occupation, for the liberation and reunification of our homeland and of our people, as well as for the democratic modernisation and continuous progress of our country.

It supports with all its might the President of the Republic D. Christofias in his effort to realise the vision of a just solution and a just society.

Expresses the firm commitment of the Party to a solution of a bi-zonal, bi-communal federation that will ensure the unity of the state, institutions and economy, will respect human rights and freedoms, will free Cyprus from the presence of troops and settlement and guardianship guarantees and will be compatible with International and European Law and with the relevant UN resolutions on Cyprus.

2. It declares that AKEL will continue to work with perseverance and seriousness, for the widest possible unity of the people and for a strong internal front which is a prerequisite for the effective conduct of our struggle. It calls on the political forces to put aside partisan plans and expediencies and to stand by the President of the Republic in their battle of negotiations to achieve the goals of the Cypriot people.

3. Welcomes the important work that has been done in the field of internal governance and in particular in addressing and

¹¹⁰ *ibid.*

resolving chronic important issues that have been of great concern to Cypriot society, such as its sustainability of the Social Security Fund, water, transport, housing and refugee care, agricultural debts, low pensions, immigration policy, the Akamas protection plan, educational reform, the reform of the Charter of Local Government etc.

4 Expresses its satisfaction with the social policy of the government, which has not been affected by the effects of the global economic crisis. The philosophy of dealing with the consequences of the crisis by the government continues to be socially sensitive, fair and balanced.

It reaffirms the Party's commitment to the Cypriot people that it will work together with President Christofias to fully implement its governance programme.

5. It declares that with consistency and determination, based on its rich militant-democratic historical path, AKEL will continue to responds to the concerns, expectations and interests of our workers and our people, remaining at the forefront of the struggle for a democratic, modern and just society in a peaceful reunited and prosperous homeland for all her children, Greek Cypriot, Turkish Cypriot, Armenians, Maronites and Latins. AKEL is and will remain a strong and unshakable force for the workers, a force for our people, a force for Cyprus.

THE DECLARATION OF THE 21ST CONGRESS OF AKEL ON THE FIFTY YEARS OF THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE REPUBLIC OF CYPRUS

The 21st Congress of AKEL on the occasion of the celebrations for the fiftieth anniversary of the proclamation of the Republic of Cyprus addresses warm congratulations and patriotic greetings to the entire Cypriot people, Greek Cypriots, Turkish Cypriots, Maronites, Armenians and Latins. It expresses its appreciation and respect to all those who fought and many of them sacrificed for the freedom of Cyprus, for the defence of independence, for democracy, for the social progress and prosperity of our people. Highly honoured memory of the Archbishop Makarios, the first President of the Republic of Cyprus who spent his life in the fight for the freedom of Cyprus and the defence of its independence. In the struggles for freedom, independence, democracy and social progress, the left had its own decisive contribution.

Independence was won as a result of hard and long struggles of all our people against colonialism. The lack of unity on the internal front and serious tactical mistakes allowed the enemies of Cyprus to cultivate the divide and rule and finally to enforce the Zurich-London agreements. Independence even with the heavy legacy of Zurich-London agreements, was a great achievement. Cyprus after centuries of slavery was integrated into the international community of free countries and opened up prospects for economic, social and cultural development of our people. The independence, even if committed, would have to be used to build a better future. Unfortunately, expectations were dashed and very quickly our people experienced new adventures and trials, which culminated with twin crime of the fascist coup of the junta and EOKA'B and of the Turkish invasion and occupation.

Cyprus was sacrificed on the altar of geostrategic interests of imperialism and Turkish expansion. Bitter historical experience teaches that enemies of Cyprus implemented their plans taking advantage of the treacherous action of the far-right as well as mistakes and omissions in the management of the Cyprus problem.

The fact that some even after independence still have in their minds union or division, nationalism-chauvinism, the pursuit of the ideal and not of the possible, the capture of national feelings and the so-called patriotic slogans, facilitated the enemies of Cyprus in promoting their own goals.

The reference to historical anniversaries is important when accompanied by reflection and learning the right lessons. Unfortunately, the reality in Cyprus half a century after independence shows that there are many who remain captive of empty slogans. They chase ideals and ideal solutions without taking into account what has happened in the last 50 years. They play with the patriotic feeling of our people and take advantage of the injustice that justifiably feel.

Evaluating the fifty years of independence as AKEL, we note with great satisfaction that despite adversities and difficulties, the state and our people have made leaps and bounds in terms of economic, social and cultural development. AKEL and the wider Popular Movement have put their stamp on in this area. The Christofias government continuing the upward trend is doing a very important job in all areas, despite the difficulties brought about by the global economic crisis.

Fifty years after independence and 36 years after the coup, and invasion, the Cypriot people continue the struggle for liberation from the occupation and reunification of our country. The President of the Republic, Dimitris Christofias is leading this struggle. President Christofias is working hard to reverse the effects of invasion and occupation and pave the way for a solution. It follows the policy for which it committed itself to the Cypriot people. A policy that resolutely defends the basic principles of a solution to the Cyprus problem, while taking initiatives that are convincing for our will for a solution, and promoting rational, consensual, realistic proposals that serve the agreed framework for a bi-zonal, bi-communal federation and are in line with the timeless positions of the Greek Cypriot side.

Our goal remains the lifting of the occupation, the end of the settlement and division, the restoration of human rights and basic rights freedoms of our people. These can be achieved through a bi-zonal, bi-communal federation solution, on the basis of UN resolutions, high-level agreements, international and European law. Any abandonment of the goal of a federation solution will lead to the final division and the AKEL will never accept division.

The given political will of the Greek Cypriot side and President Christofias is not enough to pave the way for a solution. There must be a similar will on the other hand, and especially in Ankara. Turkey's must change radically, which must finally be aligned with United Nations resolutions and accept that Cyprus will be a real independent democracy, a common home of Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots, without foreign presence and dependencies. The international community, the European Union and those abroad who declare that they want the Cyprus issue to be resolved, they must turn their influence and pressure on Ankara.

On the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the Republic of Cyprus, AKEL greets our main compatriots, emphasising that the Republic of Cyprus is a common achievement of all Cypriots and all Cypriots have a duty and obligation to fight for the solution of the Cyprus problem and for future generations to live in a united, secure, democratic and prosperous Cyprus.

The solution of the Cyprus problem will not only prevent the dangers that lurk for our country but will open new horizons for progress and prosperity.

A united, secure, prosperous and democratic Cyprus is not an elusive utopia, but an achievable goal that we must make a reality with our common struggle, all Cypriots.

Long live the 50th anniversary of the Republic of Cyprus.

THE RESOLUTIONS AND MESSAGES OF THE CONGRESS¹¹¹

THE MESSAGE OF THE 21ST CONGRESS OF AKEL TO THE TURKISH CYPRIOT COMMUNITY

NOVEMBER 2010, NICOSIA

Dear compatriots, Turkish Cypriot compatriots

The 21st Congress of AKEL that met in Nicosia between 25 and 28 November 2010 addresses to all of you a warm, militant greeting of friendship, cooperation and a common struggle for solution and reunification of the country, the people, the institutions and economy.

1. The common class and political struggles of Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots gave brilliant examples of solidarity and expression of genuine patriotism and love for our common homeland. The Left remains firmly committed to the policy of rapprochement and the joint struggle of the Greek Cypriots and the Turkish Cypriots for a peaceful, secure and hopeful future for all Cypriots.

2. The Cyprus issue has entered a new phase since September 2008. The election of Dimitris Christofias as President of the Republic gave impetus in the course of the Cyprus problem and revived the prospects for its resolution by taking substantive initiatives.

3. It is the duty of all, Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots, to intensify the struggle to find a fair, sustainable and functional solution based on UN resolutions and decisions on Cyprus, the 1977 and 1979 High Level Agreements, International and European Law.

4. The basis of a solution accepted by both sides is the establishment of a bi-zonal, bi-communal federation with political

¹¹¹ *ibid.*

equality as defined in the relevant UN resolutions on Cyprus for a single state sovereignty, international personality and citizenship.

5. We seek a mutually acceptable compromise, which will ensure promising future for our people and our country. A future of development, prosperity, peaceful and creative coexistence and perspective, which will primarily serve the interests of the Cypriot people and not of any foreigners.

6. The emergence in the leadership of the Turkish Cypriot community of forces that historically identified with the harshest and most uncompromising approaches, no doubt negatively affects the course of the negotiations.

7. The solution to the Cyprus problem as soon as possible, having in mind the continuous flow of settlers on our island, now also concerns the preservation of existence and continuation of the identity of the Turkish Cypriot community in Cyprus.

8. For AKEL, rapprochement is primarily a political process of strategic importance in our struggle. The historical moments that our Cyprus is going through today, impose on the progressive and peaceful forces of the two communities to work together even more vigorously to achieve the vision of reunification and redemption of our people and country.

9. The progressive forces must:

- Remain consistent and firmly committed to the basic principles of a solution to the Cyprus problem as agreed and described above.

- To intensify the struggle against nationalism and chauvinism that historically have been exploited by external factors and have caused so much suffering in our country and people.

- To make use of the time created by the resumption of talks and further coordinate their action towards the solution of the Cyprus problem. To strengthen the goodwill measures, the cooperation between the two communities, thus helping to create of the necessary dynamics within the Cypriot people to strengthen and support the efforts to resolve the Cyprus problem.

- To play an even more decisive role in the development of a common struggle and joint action with initiatives based mainly on the people's movement and in mobilisations of organisations and movements that directly express the popular base.

As AKEL we will continue the struggle and the resistance to any anti-Cypriot schemes that want our people and our country to be divided. We will raise even higher the banners of friendship,

cooperation and common struggle for a free, united, common homeland, mother of all her children.

THE RESOLUTION OF THE 21ST CONGRESS OF AKEL TO THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE UN, BAN KI-MOON

The 21st Congress of AKEL that met in Nicosia on 25-28 November 2010, emphasising the importance of your good services in your efforts to achieve a solution to the Cyprus problem, submits to you the following:

1. Denounces the Turkish invasion and the ongoing for more than 36 years of illegal occupation of 37% of the territory of the Republic of Cyprus. Calls for the immediate implementation of the UN Security Council resolutions on Cyprus, the lifting of the occupation and the end of the settlement and the unacceptable status quo, which constitutes a violation of the territorial integrity and independence of the Republic of Cyprus, the withdrawal of all of Turkish troops, as well as the restoration of fundamental human rights of the entire Cypriot people.

2. Stresses that the Cyprus issue is an international problem of invasion and occupation and foreign intervention, which can and should be resolved peacefully within the framework of the United Nations.

3. Aims at a comprehensive settlement of the Cyprus issue on the basis of resolutions and decisions of the United Nations, 1977 and 1979 High Level Agreements, and international and European law. That will provide for a solution of a bi-communal, bi-zonal federation, with political equality as defined by the relevant UN resolutions. For a state, with a sovereignty, an international personality and a citizenship, which will reunite the country, the people, the institutions and the economy.

4. Emphasises that the election of Dimitris Christofias as President of the Republic, is characterised by the continuous undertaking of initiatives which led to the resumption of direct negotiations between the leaders of the two communities in Cyprus, with the sole aim of finding a sustainable, functional and just solution to the Cyprus problem.

5. Welcomes the framework for direct negotiations carried out under the auspices of the United Nations, both in substance and in process, as agreed by the leaders of the two communities and the International Organisation.

6. Indicates the correctness and consequently the dedication that must be demonstrated by all parties involved in the agreed framework. It categorically rejects any attempt to impose suffocating schedules or arbitration. The fact that the process is Cypriot-owned does not in any way imply the exclusion of Turkey from its responsibility as an occupying power.

7. Notes that Turkey, while consuming communicative statements and moves, in essence its positions not only do not strengthen the effort for solution but continue to rely on the philosophy of the two states and the upgrading of the illegal entity in the occupied Cyprus.

A series of positions submitted by the Turkish side at the negotiating table, does not correspond to the agreed negotiating framework for a solution of a bi-zonal, bi-communal federation.

The Congress denounces this attitude and condemns it because it is an obstacle in making progress towards solving the problem.

8. Stresses that by showing unwavering commitment to the goal of reaching a solution as soon as possible, the President of the Republic of Cyprus has submit the Triptych of proposals, which is considered by the Congress realistic and balanced. It believes that the adoption of the Triptych could give impetus to the negotiations, noting at the same time its frustration with the non-creative but very negative attitude of the Turkish side.

9. The Congress reaffirms the position that achieving a solution to the Cyprus problem will pave the way for building new prospects for prosperity and development for our entire people, Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots, in a common, reunited federal homeland which will be a bridge of peace in a wider region of the Eastern Mediterranean.

10. Welcomes the work being carried out under the auspices of the UN on the humanitarian issue of determining the fate of the missing persons. It welcomes the results so far and calls for even greater speeding up of the process. Stresses the need for Turkey to provide all information required and fully adapt to the outcome of the 4th transnational appeal.

THE RESOLUTION OF THE 21ST CONGRESS OF AKEL ON THE CLIMATE CHANGE

The 21st Congress of AKEL meets at a time when the consequences of climate change threaten the survival of the planet and seriously concern the world community. The environmental and ecological crisis is nothing but the direct effects of the dominant global model of development, the capitalist system. While, on the one hand, it produces and accumulates enormous wealth, on the other hand it condemns half the world's population to poverty and misery. Dealing with this crisis, which is vital to the survival of the planet, is an integral part of the struggle for a fairer, more peaceful world.

Taking into account the above and in view of the realisation of the 16th United Nations Conference on Climate Change, from November 29 to December 9, 2010, the 21st Congress of AKEL:

1. Records the failure of the 15th United Nations Congress on Climate Change, held in December 2009 in Copenhagen, and the inability of world leaders, particularly those of developed countries, to create the prospect of effectively addressing the threat of climate change.

2. Emphasises the enormous importance for humanity of the 16th Conference to be held in Cancun, Mexico. The aim of the Conference can be no other than a substantial and binding agreement on a drastic reduction of pollutants, which is the basic precondition for holding back further global warming.

3. Supports and demands the need for immediate, effective and effective economic and technological assistance from rich northern countries to their poorer countries, to deal with the catastrophic consequences of climate change and the environmental crisis.

4. it categorically rejects policies aimed at resolving the problem with market mechanisms such as the Pollutant Trading System, which by its implementation not only did not bring progress but created an alibi for large polluters to continue pollution without reductions.

5. Welcomes the positions adopted by the World Conference of the Peoples in Bolivia on Climate Change. Among other things, the Conference of the People's demands, the Emission Reduction by

50% by 2017, the recognition of the rights of the Earth, the full respect of human rights, the rights of indigenous and climate refugees, the establishment of the International Court of Climate Justice and the Termination of the Pollutant Trading System.

6. Emphasises the particularly negative predictions of the global scientific community, for an increase in temperature beyond the limits accepted by the ecosystem, due to the continuous increase of pollutant emissions and stresses the need for drastic measures and the preparation of strategic plans to deal with the conditions of poverty that will prevail for half of the population of the planet.

7. Expresses its deep concern at the scientific finding that Cyprus included among the regions that will further face the serious effects of climate change, particularly on desertification and water issues. We must take seriously the difficult situation we are in and make timely preparations to adapt to climate changes in all areas.

8. Supports the intensification of policies that seek cuts and the development of new tactics in the way in which the Ministries and Departments of the State cooperate and promote the formulation of policies for adaptation to climate change. Better coordination and convergences in approaches and priorities are needed.

9. Emphasises that the goal of Sustainable Development can be achieved only if the environmental parameters and the interests of our people are set above the interests of capital and the effort to maximize their profits at all costs.

10. The 21st Congress declares that AKEL, the leading force of workers and our people, has the will to work effectively for the protection of the natural environment, sustainable development and the creation of the necessary culture for reconciliation with nature.

**THE BOOK “POLITICAL DECISIONS AND RESOLUTIONS
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