



OBJECTIVES OF AYENDA MOVEMENT OF AFGHANISTAN (A.M.A)

I- PROLOGUE

1- A glimpse at the radical left history of Afghanistan

The establishment of the first constitutional monarchist organization took place exactly one century ago. This organization set up its main objectives: to put an end to absolute monarchy rule and to strive for the independence of Afghanistan. However, the very first organized movement by Afghan intellectuals was brutally suppressed by ruling tyrants.

Ever since those tragic events, Afghan progressive intellectuals always pinpointed the just demands of the Afghan people who were kept in poverty, illiteracy and the medieval social relations. In order to fulfill their demands they established reformist organizations aimed to take the Afghan society out of the dark ages of history. The organizations such as the Second Constitutional Monarchist Movement, Jawanan Afghan, Hezbe Azadikhwahan, Wiesh Zalmian, Jamiaat Watan, Niday Khalq, Etheadia Mohaselan were testaments to the just demands of the Afghan people in their struggle for social justice.

For the first time four decades ago, the radical leftist movements, such as the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) and the New Democratic Movement, analyzed the fundamental causes of the country's backwardness. They did so by using methods of scientific sociology. Those revolutionaries following the official ideology of Soviet and Chinese trends revealed the essential contradictions of the Afghan society and chose the path of revolutionary changes as their historic mission. Overall the PDPA outlined a program of the society for the revolutionary transformation in accordance with the Third International and assessments by the World communist and worker parties. The objective was to achieve a National Democratic Revolution through the creation of a broad based united front from the revolutionary and nationalist forces and lead the country to a non- capitalist path of development.

However, the formation of such a united front in Afghanistan never happened. It was only during the reign of President Daoud that the possibility for creating such a front appeared. Despite this, the proposed conditions were not acceptable by the sides involved.

At the time when the PDPA was established, the country was in the clutches of feudal and pre-feudal forms of production within its Afghan specific type. Socio-economic relations derived from such forms of production in combination with Middle Age ideology ranked Afghanistan among the least developed countries of the world.

The state and private industry was not in such a level of development to form a viable worker class. The terms of worker class, national bourgeoisies, and comprador bourgeoisies all had been created by Soviet historians on Afghanistan and the assumptions existed within the PDPA leadership. Hence, they were trying to assume this myth as reality to justify the theory of a non-capitalist path of development. In fact, the relationship between the theory and reality was distorted. The theory was not used to analyze facts and reality. On the contrary, the reality was subverted in order to create room for implementing the theory.

Since the first Congress, held on January 1, 1965 until April 27, 1978, the PDPA had emerged as a vanguard of change in various spheres of the social life of Afghanistan. The PDPA noble achievements during that period were the following:

- Revealing poverty, injustice, and awful backwardness of Afghan society
- Exposing the feudal form relations and brutal exploitation of peasants and toilers
- Promoting women issues and its proper role in social life
- Waging the struggle for democracy and freedom of speech
- Promoting the slogan of equality among the different peoples and nationalities living in Afghanistan; and
- Proposing the methods of solutions to the national issue

The lack of any logical class ties to the Party and its unique inner composition were the key factors in understanding the innate shortcomings of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan. These weaknesses were: strict centralism, lack of any democracy in the Party, factionalism, sectarianism, and linguistic association. Also, lack of attention to self scientific research in the socio-economic and political spheres, and relying on one-sided research material from outside sources (mainly from the Soviet Union or Toda Party of Iran), were some of shortcomings of the Party.

The leftist movement proposed the emancipation of women from the shackles of brutal feudal relations and male chauvinism as one of the core issues within the country. Of the many organizations representing Afghan women, the Woman's Democratic Organization of Afghanistan played a valuable role in the various fields of political, social, and cultural life of the Afghan society.

After gaining political power, the PDPA dissolved within the government system. As a result of such dissolution, the PDPA became an unknown structure in the history of Afghanistan. (The collapse of this structure in fact put an end to the existence of the PDPA as a political party.)

The structure of power in the country before the PDPA gained political power consisted of two main elements:

- 1) Rural power (that was at the hands of feudal lords, tribe leaders, and the traditional dominant orthodox ideology);
- 2) Central power (that was at the hands of aristocrats and its bureaucracy).

At the time when the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan gained the political power, rural power lost its links to the center. The imperialist and the regional conservative forces, which were observing the situation for over a decade, saw the April Revolution as a catastrophic event for their strategic interests. They started to turn the rural power as a coordinated military, political-religious organization which opposed the central government. Though, the central power at this time was considered a proxy of the Soviet Union. The reactionary military resistance, under the name of Jihad, had demagogue slogans that to defend faith, the motherland, and Afghan traditions. Jihad was organized from the foreign countries which became the gathering point for a majority of the Afghan reactionary forces and some elements of the New Democracy group. It was used as a conduit for direct interferences by region and Arab reactionary forces, as well as world imperialism.

With the arrival of the Soviet military forces, the internal contradictions achieved wider global implications. The devastating war and interference imposed on our people by the Super Powers and the deviations and grave mistakes by the Party-State leadership wiped out grounds for any progressive programs. The Party-State with the consent of the majority of its leaders became a proxy for the implementation of the policies of the Soviet Union and lost its national and independent characteristics. About four years, the Party-State independently waged a struggle against Jihadists, imperialists and regional reactionary forces (particularly Pakistan, Iran and Arab countries). However, the collusion of party leaders and cadres who joined the Jihadists, in combination with destructive activities by enemy agents, brought down the PDPA lead government.

Then, the first period of Mujahedeen anarchist rule began. As a result, the window of opportunity which could serve to transform the backward socio-economic relations in favor of toiling people and social progress was lost for a long time to come.

The advent of the Jihadist rule, followed by the Taliban Oligarchy, was considered to be a dark time for the people of Afghanistan and the Afghan leftist movement.

2- Renaissance of the Afghan leftist movement

The Ayenda Movement of Afghanistan (AMA) was founded on April 15, 2000 in a period when the democratic movement of the country had suffered bitter defeats. In the world arena the "State Socialist bloc" and the workers international movement had lost their positions. The country was languishing under the shackles of the Taliban Oligarchy.

It was under those circumstances that the Ayenda Movement took upon itself to promote the main democratic objectives and raised voices to rejuvenate the struggle for justice and democracy. AMA invited all Afghan leftist and democratic activists to join a broad based political, social and cultural organization, in order to resist against the brutality of fundamentalist reactionary forces.

By raising the famous slogan of “re-launching the struggle for justice and democracy”, a decade long silence of the Afghan leftist movement ended. Also, the AMA announced the emergence of new progressive forces. This newly emerged movement courageously analyzed the left movement past experience, identifying the achievements and the shortcomings.

We shall not look into the future as an idealistic goal which could begin with the “dawn of a revolution” that could create a classless society without of the exploitation of man by man. We should accept this phenomenon as “a reality in the process of being achieved” and a project based on current conditions of the society. The Ayenda movement of Afghanistan has promoted the creation of a society based on social justice as a historic possibility. Such objectives can only be achieved by the conscientious participation of vast segments and the toiling classes of the society in the political, social, and economic processes.

AMA strongly criticizes clinging dogmatically to any ideologies. It considers the “renewal of the thoughts” as a prelude to the political and organizational renewal of the democratic movement.

During the seven years of its theoretical struggles, particularly with the publication of “Ayenda” and establishing an internet site, the AMA managed to create a new atmosphere for the theoretical, political and cultural activities amongst the leftist and progressive movements of the country. In its seven years of constant struggle, the AMA proved its ability to revitalize the revolutionary social and political movements of the country. Now, it identifies its obligations in accordance with the current realities of Afghanistan and in the international arena.

Inside the Democratic and progressive Afghan movement, whole *new divisions are being drawn*. The AMA is exerting every effort to support the leftist movement in the country, building the capacity of its leadership in the society, and organizing the ranks and files of those who are struggling for democracy and justice.

The realization of a democratic alternative is the only way out of the current tragic situation. *The usurping* of the political scene by the medieval reactionary and the modern reactionary forces (both in power and opposition) has slowed down the achievement of this democratic alternative. It is on the basis of this reality that the AMA makes every effort at the present political situation to create the subjective conditions for establishing a large organization, belonging to the toiling segments of society. AMA will participate, with a great scesne of responsibility, in any movement aimed at supporting the interest of toiling people, strengthening the leftist democratic forces, realization of a true democracy, maintaining and strengthening independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity of the country.

AMA considers the appalling living conditions of millions of poverty stricken Afghans as an insult to humanity and human dignity, and shall struggle politically with all valor to put an end to the current situation.

The aims and duties enshrined in this program of action brings about a new horizon for all the progressive and *consciousness* elements of Afghanistan in order to be able to organize their struggle in a revolutionary *organization* and pave the way for expansion of the Movement. It is the duty of all the true champions of the struggle for the ideals of the toiling people of Afghanistan.

II. THE CURRENT SITUATION

1- Situation in the country

1 Political and Security Conditions

Presently, the country is faced with an acute and wide-ranging crisis. The political and security conditions of the country are worsening day after day. War and insecurity is gaining ever wider dimensions in large areas of the country particularly in the east and south. Due to the continuous foreign interference particularly from Pakistan, incompetence of the Government and lack of a transparency in the policies of the foreign forces deployed in the country, Taliban are gaining more military and propaganda grounds.

Inside the government competition among different segments for accumulating wealth and gaining more political power is getting fiercer. The brutal and indiscriminate military offences committed by the foreign forces have caused deep resentment among the people and further exacerbates the crises and instability in the country. The inability and weakness of the central government created the opportunity for the remnants of the Jihadi warlords to establish their unchallenged rule in rural areas.

The last three decades of war and destruction has drastically altered the socio-economic structure of the country. Along with the existence of traditional reactionary forces in the country's political and economical arena a new dissimilar strata emerged such as the commanders of Jihadi organizations, drug mafia, the NGOs and their associated bureaucrats... This new group in addition of possessing the majority of country's wealth they are in total control of the nation's power structure. The government system has turn into a tool of suppression and harassment of the people. It protects and safeguards the jihadi organization, commanders, interests of the rich and powerful, drug mafia, NGOs and reactionary leaders. The government departments are abstracting the reconstruction program and preventing the development of productive forces, as well as the realization of freedom and democracy for the people.

Armed militias still have an active presence in the country and are committing unbearable atrocities against the people. Large quantities of weapons and large amount of ammunitions are still in possession of the former armed groups.

Mine fields have not been cleared, thus resulting in injury and death and restrict the economic activities.

Despite large amount of money allocated to build the police and the army forces, they are not in a position to meet the country's military and security needs. Ranks and files of the armed forces of the country are made of the former Jihadi organizations. They are more loyal to their former organizations, rather than to the security and military interests of the country. In most cases instead of providing security, they have been the source of insecurity and disruptions. Despites hundreds of millions of dollars of assistance, police and the army are poorly equipped, lack proper training and short of personnel. Discriminatory approach often exits in appointing of officers. At the present time destiny of thousands of patriot and highly experienced members of the former armed forces are in limbo.

The presence of the foreign forces, have weakened the national sovereignty of the country. Foreign interference and separatist tendencies of certain groups threatens the territorial integrity

of the country.

In the absence of a democratic alternative, the political situation is totally controlled by the reactionary forces who have large quantity of lethal weapon in their possession , enormous financial resources primarily revenue from the narcotics operations and enjoy the foreign support.

The leftist democratic movement due to a number of reasons in particular lack of theoretical and organizational cohesion is not present in the current political scene in the country. Therefore they have no influence in any developments taken place in the country.

The crises are widening day after day. In the light of the current political situation in the country there is no prospect for an end to the war, establishing durable peace. Furthermore the present dominant structure of social relations is not capable to lead the country towards a viable economic growth and improving the standard of living of masses.

2 Economic Situations

The majority of the people of the country are languishing in poverty. The gap between a small clique of super rich and the poor majority of the population is widening ever greater. More than eighty per cent of the population are under the poverty line and live on income of less than one dollar a day. Three fourth populations of rural areas live in absolute and shameful poverty.

The economic growth rate of the country is at very low level. Presently a large number of work forces have become victim of war and insecurity and have been thrown out of production process. The vast part of national wealth and resources have been destroyed and looted. The current dominant structure in the country is not capable to move the country to a high level of economic growth that satisfy the needs of the country ,enable to put an end to the age old backwardness and improve of the living conditions of the toiling people.

In accordance with the reports of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), national per capita income in the country in 2006 was \$355. This figure is not a real indicator of the national income of the country. Even though, if we accept this figure as a base, Afghanistan would rank among the most backward countries of the world.

There is no comprehensive and coordinated plan to reconstruct the enormous devastation of the country caused by three decades of wars. Only some measures are taking place that are mostly for show.

Billions of dollars were allocated for assistance of Afghanistan without demonstrating any tangible effects on the lives of the toiling masses. They have been misused. The NGOs that mainly turned into ideological tools for implementation of free market economy, have looted majority part of funds for Afghanistan.

Afghanistan is heading towards unregulated free market economy. The negative outcome of such trend is obvious on national economy and life of millions of people in the country.

Tail gating of imported models of “free market economy” has already resulted in falling down national production and turned Afghanistan into a consumer village.

Presently a number of factories are operating in Kabul and other cities in the country. The government is following the economic policy advised by international financial and commercial institutions. This policy has forced a number of factories to shut down their operations and others are close to collapse.

There are clear signs of bankruptcy in newly built young industry of the country. Scores of

industrial workers are losing their jobs day after day.

The government unbalanced and one sided economic policy in favor of the Bourgeois comprador has facilitated expansion of activities by the above strata. The import of goods similar to national products has been increased drastically. Thus the profitability of Afghan domestic industry has been placed in doubt and has limited the possible investment of capital in this area.

The monetary policy of the Government eluded the capital from the country. Its sluggish accumulation of capital hurt the investments. The administration is not capable to formulate a sound monetary policy aimed at strengthening the foundation of national economy and development of the country.

The country's economy has turned into a consumer economy. The balance of foreign trade is a reflection of a devastating economic picture. The bulk of the investments are made in the luxury and unnecessary sector such as construction of needless buildings. Thus the people are deprived of some basic needs. The consumer price index of essential commodities in domestic markets has risen by 50% in some cases up to 100% in the last three years. Corruption became common practice in government organs and rapidly is spreading to non-governmental organizations (NGOs). This disease became a major obstacle to the economic development and reconstruction of the country. Bribery and embezzlement have become a way of life within the administration. The Afghan masses carry the burden of this negative phenomenon on their shoulders.

Mineral resources of the country are being exploited by local war lords and influential individuals. At present the government does not have any control over the most of economic resources of the country.

Unemployment is very high in the country. More than fifty per cent of work forces are unemployed. A large number of these people are going to the neighboring countries to find work. The situation in agricultural sector is worst than any other time. Out 9.7 million hectares of arable lands only 4 million hectares are being cultivated due to insecurity, lack of access to water and agriculture services.

This sector has been severely affected by three decades of war. The irrigation infrastructure, forests and pastures have been destroyed. The productive capacity of agricultural sector has dwindled considerably. The need for importing food stuff is increasing day after day. The ability of the State to provide necessary services has weakened drastically.

Traditional land ownership has been altered. Influential elements, commanders of Jihadi organizations, and warlords are continuing to grab state and public land. Norco-economy has acquired unprecedented dimensions. Norco-economy is spreading in every sphere of socio-economic life of the country.

3- Social Situation

The political, security and economic conditions have badly affected the whole social situations of the country. The highest rate of mortality has placed Afghanistan among the worst in the world. Everyday thousands of Afghan children are losing their lives because of different diseases. The condition of medical services is shocking. Since the government quit providing free medical service, the system has been transferred to private sector. Due to shortage of health care professionals, hospitals and medicines the rate of mortality among the poor and low income families is being increased.

The education condition in spite of certain steps has been taken place in recent years, is deplorable. More than 2 millions students are studying in tents and open areas. Monthly income

of a teacher is less than 38 US dollars.

One of the fundamental problems of the country is lack of enough houses and high prices of them. Right now tens of thousands of poor families are living in tents, destroyed homes and open areas. The government refuses to solve the problem of houses. The powerful and corrupt elements by extortion of state owned lands are building magnificent palaces.

Women are deprived from their legitimate rights and freedoms. The government hasn't done enough to formulate laws and to take practical steps for improvement of women's life in order to insure their legal status in the society such as equality with men, elimination of forced marriage, right to choose profession, freedom of travel, freedom of choice of dressing, right to select their husbands, etc.

Children are the most deprived category of the population. Absolute majority of children have no access to essential rights such as health care, education, etc. Hundreds of thousands of children are involved in hard labor to help their poor families. Child sexual abuse, drug addiction and recruitment of them by narcotic gangs became regular practices in the country. Youth of Afghanistan especially those belong to poor strata are very vulnerable at the present time. This important category of the society are recruited with low payment and are misused by different sides involved in the current military conflict and losing their precious life. The future of the young generation is in limbo. Large numbers of the youth have no access to jobs, education, sports, recreation and other rights and privileges.

Drug addiction has become a horrible problem of Afghanistan. Every day, the number of addicts increases among young men and women including children.

Displace people caused by the war and poor nomads are living in very bad conditions. The living condition of refugees who have returned to their homes and those who are forced to return by host countries to is very shocking. They are deprived from most essential living necessities.

War disables are living in very poor conditions. There isn't a day that they don't protest against their living conditions.

2- World and the region

Mankind is on the great turning point of its history. The astronomical advancement of productive forces from technological revolution of capitalism has opened a wide prospective for solving of a range of problems of mankind. At the same time it has put the humanity under the pressure of logical accumulation of capital and higher profitability.

Application of science and technology in the field of production in most developed capitalist countries has two contradictive outcomes: on one hand it has raised productivity; subsequently it increases surplus value and helps accumulation of more capital. On the other hand it decrease the number of man power force in the production process, and thus causes a big number of unemployment of worker class in most developed capitalist countries. Alongside with technological revolution capitalism expands its operations around the world in order to find new markets for consumption of its surplus production.

Accumulation of capital and boost of production in capitalists system have close tie with another phenomenon that is called imperialism. Imperialism means to dominate the world. Neo-

imperialism is the political-military dimension of globalization of capitalism! Globalization and Neo-imperialism as its twin are the main characteristic of our time. Specifications of Globalization are:

- Existence of barbaric economic war among capitalist corporations which triggers bankruptcy of some giant economy in capitalist centers. Consequently, it imposes enormous material and human losses for the people of those centers;
- Concentration of world economic power in the organizations such as G8, World Bank, IMF, WTO etc. Ordinary citizens have no influence over the performance of these organizations;
- Legalization of war as a structural element of imperialist world order and Globalization, implementation of new imperialist military doctrine “preemptive-war” and justification of military offensives under the pretext of counter terrorist activities.
- Deepening the inequality between the north and south, between the capitalist metropolis and surrounding territories, growing poverty in the countries surrounding the capitalist states that intensifies terrorism in those areas;
- Expansion of spheres of imperialist strategic influence in the name of exporting or defending democracy;
- “Mechanization” of all spheres of human activities, even natural resources necessary for life, from cultural and scientific activities to water, recently air and even human genome are included into the merchandise logic of capital.

Another distinctiveness of our time is that the right extremist groups are gaining power and reaching to the top of power pyramid in the capitalist countries. At the present time new conservatives are in power in a number of big capitalist countries. Globalization of new liberal capitalism not only has badly affected on the life of people of other countries but has caused decreases in living standards of people in big capitalist countries too.

Due to the implementation of new liberalist policies the worker class and other toiling masses in big capitalist countries are continuing to lose their benefits which have been gained by their long and hard struggle during centuries, particularly after the Second World War.

Escalation of religious radicalism especially Islamic fundamentalism, expansion of nationalistic and secessionist tendencies, confrontation of civilizations and cultures are other characteristics of our time.

Due to the ruthless policies of neo-imperialism the international relations has been deteriorated and organized terrorism is expanding rapidly in different forms.

Reckless use of natural resources of the world for only profit reasons is clearing out the globe from its natural resources and hazardously polluting the environment.

Intensification of arm race, possibility of obtaining nuclear arms by some more countries has made our world even more insecure and danger place for living.

One of the characteristics of the current world is that on one side the ultra-industrial nations are expanding and on the other side new giant industrial countries are emerging. Major European countries and USA are becoming the world ultra-industrial powers. Competition among them on the issue that which one is capable to meet the demands of world industrial markets would be one of the most important areas of rivalry for the years to come.

Competition between ultra-industrial countries and newly emerging giant economic powers is intensifying in the world arena. Obviously there are clear possibility of rising of new economic superpowers like China and India.

During last two decades international policies has taken shape under the imposed direction of the sole super power. As it was predicted after collapse of world state socialist system, leftist and

democratic movements became the first victims of this trend.

Rapid changes are the outstanding features of present world. These changes involve all aspects of human society. The world monopole system that emerged so rapidly now is confronting new developments and is shaken. New super powers are becoming apparent.

After two decades of silence and defeats the left and democratic movements are shaking up and getting new strengths. Class struggles in the world arena are getting new forms and dimensions.

Working class in European countries is expanding their struggle to protect their benefits. Struggle of world's masses for freedom, democracy and social justice reflect in million people movements everywhere. Anti-war movements, women movements against gender discrimination and sexual abuse, anti-globalization movements and environmentalist movements, in close solidarity with worker movements are expanding day by day. The most hopeful instances of these historic momentum can be seen in Latin America, where the left forces have gained power through peaceful, democratic and lawful means in a number of countries. These victories refuted the claim of eternity of "new world order". They also proved that capitalism is not the end of history.

The region where Afghanistan located is becoming the area of increasing tensions. Pakistan as a patron of terrorism and violence plays the central role for destabilization, keeping tension and producing and reproducing terrorism and violence.

Extremist and adventurous groups in the ruling circles of Iran pose serious threat to peace and stability in this region.

Territorial disputes among the neighbors which have been inherited from colonial domination era are emerging again. Secessionist tendencies are increasing. The future of region geographic map is looking vague.

The US adventuresses and hegimonic policies and its western allies intended to maintain and expand their interests in the region, to have access to Central Asia natural resources, to get access to flourishing markets of the region specially in India, to strengthen their positions in order to confront new emerging super powers, have threatened peace and stability in the region. Due to these imprudent policies the religious fundamentalists have taken over vast territories of the region.

III. GOALS AND AIMS

1- Political, Legal, Military and Security

For decades, the people of Afghanistan have been suffering from years of wars and bloody fights among groups who want to gain power and wealth. Destructive wars are continuing in the name of defending the motherland, the country, the religion and fighting terrorism, which are bringing more agony for the Afghan people. Thus it is the main source of anguish and misery of our people and become the serious obstacle for democratic development of the society.

In the course of centuries, the power and wealth in Afghanistan has been monopolized by a small minority whereas the majority of the people have been kept in deep poverty. By preventing the real representatives of toiling people to participate in state organs, they facilitate to bring all plunderers in power.

In the light of such situation:

AMA believes that the establishment of a real democratic, independent, united and sovereign state in Afghanistan reflecting the will and guaranteeing the interests of the people, is the vital and historic demand of our people which would be able: to pull out the country from the crisis; to insure durable peace, security, freedom and independence; to defend territorial integrity of the country; and to lead the society towards development, progress and improvement the standard of life of masses. AMA defends this historical vision and gives top priority among its duties for implementation of this goal.

AMA acknowledges the fact that establishment of such a State is a long and complex process. It requires waging struggle aimed at continued and step by step democratic development with conscious participation of Afghan people in political, economic, social and cultural life in the country.

One of the most important task is to reach this goal is to mobilize, organize people and create condition for active participation of masses in the democratic development of the society.

The present structure of the state consists of mainly from reactionary jihadi elements, bureaucrats associated to various foreign entities and some undercover drug mafia personalities. They are not capable to solve the most vital problems of the country. The formalism of democracy proclaimed within the framework of the Constitution of the country the content of which is full of contradictory articles, could not and will not respond positively to the political and legal demands of the country.

Aware of these injustices, ignorance and enormous suffering, AMA will persistently fight for formation of a society based on true will of its people and social justice, and ratification a real democratic constitution that: Guarantee democratic freedoms, independence, territorial integrity, national sovereignty, equality of all citizens before the law and proclamation of all kind of discrimination (race, nationality, ethnicity, language, gender and religion) as a crime. The new constitution should guarantee the formation of political parties and social organization and place the human dignity as its top principle.

AMA consistently supports and encourages the Afghan people endeavors to insure and strengthen of freedom, independence, national sovereignty, democracy and to defend and secure territorial integrity of the country.

The Durand Line has been forced against the will of the people of Afghanistan and the region to secure the sphere of British colonialism influence and to prevent the unity of people with the same culture and background in a freedom front. This "Line" has been cause of tensions and jeopardizes the peace and interests of the people in the region. AMA will make every effort to create such a condition that artificial borders will not be an obstacle for co-existence and wide range relationship among the countries of the region. AMA is of the view that the border disputes could be solved through political negotiations only between the true representatives of the people who have been elected democratically, not by ideological governments that have no democratic and historic credibility.

Democracy is the foundation of a democratic state. In a Democratic state, political power belongs to people and takes its legitimacy from the people. AMA is in favor of formation of a government only elected by direct and secret ballot free from all kind of discriminations.

AMA fights for such a system in which a free and fair election could be conducted and by taking into account the interests of the movement will participate in that process in order to introduce the demands of toiling people and to put an end to the monopoly of the reactionary forces in the government and serve the people from within system.

Every political system has two parts in its structure: one is its socio-political foundation (class characteristic); another is the political and legal formation. AMA is of the opinion that the best

and proper political system for Afghanistan is the parliamentary republic based on democratic principles with the division of three branches of powers: legislative, executive and judiciary, in order to defend the rights of toiling people and to put the country on the path of growth and progress.

AMA believes that the form of administration and the operation methods of a democratic state and directives of rights and obligations to the local organs should reflect the will of people through democratic means in accordance with the specific circumstances and conditions. AMA supports the formation of local councils to ensure active participation of people in those organs.

AMA believes that only a democratic state is capable to defend the interests of working people, and to set up the conditions for political representation of all nationalities residing in Afghanistan.

The legal system in a democratic government guarantees all fundamental rights of the people including: the right of life, work, education, residence, travel, health and to choose their profession.

AMA considers freedom of speech, conscious, press and formation of political parties and social, political and cultural organizations as the most important preconditions, to ensure democracy and political freedom in Afghanistan. AMA fights to improve and expand those freedoms.

AMA fights for expansion and crystallization of the legislation process based on fairness and justice. We support every attempt towards the full implementation of laws.

Revitalization of legal and judicial system of the country is an urgent task. In accordance with traditional judicial practice of Afghan people, AMA is of the view that reconsideration of governing progressive legal principles is a historical necessity.

One of the urgent duties of the government in AMA's view is to establish, arm and equip, and to improve the military preparedness of national army. We support such a national army which is defensive by nature and guarantor of independence, territorial integrity and national interests of the country.

AMA stipulates the unconditional disarming of all armed individuals, groups and militias in Afghanistan and clearing of all land-mine fields.

Geo-political location granted Afghanistan a susceptible strategic spot in the region. Due to expansionist ambitions of neighbors and countries of the region and the world, Afghanistan has been turned into conflict place forever.

AMA, while supporting the assistance of the international community, demands to specify the mission of foreign military forces in the country as: to ensure lasting peace, extermination of terrorism and eradication of sources of fundamentalism. Thus it is necessary to establish such conditions under which the presence of foreign military forces in Afghanistan and the region should be focused on.

AMA believes that the establishment of military bases and installations threaten peace and stability in the region and the world. The territory of Afghanistan shall not be used for domination and ensuring and maintaining the ambitious interest of the world capitalism.

2-Economy

a- Path of economic development:

The characteristics of current economic situation in Afghanistan are: backward economic system, lowest rate of growth of productive forces, lowest rate of work output and productivity. Concerning the production the country's economic formation consists of multi-form structure without having any effective production system. Choosing the economic path and principles for economic development and progress is the most important issue facing the country.

AMA bearing in mind the existence of capable work force, natural talent, vast arable land, underground natural resources, colossal achievement of technological revolution in the world and geographical transit location of the country, believes that Afghanistan could become a developed, prosper and progressive nation in short period of time, only if the lasting is ensured and a real democratic government is in place. Consequently, the wellbeing and tranquillity of the people could be secured.

AMA believes that ancient backwardness, under developed, poverty, injustice and inequality are clear product of backward social-economic relations. Without transforming this socio-economic structure and development of economic foundations in favour of toiling people, the country's economy could not growth and expands; consequently it is not possible to achieve social progress, prosperity and freedom of Afghan people.

AMA believes that in a very backward country with bankrupt economy and lowest GDP and poverty stricken people in addition of enormous destruction from three decades of imposed wars, to choose simply the "model of free market economy" and accept its economic structure, seems impossible to tackle current difficult task facing the country and satisfy the basic needs of the people.

AMA believes that leaving destiny of millions of people in the hands "free market", the outcome of which would be the establishment of a ravage and arrogant capitalism in Afghanistan. In choosing the country's socio-economic structure AMA gives the highest priority to the interest of working people of Afghanistan as an indispensable principle and, for settling the current socio-economic tasks AMA supports the mixed economy consist of free market elements and central planning economy for implementation of its goals and tasks in the socio-economic fields at this period.

With regard to how the balance between the major economic system is taking shape, within the mixed socio-economic structures, it depends on political factors and class composition of the ruling establishment; inclination of inner circles, production foundation, and level of growth of productive forces and centers of production.

AMA supports such an economic policy, the goal of which is to improve the standard of living of people to ensure a balance and consistent rate of growth in all fields of national economy, and has far reaching development vision for wellbeing of all.

AMA believes that in order to ensure the rapid growth of productive forces to create the economic foundations and to guarantee a balanced and consistent development in the country; we should use effectively all available national capitals and resources as well as all foreign reserves and possibilities. The current programs of socio-economic strategy should be based on state, private, cooperative and mixed economy. Since transformation and directing the main socio-economic foundation towards growth and balanced development and reducing the level of exploitation, in addition of usage and strengthening of private sectors requires expansion, enhancement, and strengthening of state ownerships and cooperative sectors. Thus the AMA supports the state and cooperative economy. AMA believes that the growth of state, cooperative, and private sectors, particularly in foundational fields is the key to the stability in the country.

Certainly, support of expansion and growth of state and cooperative economy should not be interpreted that other sectors included in national economic system are less important. Any kind

of class approach to the role of the state sector and specifying its duties as an inventorial and managerial in an absolute manner, without taking into account the level of growth and structural backwardness would have devastating effects on the country's economy.

Ownership of means of production is the most fundamental issue in every society. This issue is the key to understanding exploitation of mankind and other social problems. Until all social wealth belongs to all in society, one cannot speak of a comprehensive development of mankind.

AMA considers that the fair distribution of social wealth and the precondition for establishments of a just society is one of its final goals.

At the current period of development, AMA is of the view that it is necessary to be flexible in adopting of socio-economic plans. Protection of ownership including state, private, cooperative and mixed sector by law is an important guarantee for growth and socio-economic stability.

We think that rapid rate of accumulation of capital in the economic structure, in totality should work towards eradication of social and economic backwardness of the country. All the sectors embodied in the circle of national economy, on the basis of scientific and coordinated plan with a prudent development strategy for welfare of all people should act jointly in order to eliminate backwardness, to ensure the economic independence, to improve the productive forces, to expand the balanced growth, and to enhance the standard of living of the people particularly for toilers.

AMA wants state ownership on mines, major energy resources, forests, unutilized lands, ports, major transport lines, and all strategic establishments which are linked to national sovereignty and independence of the country. We support increase of state investments in infrastructural sectors as well as education, public health and protection of environment.

b--Agriculture

In Afghanistan, land is the major mean of production and plays the fundamental and essential role in national economy.

The solution of land ownership is the most important and crucial issue in the country.

AMA believes that without progressive real and structured reforms in this sector and maybe solution of land and water issues in favour of primary producers, it's not possible to achieve durable economic development and to improve the life of small landowners and landless farmers.

In our opinion, availability of water, construction of irrigation system, converting non-arable land to arable for distribution to landless and small landowner farmers, establishment of agriculture farms, mechanizing the agrarian sector, determining the limit of size of land ownership, providing the production needs of farmers, are the basic components of agrarian reform. Establishment of effective production units in form of agricultural cooperative with direct and conscious participation of farmers could be the starting point for such reforms.

These reforms require conscious and voluntary participation by farmers. The degree of awareness and psychological preparedness of farmer for implementation of these reforms, are in fact the beginning of socio-economic transformation in rural areas of Afghanistan.

AMA considers transferring of private ownership of large size lands to the primary producers (farmers), as an organic part of progressive structural reform in agriculture sector.

Farmers constitute the largest social class of the country. They play the fundamental role in production process and economic activities of the Afghan society. Majority of work force is active in agricultural sector. This sector produces the major portion of GNP in the country. Currently a considerable section of arable land are used for cultivation and production of opium, the revenue of which covers a high figure in country's national income. This factor further increases the importance of agriculture sector.

AMA supports all steps and measures in order to mobilize farmers and husbandries, to increase their professional skills, to train them how to use new methods of agricultural science and technology with the purpose of mechanization of the sector, to increase the level of output of agriculture products and husbandry to enhance arable land usage and its productivity, and to improve the work and life conditions of farmers.

AMA believes that at the present stage of social-economical development of the country, the agricultural cooperatives organizations could be more effective than any other socio-economic structures, in order to mobilize and organize the rural masses, particularly those with low and middle income segments, who are not able to afford their basic needs.

AMA supports and embraces the expansion and enlargement of cooperatives movement in the country and will fight tirelessly for this objective and place this duty on the top of its agenda.

AMA believes that forming and organizing poor masses based on the principle of teamwork and creation of cooperatives in different fields of economic operations, would play an effective role in rapid pace of socio-economic development and improvement the standard of living of working masses.

Afghanistan, an agricultural country has turned into the biggest producer of narcotics. To turn around this process and to bring the sector back to producing basic crops requires wiping out of drug mafia network. AMA propounds this issue as a great national task.

For people of Afghanistan, combat against the process of illegal drug production and smuggling is very crucial. Tackling this problem requires direct and conscious involvement of farmers particularly landless and small land owners. A special program should be set up, the implementation of which would guarantee freedom of country's farmers from dependency on narcotic's agents, cartels and its network, and to provide substitute crops that cover their basic needs and improve conditions of farmer's life.

Forests are part of national wealth of the country. In the recent years they have been severely damaged. AMA supports measures aimed at revival, expansion, protection and proper utilization of country's forests.

AMA wants to promote establishing of proper conditions for voluntary settlement of Afghan nomads (Kochis). WE support all measures to improve nomads' social, economic and cultural life. It should not be permitted that human rights of this oppressed, poor, and hardworking segment of the society violated and their right for use of national resources be denied.

c- Mining and Industry Sector

Afghanistan is rich in mines and has a noticeable amount of natural resource. Due to invasion, colonial intervention, rules of reactionary, despotic and arrogant regimes, and backward socio-economic formation, natural resources and existed reserves have not been effectively discovered and properly utilized in favour of growth and progress of the country and improvement of toiling people's life. AMA supports state control of the mines and other underground natural resources.

We want that the government should adopt a comprehensive and progressive policy and strategy regarding the mining sector, focused on verifying mineral resources, protection and use of them, inviting the investors for improvement of geological survey, searching, mining, and utilization that guarantee growth and improvement of people's life.

AMA believes that we should avoid ideological and bureaucratic approaches with regard to entrepreneurs and new emerged private industry of the country. Entrepreneurs in productions and

service sectors in development process of national economy consider one of the effective motors in industrial development. This group by using their own capital invites nongovernmental capital for joint ventures, use of man power and effective management play its role in country's economic development. They help to shorten the path towards achieving growth and expansion goals.

AMA supports all progressive and effective efforts aimed at expanding and developing national industry.

AMA supports the craftsman industry. We want the government to take effective measures, to encourage and protect the industry, which enables the craftsmen to expand and increase their outputs.

d- Finance and Commerce

AMA demands of progressive and just reform of taxation system in favour of toiling people. Progressive taxation in an effective instrument is necessary for reduction the gap between poor and rich segments. We support budgetary policy based on increasing internal revenue and decreasing foreign debts and grants.

AMA is in favour of fair taxation on mobile and immobile big properties. AMA wants modernization of the banking system and expansion of banking services. We support the establishment of development, agricultural, cooperative and credit banks. The purpose of them should be to provide assistance to producers and lend money with low interests to farmers, poor people from rural areas.

AMA supports the establishment and expansion of transportation and communication networks. AMA in the field of commerce supports the policy which could guarantee expansion and development of national products, increasing export volumes, replacing imported consuming goods with national products and ensuring the balance of trades. At the present situation, for the purpose of providing public the basic necessity from national goods, the government should restrict import of unnecessary and goods similar to national products, by exercising the tariff system. Hence, the protectionist tariff system should be adopted.

AMA is of the opinion that at the present international situation, the economic power in the world has been concentrated in the organizations, such as G8, World Bank, IMF, and WTO, etc. which are unreachable by ordinary citizens. We can't expect that decisions and measures taken by WTO would be in favour of developing and poor countries. Reason for creation of such "powerful financial and commercial establishments" is to take away the world decision making centers from the hand of governments and to transfer them directly to trans-national corporations. Having said this, the international trade could still be a factor in economic development and prevention of poverty in the country. Therefore to have an open door policy without protectionist measure to save national products in fact will destroy national producers.

AMA is of the belief that adoption of similar financial and commercial policy regarding all providers of foreign and national products in a stage where national products could not compete qualitatively and quantitatively with imported foreign products anything but to turn the country into a consumer society.

AMA believes that the establishment of transit facilities for Afghanistan (activation and

construction of transit highways and building of pipelines of oil and gas through Afghanistan) as a landlocked country has a special importance.

In this regard, AMA supports the effective use from geographic and transit locations in favour of Afghan people.

3- Social Affairs

AMA's aim is to eliminate all social injustice imposed on people of Afghanistan.

Class, ethnic, gender, and religious subjugation imposed in the society has placed Afghanistan from social point of view among the most backward countries of the world. In order to put an end to this situation, there is a need for a colossal ideological, political, economic, and social transformation. AMA will play its proper role in this regard. Conscious participation of all oppressed and subjugated segments of different social categories is a must condition to subvert the social relations.

AMA will carry on a wide range enlightening work for this historic social cause.

AMA considers the manifestation of superstitious and outdated practices and ancient backward ideologies in social life are the main obstacles in the way of awakening of our people. We are moving forward with other progressive intelligence movements to overcome these problems.

Afghan women always have been the victims of social subjugations. In addition to imposed unfair socio-economic relations, they have gotten the status of slaves in their own families. Afghan women in the eyes of the world are considered as an oppressed face. AMA has placed the women issue in the centre of its duties, and wants to grant the status of women in suitable place of Afghan society, and makes every attempt to establish social organizations that defend the women rights and interests.

One of the urgent tasks of democratic movements of Afghanistan is to ensure equal rights between man and woman in every fields of social life. AMA will use all venues to include the principle of equality in the constitution and laws in the country and be practically implemented.

Afghan children are the most innocent and the most deprived residence of the globe. They enter the social life, in addition of continuous threat of death, with homelessness, hunger, no clothes and illiteracy. AMA makes every effort that the issue of protection of children's rights become the major national and state program. We encourage the international organizations and institutions to set up special program to change and improve conditions of children in the country.

Afghanistan has been placed in rank of most backward nations with regard to providing health care to infants and mothers. The state has the obligation to build contemporary medical facilities and provide care to poor segments of the society. AMA fights for creation of such a health care system.

Providing the basic living necessities to poor and forgotten people of society is a humanitarian duty. AMA believes that the government should take over of this task right now.

AMA believe that durable productivity, expansion and progress of national economy is impossible without conscious and active involvement of workers, associates, experts and qualified cadres in organization and leadership of work and production. AMA will use all possibilities in order to promote conscious and responsible participation workers, associates and qualified cadres in the socio-economic leading units (in the public sector).

AMA will play its proper role in gathering, forming and organizing workers and associates of

economics sectors included in national economy and tirelessly work for enhancement of their social awareness.

The fundamental rights of working people are: to ensure safe conditions for work and production; to follow general norms of work and technical safety; preventive care of workers against possible sickness from professional performance and reducing of accidents in work and production places.

With all possibilities AMA makes every attempt that all norms and regulations for work and technical safety should be followed and implemented in all work and production centres.

AMA fights and makes sure to establish a progressive system for wages and salaries, to adopt the minimum wage that could afford the basic living necessities, to provide social services for improvement of standard of living of working people, to create job opportunity for able body people and to ensure equal rights for work.

AMA is in favour of such social services that financial obligation of working people should proportionally be decreased when national economy is stable and improved, and benefits should be extended to family members of workers.

AMA fights for adopting of just and progressive law of work with the purpose of strengthening and forming relations of working people that would guarantee worker rights in all sectors of national economy.

Invalids, disabled and families of those who have lost their life during the last three decades deserved protection by the government. We support the creation of an effective social service network to those people.

4 -Ideology, culture and education

AMA believes that regressive ideologies and superstitious beliefs are the greatest obstacles for development and innovation in the Afghan society. One of the fundamental task of the left and democratic movement is proliferation of scientific theory and progressive out look and liberation of great potentials of intellectuals from the ideological confinement of ethnic, linguistic, nationalistic, religious and other regressive ideas in the society. AMA will play its proper vanguard role in this regard.

AMA will oppose any dogmatic system of thoughts that have simplistic approaches and try to justify the present reality and to portray the future based on subjective prejudgment.

The Ayenda Movement believes that for advancement of Afghan democratic and progressive movement is necessary to have open minded and diversity of thoughts.

The productive forces of Afghanistan entrapped in old fashion thoughts are lack of dynamism in order to adjust themselves with contemporary situation. The society has to breach with its old and dogmatic thoughts in order to adopt the right innovation approach for new framework of thoughts in accordance with situation. The role of spiritual culture to influence the flexibility of people's mind has a special value and entrust. This spiritual culture is the result of long term struggle of progressive forces that inspires scientific, developed and anti-superstitious culture. Unfortunately, part of our culture that is the product of creative works and efforts by the toilers which reflects the lessons of devotion, creativity, humanism and freedom, was breathing under pressure of huge burden, cynical mentality and superstition beliefs.

Afghan spiritual culture, especially in literature field is full of amazing creative masterpieces.

These masterpieces through different social reasons and under the specific enactment of dominant ruling ideology in the creativity aspect have been combined with people's life style. Denial of this magic power in directing the society towards new dawns of development, mean to ignore the most important spiritual creation of the society and to give up an effective tool of progressive struggle in favour of reactionary forces.

Afghan art and literature is rich of epics and works which widely contains elements of humanism, struggle for freedom and salvation. Even in the theosophical literature, which has been repeatedly manipulated by rulers, we find themes on humanism, resistance against injustice and tyranny and opposition against hypocrisy. Unfortunately, such works of late have been tampered and manipulated to focus on the divisions of the ethnic groups instead of their unity. And it has been used to broadcast ethnic animosity, racial supremacy and tribal pride. Consequently, this is undermining our peoples understanding of the Afghan unity as a nation. The Ayenda Movement firmly stands on its quest for promoting the valuable elements of the country's culture, history. arts and literature and promotes return to Afghan unity and Afghan pride.

The manipulation and abuse of the mass media and the delivery of its stale, vulgar and perverted ideas only serve the interest of the reactionary forces, organizations and parties. This can only demonstrate the view of a quasi democracy. It becomes an urgent issue to establish means for a progressive and democratic mass media. The Ayenda Movement will strive to find common grounds with other progressive forces for vast cooperation in using mass media in favour of progression and democracy.

Eradication of illiteracy and providing guarantee of higher education for youth of Afghanistan, in accordance with internationally accepted norms, are preconditions for development of progressive and democratic culture in the society. AMA strives to accomplish this goal.

Based on objective realities of Afghan society, taking into account the ethnic and political structure and considering the experiences in this regard AMA presents the following principles concerning the national issue:

- Cultural independence is the natural right of every people. Prevention or suppression from exercising of this right under any pretext is cruel action and violation of human rights.
- All ethnic groups living in Afghanistan have the right to develop freely their culture, language and other distinctive identities.
- AMA endeavour to link the progressive cultural values of Afghanistan to the world culture domain. Universalization of democratic culture against the reactionary culture of capitalism is one of the aims of Afghan left movement. We will work towards this goal.

5- International relations

AMA believes that only through unity and international solidarity of toiling people and their progressive social and plitical organizations, it is possible to weaken the social and political positions of imperialism and reactionary forces. AMA also believes that the solidarity of the working people of the world is the only guarantor of resistance against the destructive process of globalization and the imperialist policy of aggressions. AMA considers the defense of the interests of toiling peoples of the world as a golden and central principle of its foreign policy.

AMA staunchly supports the just struggle of all democratic and progressive forces, parties and

political institutions for peace, freedom, democracy and social justice.

AMA believes that formation of working people and their socio-political organizations into a new world alliance will enhance the effectiveness of the struggle of peoples against the absolute rule of the world capitalist system, and it would strengthen the position of the peace-loving forces in their resistance against the war-mongering activities of imperialism. AMA expressing its readiness to play an active role in formation of such an international forum. We are of the belief that establishment of such forum does not contradict with the political, ideological and organizational independence of its members. AMA firmly favors its independence and will participate actively in international forum by preserving its identity and structure.

AMA supports the workers, anti-war, non-violence, women's movements, as well as environmentalists and other democratic and justice seeking groups, and would actively take part in their gatherings.

AMA enacts for practical implementation of values enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other international conventions ratified by Afghanistan, and it will reveal any violation from those values.

AMA is of the view that all disputes among neighbors, regional and world conflicts should be solved through peaceful and political means without resorting to use of military force.

AMA firmly advocates for world peace and opposes war and violence, and supports all endeavors towards ensuring regional and international peace and security. It expresses its solidarity with anti-war movements and actively participates in their activities.

The power and influence of the medieval and reactionary forces spread in Afghanistan and neighboring countries in such dimension and magnitude that without having a united front of progressive and democratic forces in the region, it is difficult to bring solid and irreversible transformations in one of the countries of the region.

AMA will make every efforts to form a strong alliance from progressive and democratic parties and organizations in the region within the framework of international solidarity of working masses. This unity would help to fight against extremism, terrorism and violence and for securing lasting peace, stability and democracy in the region.

The present chaotic situation in the world had left all the peoples with a tremendous task of saving humanity from complete annihilation. Being among the most oppressed peoples in contemporary world, the people of Afghanistan seriously demand the creation of a new world order founded on international justice, peace, progress and the eradication of poverty and backwardness of nations.

The progressive and democratic forces of Afghanistan are duty-bound to propagate the righteous demands of the Afghan people worldwide, and to express their deeply humanitarian and peace-loving aspirations, which are diametrically opposed to those of the fundamentalists.

IV. WAYS, FORMS AND MEANS OF STRUGGLE

AMA is orientating its activities in all aspects based on a strategic outlook for fundamental social changes. AMA has full understanding that the fulfilment of its strategic goal which is to free Afghan society from exploitation and oppression requires continuous and comprehensive struggle. AMA supports reforms which improve social, political and cultural conditions of Afghan people, strengthens positions of democratic left movement and shortens the distance to

transit to the higher socio-economic structure. AMA rejects subjectivism, adventures tic and revolutionary activism.

AMA believes that socio- political violence is the outcome of economic violence! Mass and military resistance of people in the history were temporary short-lived reactions against the continuous violence by oppressive upper classes. AMA prefers to achieve the demands of working people of Afghanistan through peaceful means by leaning on support of masses.

AMA considers its historic mission to mobilize and enlighten the masses in order to achieve its strategic goals. It encourages formation of social and professional organizations aimed at greater participation in the political process and movements for economic, social and cultural demands.

AMA in every phase of its struggle towards achieving long term goals, analyzing specific situations and balance of force will draft practical and proper programs in accordance with the letter and spirit of the present document and fights for their implementation.

AMA believes that building alliances, coalitions and political blocs is very important instrument to achieve its goals and will make every effort for this purpose.

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