

POLITICAL RESOLUTION OF THE 21st CONGRESS OF AKEL

The 21st Congress of AKEL took place in Nicosia on 25-28th November 2010. The Congress was the culmination of many months of pre-Congress work, comradely inter-Party and public dialogue and deep reflection that also continued during the Congress itself.

The 21st Congress of AKEL was held in extraordinary conditions and new given realities that define its significance. These given realities are : a) the election of Demetris Christofias to the Presidency of the Republic of Cyprus, b) the role of AKEL as a ruling Party, c) the ongoing determined effort to solve the Cyprus problem and all that is related to the developments on the Cyprus problem, d) the enhanced prestige of Cyprus on the international arena, e) the very significant work produced by the government, f) the world economic crisis, its impacts in Cyprus and the struggle to tackle them and g) the situation on the domestic front.

The Congress ascertains once again the historic significance of the election of Demetris Christofias to the Presidency of the Republic of Cyprus, not only for AKEL and the wider Peoples Movement, but also for Cyprus and the Cypriot people as a whole. The election of Demetris Christofias has also had a positive influence on the European and international Left movement.

The election of Demetris Christofias reversed decades long prejudices and opened new hopeful prospects both with regards the struggle for a just solution of the Cyprus problem and the development of a more just society. The more than two years that have elapsed since the Christofias election victory have vindicated the assessments that it constitutes a historically significant event and are daily vindicating the aspirations of the people, despite the obstacles that are systematically being raised to the work of the President and his government by various circles.

The Congress, after a fruitful, free and democratic discussion, approved the "Theses of the C.C. towards the 21st Congress", the introductory speech of the General Secretary of the C.C. of AKEL Andros Kyprianou, the Report of the Control Commission of the Central Committee and the Report on the Economic state of affairs of the C.C. of the Party. The Congress elected the new Central Committee and the Control Commission of the Central Committee of AKEL.

Concluding its deliberations, the 21st Congress discussed and adopted the following political resolution, which sets out the framework of the policy of the Party until the next regular Congress.

International developments

1. The 21st Congress of AKEL is convening in a period where the imperialist new order is continuing and being consolidated with NATO and its closest allies, including leading powers within the European Union, seeking the

maintaining and broadening of their global hegemony at all levels: economic, political and military-strategic. At the same time, globalisation led by the multinational companies is gaining in intensity. The imperialist forces have replaced to a large degree the pretext of the "communist danger" with the danger from terrorism, in the name of its combating they are attempting to "legalise" their criminal actions and policies. Where there are no cases of terrorism, they contrive them. AKEL condemns every form of terrorism that brings death to innocent people and victimises peoples and people. Terrorism does not promote the struggles of the peoples, but on the contrary it gives ammunition and pretexts to the imperialists to attack these struggles. The crimes of imperialism feed terrorism. Terrorism is combated through the eradication of its root causes that provoke it, such as poverty, hunger, destitution, diseases, exploitation, injustice, inequality and oppression that plague entire regions of our planet due to the imperialists themselves. Terrorism is combated through the respect of International Law, the sovereignty and territorial integrity of each country and the dignity of its people. In addition, under the pretext allegedly of democratisation, the subversion and/or overthrow of non-friendly governments and regimes not to the liking of the USA is being pursued. No country, however powerful it may be, has the right to impose its own views and way of life. It is the right of every people to choose their own path of development and wage their own struggles.

2. The imposition of the imperialist new order is taking place through the undermining of International Law and the imposition of the right of the mighty, double standard policies and practises, invasions and aggressive wars. It is being expressed through the attempt to control and substitute the UN through the adoption and promotion of dogmas such as the NATO dogma of "pre-emptive strike" and in some cases through certain so-called peacekeeping and "humanitarian" missions. It is being promoted through the growing militarisation of international relations, the escalation of the arms race, the constant attempt to expand spheres of influence, the expansion of the web of USA and NATO military bases, the cultivation of frictions on an ethnic or religious basis and the support of corrupt criminal regimes. It is being advanced through the instigation of so-called velvet or coloured revolutions, the curbing of human rights and freedoms and through the imposition of anti-terrorism laws.

3. In the modern world, inter-imperialist rivalries are also developing at the same time at all levels, that relate to group of states, separate states and international monopolies. The rivalries involve even allied states or group of states within alliances and coalitions.

4. The 21st Congress of AKEL condemns once again the so-called new world order and the globalisation of the multinational companies that are an expression of the "new order" in the economic field. We condemn the aggressive wars, interventions and the violation of International Law. We demand the respect of the Charter of the UN and the principles of International Law. We demand the dissolution of NATO that does not have any reason to exist. We express our unreserved solidarity towards the

peoples who are struggling for freedom, independence, democracy and social progress.

5. The so-called new world order is on the one hand consolidating its positions internationally, but however, at the same time other developments underway on the international arena, which have their own increasing significance, should not be ignored. The "new order" is encountering resistance in various parts of the world. China is being elevated to a big economic and consequently political power that is upgrading its own presence in international developments. Russia is constantly growing in influence, strongly asserting the role of a superpower. The struggle of the peoples is complicating the advocates of the "new order" from implementing their plans in the way they would have wanted. In Latin America, developments of a revolutionary character are under way.

6. On the opposite side of imperialism, there is the progressive movement with the Communist and Workers movement struggling in the front line. The progressive movement is continuing its activity under particularly adverse conditions following the dissolution of the Soviet Union and the community of Socialist states in Europe. The progressive movement in our times is characterised by ideological and political heterogeneity that in some cases is also extended within the interior of certain parties. As a result, the progressive movement continues to register the well-known deficits regarding ideological-political cohesion that in turn affect its effectiveness. Nihilism and levelling of socialism that is persistently cultivated by the establishment forces of the Right and Social democracy, which are exploiting mistakes and distortions in the countries of the former socialist community, must be combated. Regretfully, even some Communist and Left Parties are contributing to this procedure through their levelling criticism or/and self-criticism, which is being conducted in such a way as to be tantamount to the discarding their character.

7. The 21st Congress of AKEL addresses a warm comradely greeting to the progressive parties and movements fighting for national independence, democracy, social progress and socialism. It expresses its unwavering support and solidarity towards them. The Congress condemns in the most vehement way the historically ignorant attempts underway in Europe, and elsewhere, to equate communism with fascism.

8. The 21st Congress of AKEL reaffirms the position of our Party to continue working for the greatest possible cooperation, coordination and unity between the Communist, Workers and Progressive parties on a regional and international level, aiming at common actions and policies, where and whenever this is feasible and based on the respect of the peculiarities characterising each given party. We do not approve of any attempts adhering to the logic of exclusions, paternalism and the guardianship of the movement, the intervention in the internal affairs of other parties and the undertaking of hasty initiatives that can harm the effort to build the maximum possible unity between the parties of the Left. Of course, this does not negate the right of each party to hold a critical view concerning

the realities within the spectrum of the Left, always of course within the framework of mutual respect.

9. Despite signs of recovery, the world economic crisis continues to plague the world. The economic crisis is a structural crisis of the capitalist system. Capitalism is developing productive forces and socialising production to the maximum. At the same time, however it is concentrating the wealth and power in the hands of a small minority that own the means of production and especially the multinational conglomerates. This fundamental contradiction constitutes the root cause of the economic crises of capitalism. The imposition of neo-liberalism on a global scale has resulted in the current economic crisis assuming unprecedented dimensions and being distinguished by its intensity and breadth. Working people all over the world are paying the heavy cost of the crisis. Millions of jobs are being lost. Capital, on the pretext of tackling the crisis, is curbing working people's gains, waging an all-out attack on labour relations and working people's rights. Bourgeois governments are searching for ways to overcome the crisis by putting even more burdens on working people's backs. As a result, the class struggle is intensifying throughout the world. Millions of working people all over the world are struggling to defend their rights and gains. The apologists of capitalism and of the unfettered market system have been categorically refuted who talked about social prosperity for all, the end of history and class struggle. The world economic crisis has brought even more pressingly to the forefront the idea of socialism and the need for a society based not on exploitation and the drive for profit, but on the liberation from exploitation and social solidarity.

10. The 21st Congress addresses a warm comradely greeting of solidarity to working people all over the world who are struggling for their just causes and rights and fighting against capitalism, neo-liberalism and the anarchic chaos of big multinational capital, for social justice and socialism. The world economic crisis is shaking the foundations of capitalism; however, it does not mean that it also signals the end of the exploitative system. The resistance and endurance of the old world is still great. The propaganda mechanisms to control people's consciousness are enormous. Many and great organised struggles will be needed so that the sun of real freedom and social justice will rise. The duty of the consistent class based forces and international workers and Communist movement is to be in the front line of these struggles, to rally through their policies broader forces and masses and open up perspectives for the future.

European Union

1. The 21st Congress of AKEL reaffirms the position of the Party that the European Union is an advanced form of political and economic capitalist integration. Neo-liberalism is today dominant in the EU, which is evolving based on the Lisbon Treaty and is increasingly tied to the structures and policies of NATO. This EU is far from our own vision and the vision of the consistent principled Left forces within the EU and more broadly far from the vision for a Europe of the peoples, working people, solidarity, social

justice and peace. AKEL will continue to serve this vision. It shall continue to defend the rights of European working people and struggle against neo-liberalism inside the European Parliament and the Group of the Left of which it is an active member and enjoys respect. AKEL does not approach the EU from dogmatic positions. Inside the EU under the pressure exerted by working people and popular mobilisations, positive developments are also taking place. The interventions of President Christofias at the European Council and Ministers at Council of Ministers meetings contribute so that in some cases decisions are taken that have positive aspects. AKEL will continue to study European policies based on its own socio-economic and political criteria. We shall continue to evaluate and assess all that is positive deriving from the EU. At the same time, we shall continue to struggle against all that is against our own values, submitting creative counter-proposals. AKEL will continue to develop relations with the bodies and political and social forces in the EU. The main concern of the participation of AKEL in European affairs is and remains the promotion of the cause of Cyprus.

The Cyprus problem

1. The Congress reaffirms the long-standing position of AKEL that the Cyprus problem is an international problem: a problem of invasion, occupation and foreign interventions. The Cyprus problem is a question of the violation of the independence, territorial integrity and sovereignty of the Republic of Cyprus by Turkey, a question of national cleansing, illegal colonisation and violation of the human rights of the Cypriot people as a whole by the occupational power.

At the same time, there is the internal aspect of the Cyprus problem too, which concerns the normalisation of the relations between the two communities and the evolvement of the Republic of Cyprus into a bicomunal bizonal federation. AKEL considers both the downgrading and disregard of the international aspect of the problem and the downgrading and disregard of the internal aspect of the Cyprus problem as wrong.

2. There are concrete responsibilities for the creation and perpetuation of the Cyprus problem. The main responsibility lies with Turkey, which has pursued and is continuing to implement an aggressive policy towards Cyprus. American and NATO imperialism through its interventions and conspiracies against the independence of the Republic of Cyprus and through the tolerance and even support it has always rendered towards Turkish policy bears its own inextricable and unparalleled responsibilities. Subsequently, we consider that Cyprus cannot attain its rights within the mechanisms of NATO and its various structures. The Junta of Athens played a particularly shameful and catalytic role in the conspiracy against Cyprus during its seven-year-old abolition of democracy in Greece. It would not have been possible for the plans of Turkey and the foreign aggressions to be carried out had there not been the subversion of the Republic of Cyprus from within by the nationalist chauvinist forces in both communities and in particular, by the traitorous fascist activity of EOKA B and TMT. The admission and

denunciation of the crimes committed by fascism and national-chauvinism against both communities constitutes an indispensable catharsis in order to develop the relations between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots based on mutual respect. Congress welcomes the fact that President Christofias is exhibiting political courage struggling for the restoration of the historical truth with regards the issue of responsibilities on the Cyprus problem. Congress considers as a badge of honour for AKEL the fact that the Party struggled with consistency and determination against the foreign aggressions and the traitorous activity of the fascist extreme right.

3. Since 1974 and there on, all the efforts to solve the Cyprus problem came up against the intransigence of Turkey, its insistence for a solution of two separate state entities and its assertion of rights of sovereignty over Cyprus. Whatever mistakes were committed by the Greek Cypriot side over the years in the handling of the Cyprus problem do not exonerate in the slightest 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 long-standing position of the Party that the Cyprus problem must be solved within the framework of the United Nations and based on the UN resolutions, the High-Level Agreements of 1977 and 1979, International and European Law. The framework of the solution of the Cyprus problem was made even more specific with the 8th July Agreement in 2006 and the Christofias-Talat joint statements of 23rd May and 1st July 2008. The framework of the solution provides for a bizonal bicomunal federal solution with political equality as set out by the resolutions of the United Nations, for a single state, with a single sovereignty, a single international personality and a single citizenship.

5. The bicomunal bizonal federal solution represents the historic compromise between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots that was agreed since 1977. It was incorporated into the resolutions of the United Nations and draws the support of the international community and the European Union, who expect that this will be the solution of the Cyprus problem. AKEL is completely adamant on its position that the Greek Cypriot side must remain steadfast on the goal of a bizonal bicomunal federal solution and constantly exhibit political will for its achievement. A possible abandonment of this goal, as some circles are proposing, will not bring a better solution. It will deprive Cyprus from its ground of support among the international and European arena. It will give the opportunity to Turkey to demand in the most official way the recognition of two states in Cyprus. It will provide to any of Turkey's allies the pretext to back the Turkish demand for two states. It will convey the wrong message to our Turkish Cypriot compatriots that we do not want to live together with them in a common country and a common state. It will nullify every prospect of a solution of the Cyprus problem, resulting in the finalisation of partition that will be the foreboder of new sufferings for Cyprus and our people.

6. The solution must provide for:

- The withdrawal of the Turkish occupation troops and the termination of the colonisation, which is a war crime. The main bulk of the settlers must be resettled in their country, apart from a specific number who will be granted the citizenship by the federal government, that will not change the composition of the indigenous Cypriot population and who potentially could remain in Cyprus for humanitarian reasons. AKEL considers that the registering of all those residing in Cyprus today by an independent international organisation is necessary.

- The restoration of the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the Republic of Cyprus, as well as the restoration of the unity of the state, people, institutions and the economy.

- The abolition of the anachronistic regime of guarantees, given that Cyprus since 2004 is a member of the European Union.

- The safeguarding of the human rights and freedoms of all Cypriots, including the right of return and property of the refugees and lawful owners. Cypriot citizens must enjoy all the rights the citizens of the European Union enjoy.

7. The people will be the final judge of the solution through separate referenda that will be conducted in the two communities. AKEL supports unreservedly the position of the President of the Republic that Referenda will only be conducted if there is an agreed solution between the leaders of the two communities.

8. Cyprus is one of the regions of the world with the greatest concentration of armed troops. Our people have suffered greatly from the presence of foreign troops and the use of arms. The peoples of our region have suffered whenever Cyprus was used as a launching pad to serve imperialist interests. Our country and people, peace and stability in the region and our neighbouring peoples will all benefit from a demilitarised Cyprus. AKEL remains steadfast on the position that the solution of the Cyprus problem must provide for the demilitarisation of the Republic of Cyprus. The Republic of Cyprus can offer a lot to the world and the European Union as a bridge of peace.

9. The so-called British bases are wounding the territorial integrity of Cyprus. They are a foreign body and a remnant of colonialism. AKEL shall continue to call for the abolition of the bases. With the solution of the Cyprus problem and the consolidation of the reunified federal Republic, Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots, united and struggling together, must struggle 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 obligations they have undertaken regarding the bases. They must respect the rights of Cypriot citizens who live or have properties on the territories of the bases.

10. The objective analysis of the given situations in our world and region, but also of our possibilities as the Republic of Cyprus, led from 1974 to the conclusion that the efforts to solve the Cyprus problem must be peaceful. Developments over the 36 years that have elapsed since 1974 reaffirm the correctness of the position for a peaceful solution of the Cyprus problem. A peaceful effort to solve the Cyprus problem means a dialogue between the two communities and at the same time, the internationalisation of the problem in order to safeguard the greatest possible support for our positions and to avert the scheming of the Turkish side.

11. More specifically with regards the front of internationalisation, the 21st Congress of AKEL welcomes with particular satisfaction the international activity of the President and the government, who are implementing a multidimensional and multifaceted foreign policy: a policy that is strengthening the ties with traditionally friendly countries who support the cause of Cyprus and is developing better relations with various countries based on mutual respect. The multitude of visits made by the President abroad, the Memorandum of Understanding with Britain, the Protocol of Cooperation with Russia, the visits to Cyprus of the Prime Minister of Greece, Pope Benedict XVI, the Presidents of Russia, Slovenia, Serbia and Syria, the Prime Minister of Lebanon, as well as the forthcoming visits of Chancellor Merkel and President Sarkozy prove 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 about alleged ideological fixations in our foreign policy and so-called international isolation.

12. Faithful to his pre-election pledges, President Christofias from the very beginning since assuming his duties has worked hard for the resumption of the bicomunal dialogue and the reversal of the negative climate that unfairly prevailed in the international and European arena against the Greek Cypriot side since 2004. The Working Groups and Technical Committees, as stipulated by the 8th July Agreement, were staffed, began working and produced work. The basis of the talks were formulated and agreed through the joint statements of 23rd May and 1st of July 2008. It was safeguarded with the UN Secretary-General too that the procedure to solve the Cyprus problem would be of Cypriot ownership, without suffocating timetables and arbitrations and that the role of the United Nations would be a facilitator. Eventually, the direct talks began in September 2008. At the same time, the activity of President Christofias and the government on the international and European arena, the positions, policy, initiatives and the political will acknowledged by all of the President for a solution, reversed the negative climate abroad. The Republic of Cyprus with Demetris Christofias as President gained enhanced prestige, a fact that enables us to wage battles for the cause of Cyprus under evidently better preconditions.

13. The 21st Congress of AKEL assesses that during the period of the direct talks between the leaders of the two communities, the President of the Republic is defending with determination and consistency the principles on which the solution of the Cyprus problem should be based. He is guided by

the need to safeguard the interests of the Cypriot people as a whole, Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots. He is repelling every proposal of the Turkish side that is outside the agreed framework referring to a two state outlook and that is contravening the resolutions and principles of the UN and European Union. President Christofias is submitting serious, well-elaborated, logical, constructive, feasible and realistic proposals at the negotiating table, proposals that are in line with the long standing positions of the Greek Cypriot side and which serve the goal of reunification and the creation of a bizonal bicomunal federation with political equality as set out by the UN resolutions; proposals that aim at solving in the most correct way the problems the 36 years of occupation and division have accumulated. These problems are real and do not disappear by simply evoking our just cause and the declaration of some principles. The President of the Republic is tabling proposals that are appreciated by the international and European factor and are therefore enhancing our negotiating position. He is submitting proposals that are accepted by our Turkish Cypriot compatriots and if accepted by the Turkish side would open up the path of the solution.

14. The 21st Congress of AKEL expresses its full support of the proposals of the Greek Cypriot side as submitted by President Christofias and particularly the proposals on the issue of governance and property, as well as of the package of three proposals regarding the intensification of the talks through the linking of the issue of property with the territorial and settlers issue, the issue of Famagusta and the international conference. More specifically, with regards the proposals on the property issue, the Congress highlights their substance which is none other than the safeguarding of the right of ownership, the recognition that the first say belongs to the lawful owner and the position that any derogation from the *acquis communautaire* will cease to exist at a specified time period, so that every Cypriot citizen should have the right of settlement and acquire property everywhere in Cyprus.

15. The 21st Congress of AKEL manifests in the most emphatic way its wholehearted support of the policy, handling and initiatives of President Demetris Christofias. It expresses its unreserved trust in him. It resolutely repulses the attacks and criticism exerted by various political forces and the mass media. It considers the ongoing criticism as unjust and destructive. It assesses that the attacks against the President often diverge from the limits of political culture. The attacks and criticism the President is under weaken the Greek Cypriot side, undermine its negotiating position and convey the message either that certain circles do not want a solution, or that they are ready for any kind of a solution.

16. The 21st Congress of AKEL assesses that various political forces and figures from various spectrums converge and identify with the criticism and attacks against President Christofias and at the same time against AKEL too, political forces and figures who:

- Have never accepted the bizonal bicomunal federal solution with political equality as set out by the UN resolutions and opt for partition instead of federation,
- Put petty-party interests over the interests of Cyprus,
- Seek self-justification regarding their position or the way they stated their position in 2004,
- Consciously or unconsciously are aligning themselves with forces outside of Cyprus who are attempting to bring back solutions and procedures referring to 2004.

AKEL will continue to stand as a bulwark to all these forces and defend the President of the Republic and the Party's policy with all its strength.

17. In the over two years since direct talks commenced, the 21st Congress of AKEL ascertains that concrete progress has been recorded, particularly on the chapters of governance, economy and European Union, which had been discussed with Mehmet Ali Talat. Congress rejects the assessment negating whatever progress has been registered in the talks. At the same time, Congress ascertains that there is still a gap in the views of the two sides concerning vital chapters that compose the Cyprus problem. This is due to the fact that many of the proposals the Turkish side has tabled at the talks when M.A. Talat was the negotiator, but also now that Mr. Eroglou is the negotiator, are outside the agreed framework and are guided by the philosophy of two states and two peoples, a philosophy that continues to be the official position of the National Security Council of Turkey.

18. The assumption by Dervis Eroglou of the leadership of the Turkish Cypriot community is proving in practice to be, as AKEL had predicted, a negative development. The convictions of Mr. Eroglou are partitionist. Whatever goodwill he is attempting to exhibit at the negotiating table, it has the sole purpose of serving the communication policy of Ankara. The proposals he has submitted on the property issue lead to the logic that the only remedy is compensation and an exchange of properties. His refusal to discuss the property issue in combination with the territorial issue and the issue of the settlers demonstrate a lack of good will and political resolve for a solution. In addition, the blatant lie and distortion of the positions of the Greek Cypriot side are now in the front line of the Turkish Cypriot side and Ankara in an effort to cover up the negative philosophy and the daily behaviour of Dervis Eroglou before the international community. The 21st Congress of AKEL assesses that Eroglou's policy is in divergence with the aspirations of a large section of the Turkish Cypriot community that truly wants a solution of the Cyprus problem.

19. The 21st Congress of AKEL ascertains that the direct talks are at a turning point. It is the first time that various aspects of the Cyprus problem have been discussed so comprehensively and the first time that convergences been recorded on some issues, to the extent they have been.

On the other hand, big differences on core issues of the problem still divide the two communities, whilst some chapters have not even been discussed through the fault of the Turkish side. The possibility that Dervis Eroglou might question those points where an initial convergence exists, adds to the concerns and reflections on the prospects of the talks.

20. The 21st Congress of AKEL reiterates the position that the political will of President Christofias - that is given and which has been proved many times in practice - is not enough to arrive at a solution of the Cyprus problem. An indispensable precondition to pave the way for the solution is that Turkish policy must change and be at last in line with the resolutions of the United Nations. The philosophy of two peoples and two states in Cyprus and the outlook that for national security reasons Turkey must exercise control over Cyprus regrettably continues to guide Turkish policy. Congress ascertains that apart from some verbal positions of a communications character, Ankara does not appear to be ready to take the steps that are necessary for the solution. The domestic confrontation in Turkey and the problems the country is facing in its accession course, make the Turkish leadership even more reluctant to take the decisions it must take. We support the position of President Christofias for direct contacts with the leadership of Turkey. AKEL must also seek to have similar contacts. AKEL, expressing its solidarity towards the Left, progressive forces in Turkey, will seek to develop even more its relations with them.

21. Congress ascertains furthermore that certain circles in the international community wanting to promote a solution that will be to the liking of Turkey - which they consider an invaluable ally and partner in the region - are continuing to plan ways to support Turkish policy, exert pressure on our own side and impose a solution through timetables and arbitration.

22. The latter assertions must not discourage the Greek Cypriot side and weakening our struggle for a solution of the Cyprus problem. On the contrary, despite the difficulties and hardships, we must intensify our efforts at every level because the passage of time makes the solution of the problem increasingly difficult. Time and the faits accomplis are working against the solution and reunification. Congress categorically rejects the theories that refer to a solution in the long term on the reasoning that the position of Turkey in international affairs is weakening. These theories are clashing with reality, lack any scientific basis and elevate the desirable to the feasible. Whenever Cyprus adopted similar views and outlooks, it was led to the worst adventures and setbacks. Congress also rejects the theories that perceive the Cyprus problem only as an issue of the prevalence of principles of law. We do not refuse, but on the contrary it is imperative to utilise the legal weapons International and European Law renders us. However, the Cyprus problem is above all a political problem and should be solved accordingly on a political basis. The 21st Congress of AKEL, whilst ascertaining the crucial essence of the passage of time, stresses that for AKEL the decisive criterion in its actions and policy is the content of the solution. Consequently, Congress insists on the content of the solution as

this is set out in the current decision and it will not sacrifice it for the sake of the factor of passage of time.

23. In the ongoing effort to achieve a solution of the Cyprus problem, the 21st Congress of AKEL considers that it is imperative:

- To keep the Cyprus issue within the framework of the United Nations and that the procedure for its solution continues through the good services of the Secretary-General of the UN,
- To remain consistent to the bizonal bicomunal federal solution with political equality as set out by the resolutions of the United Nations,
- Retain the procedure of the talks under Cypriot ownership. The insistence on Cypriot ownership does not mean the exoneration of Turkey's responsibilities or the denial of international interest, which besides we are seeking in every way. Cypriot ownership protects Cyprus from schemings seeking the imposition of a solution from abroad and in the interests of others, except of the Cypriot people.
- To continue to resolutely repulse any machinations for suffocating timetables and arbitrations and the adoption of direct trade,
- To continue to be positive and constructive at the table of the talks, submitting logical and feasible proposals that serve the goal of the targeted solution,
- Through our seriousness and responsibility we should preserve our prestige and credibility on the international and European arena, that represent our most powerful weapons in the struggle for securing international support,
- To continue to strengthen and upgrade the already excellent relations with Greece, which constitutes our main support,
- To continue to utilise the international and European factor, keep Cyprus' partners in the EU constantly informed, strengthen even more our relations and contacts with the permanent member states of the Security Council and particularly with Russia, France and China,
- To denounce continuously the proposals and policies of the Turkish side that diverge from the framework of the solution and the UN resolutions. To point out constantly the need for the international factor and the European Union to exert their influence and pressure on Turkey and the Turkish Cypriot side.
- To constantly project the package of three proposals of President Christofias as the only correct answer to the need to accelerate the talks, create a dynamic with regards, the solution, the issue of

Famagusta and the lifting of the so-called isolation of the Turkish Cypriots, which to the extent it exists is due exclusively to the Turkish occupation,

- We remain steadfast on the position that the international conference must be convened when the two sides will reach within range of an agreement on all the range of the internal aspect of the Cyprus problem. The international conference must deal with the international aspects of the Cyprus problem. Besides those directly involved with the Cyprus problem, the permanent members of the UN Security Council and the European Union must participate in the international conference and in addition, the presence of the Republic of Cyprus must be ensured too.

The Turkish Cypriot community and rapprochement

1. The 21st Congress of AKEL expresses its appreciation and respect towards those patriotic forces of the Turkish Cypriots who remain faithful to bizonal bicomunal federal solution with political equality as set out by the resolutions of the United Nations and are fighting for the achievement of this solution. The bizonal bicomunal federal solution is under attack from various quarters in both the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot community. The forces that are upholding with consistency this solution have a duty in both communities to defend on a day-to-day basis and point out that it is the only solution that can lead to the reunification of our country. In the struggle for the reunification of Cyprus, the Turkish Cypriot community has to play a significant role. The recognition of the decisive role Ankara plays does not mean under any circumstances the devaluation of the Turkish Cypriot community and the political forces expressing it. The political and social forces of the Turkish Cypriot community that remain consistent to a federal solution have possibilities to exert their own influence on Turkey and the Turkish Cypriot leadership to pursue a constructive policy on the Cyprus problem. AKEL will continue to cultivate and develop relations of friendship, mutual respect and understanding with the patriotic forces of the Turkish Cypriot community by paying special attention to organisations and ordinary people.
2. The occupation and division impede the normalisation of the relations between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots. Irrespective of the obstacles the occupation raises, AKEL shall continue to study and propose to the state and society ways of broadening the relations between the two communities in all fields. AKEL shall continue to expose and combat all those who in one way or the other are raising obstacles to the development of the relations of friendship and cooperation between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots.

3. The 21st Congress of AKEL renews the invitation of the Party towards our Turkish Cypriot compatriots for a common struggle for the salvation of our common country.
4. The policy of rapprochement and the cultivation of a culture of peaceful cohabitation are indispensable preconditions for the normalisation of the relations between the two communities, the finding of a solution and the safeguarding of the viability of the solution that will be agreed. Consequently, AKEL shall continue to be the standard barrier of rapprochement and the cultivation of a culture of peaceful cohabitation through the assumption of concrete initiatives and activities. As AKEL, we appreciate the assistance of foreign organisations and the support they provide to the cause of rapprochement. However, we stress emphatically that rapprochement is above all the duty of Cypriots themselves and of the organisations that express them. Furthermore, rapprochement is first and above all a political process that does not overlook, but on the contrary tries to examine in depth the problems created by the conditions of the division.
5. Nationalism-chauvinism has always been the evil demon of Cyprus and the means through which foreign aggressions against our country were implemented. AKEL will remain a steadfast and unwavering fighter against nationalism-chauvinism and all those ideologies and theories of the extreme-right that cultivate hatred between the two communities. It will support with all its strength the cultivation of a culture of peaceful cohabitation both in education but also in society in general.

The European Union, the Cyprus problem and Turkey

1. Since 2004, Cyprus is an equal member of the European Union. The accession of Cyprus to the EU to which Greece was already a member of, as well as the goal of Turkey to join the EU creates a conjuncture that favours the solution of the Cyprus problem. Despite the difficulties in the accession course of Turkey, AKEL believes that the favourable conjuncture continues to exist and we must continue to utilise it. The status of EU member provides answers to many of the problems caused by the long standing division of Cyprus, as well as to issues the reunification of Cyprus pressingly raises. AKEL has never had illusions about the EU and its possibilities. However, it recognises that the principles the EU is founded on if implemented in Cyprus can to a large extent meet the concerns and fears of both communities and contribute to the construction of a peaceful and secure future for all Cypriots.

2. As a result of the initiatives of the President of the Republic, the [Cyprus Steering Group](#) was set up headed by Mr. Barroso and Mr. Maurer was assigned the duty of Special Representative of the President of the European Commission on the Cyprus problem. The active participation of President Christofias in the European Councils and the relations he is

developing with the leaders of the European countries contribute towards to the backing of the positions of Cyprus. The 21st Congress of AKEL appreciates the work being done by the President and the government, as well as the activity political forces are undertaking in the respective political spectrums in Europe. Congress rejects the accusations of insufficient utilisation of the European factor. There is however always room for its better utilisation in the struggle for the reunification of Cyprus.

3. The 21st Congress of AKEL reaffirms its position in favour of the accession of Turkey to the EU, on the precondition however that it fulfils all the obligations the accession of a country to the EU entails. Turkey will always be the big neighbour of Cyprus. It is desirable that this neighbour must be a democratic country that will respect the rules of good neighbourliness, a co-operator and a partner in a broader family of countries, instead of a hostile country, a source of anomaly and constant threat for the whole region. The democratisation of Turkey presupposed by the prospect of its accession will operate positively not only with regards Cyprus and the other neighbours of Turkey, but for the Turkish people themselves.

4. Turkey undertook concrete obligations towards the EU, and consequently towards the Republic of Cyprus, that it must fulfil and it is incomprehensible that it is bargaining them and demanding rewards in exchange. The EU itself must demand in a determined way the fulfilment of Turkey's commitments, including those towards the Republic of Cyprus. This is what the interest of the Union calls for and the principle of solidarity between its member states that governs the functioning of the EU. As long as the occupation is continuing, we shall resist the accession course of Turkey.

Internal governance

1. The 21st Congress of AKEL notes with satisfaction that despite the difficulties as a result of the impact of the world economic crisis, the pro-peoples programme of the Christofias government is being implemented and is bearing results, which the Cypriot citizen feels. A very significant work has been and continues to be produced that is changing Cypriot reality and upgrading the people's quality of life. The Christofias government has tackled and solved long standing problems of Cypriot society; expanded the welfare state by resolutely supporting the strata of the population in need of assistance by the state and society; proceeded to radical changes to promote the modernisation of society and progressive reforms and introduced innovations that until a few years ago were inconceivable for Cypriot reality. The definitive solution of the water problem underway, settlement of agricultural debts, practical support of livestock farmers, safeguarding of the sustainability of the Social Insurance Fund, upgrading of public transport, introduction of support schemes of pensioners incomes below the poverty line, establishment of the Easter bonus, increase of pensions and public assistances, increase in benefits for refugees and the boosting of student welfare are all concrete examples.

In general, social benefits since the election of the Christofias government have increased by 30%. Apart from these measures, we have the elaboration and implementation of a comprehensive multifaceted housing policy, the elaboration of a policy on immigrants and the solution of the Akamas issue. The modernisation of public administration and the simplification of administrative procedures are being promoted. The foundations have been set for a modern town and spatial planning and control of development all over Cyprus. The reform of Local Self-government also constitutes a radical change. In the field of education, the Educational Reform is being implemented. For the first time the foundations have been set in the field of energy that will enable the promotion of an energy policy. In the field of the environment, sustainable development and the construction of Integrated Solid Waste Management Unit, the full restoration of refuse dumps and the creation of a network of green areas that will cover all the Municipalities and Local Communities are being promoted. Legislation governing the National Guard is being unified and modernised.

2. The 21st Congress of AKEL stresses that the work of the government could have been even greater had it not faced almost at every stage the negative stand of the opposition and other forces that are constantly putting obstacles and raising difficulties. Despite these difficulties, Congress calls on the government to continue the implementation of the programme and policy on the basis of which the people elected Demetris Christofias. Congress points out that a more determined defence of the government's work, its more comprehensive and systematic projection, and popularization is required. The projection and popularization of the government work constitutes the most powerful answer that demolishes the nihilistic propaganda of the opposition and other forces. AKEL also has to play a significant role in the projection and popularisation, but also defence of the government's work, which must be upgraded.

3. AKEL through its analyses, interventions, suggestions and proposals should continue to assist the government in the prioritisation and implementation of the various provisions of the government programme. The Advisory Bureaus of the C.C. of AKEL are called upon to intensify their work in this field by proposing specific policies, measures and actions to the bodies of the Party, which in turn will submit them to the government.

4. The world economic crisis has also naturally affected Cyprus too, since our country participates actively in world economic developments. The tourist and construction sector have mainly been affected. The impact of the crisis is much less than in many other countries of the world, particularly in Europe. This is due to the robustness of the Cyprus economy, the strong regulating framework and to the fact that despite the pressure exerted by the Democratic Rally DHSY party and other forces, neo-liberal policies were not adopted which in other countries were responsible for the breadth and depth of the crisis. AKEL together with the class-based trade union movement were the most powerful bulwarks to the onslaught of neo-liberalism and this is another testimony of the Party's service to the working people and country.

5. The 21st Congress of AKEL welcomes the fact that the Christofias government is handling the crisis in a responsible way. It boosted the economy of the country through three packages of measures of up to 510 million Euros. These measures were taken promptly and in the proper direction as the European Commission notes. The judgement by international institutions that the Cyprus economy has been affected to a lesser extent than the rest of the European countries is significant, which is due to the measures taken by the Christofias government. The measures have played their own role and the first signs of the economy's recovery are already being registered. More measures would have been taken, such as the increase on corporate tax base on profits and on the taxation of large real estate based on property size, had narrow-minded and petty-party interests and pre-election expediencies on this issue too not prevailed that are leading the opposition and other forces to adopt a completely negative stand.

6. The crisis is mainly affecting working people and especially those who are loosing their jobs. AKEL is not complacent with regards the signs of recovery. It will continue to struggle until the final exit from the crisis. The fundamental philosophy that will continue to determine the policy of our Party is that the burden of the crisis cannot be put on the backs of the working people. Capital must also undertake the share that corresponds to it and indeed, it is a big share. We shall continue to work for the attainment of a broader consensus in the tackling of the impacts of the economic crisis by submitting concrete proposals that are within the framework of the previously mentioned philosophy.

7. The 21st Congress welcomes the efforts the government is making towards the direction of stamping out profiteering. It is evident that even within the framework of the so-called free market certain measures must be implemented for the protection of consumers. The theory of the deregulation of the market, as with so many other neo-liberal theories, has been repudiated by reality itself. Congress welcomes the measures taken by the government for the strengthening of the Commission for the Protection of Competition and the Consumer Protection Service, as well as the establishment of an Observatory for monitoring prices at the Ministry of Commerce. Congress calls on the state agencies entrusted with the monitoring and regulation of the market to be more decisive in the combating of profiteering and to take promptly the appropriate measures. AKEL stands on the side the people, organised consumers and the trade union movement in the struggle against profiteering.

8. The 21st Congress of AKEL expresses its deep concern about the phenomena of corruption, interweaving vested interests and organised crime that are growing in Cypriot society. It is clear that these phenomena are related to big economic interests and not only with the underworld. Congress calls on the state and society to be more determined in the stamping out of corruption, interweaving vested interests and organised

crime. As AKEL, we shall back every effort towards this end by tabling our own proposals.

Domestic front - unity

1. The election of Demetris Christofias to the Presidency of the Republic of Cyprus was the result of a broader consensus on the domestic front, with the main protagonists being, besides AKEL, the Democratic Party (DHKO) and the Socialist Party (EDEK). The contribution of the Support Movements of the Christofias candidacy, the United Democrats, Ecologists, the Front for the Reorganisation of the Centre, the Initiative of Free Citizens and the Socialists Initiative also was of great significance. AKEL acknowledges and honours the contribution of all to the electoral success in the 2008 presidential election, whether they backed the Christofias candidacy from the beginning, or whether they added their support along the way.

2. The 21st Congress of AKEL ascertains with regret that the situation on our internal front today is discouraging. A destructive and unsubstantiated criticism is being exerted. Fierce attacks are being waged against the President and AKEL regarding the policy and handling on the Cyprus problem. The government work on internal governance is being nullified and levelled. This situation is undermining the enormous effort for the solution of the Cyprus problem and the reunification of our country. It is raising obstacles to the tackling and the exit from the economic crisis. It creates problems in the implementation of the people friendly and reformative programme of governance. All of these actions are to the detriment of the cause of Cyprus, against working people and the non-privileged strata of the population, to the detriment of the modernisation of Cypriot society and the institutions of Cypriot state and society.

3. The discouraging situation on the internal front is due to the following:

- Political forces in Cyprus refuse to accept the fact that the Left has assumed, through the people's vote, the administration of the country. They are seeking to denigrate everything the Christofias government is doing and to negate in the people's minds its significant work, so that nothing positive will be accredited to President Christofias and AKEL.

- The reforms implemented by the government are reversing erroneous state of affairs, attacking interests and establishments. This provokes reactions from all those who have a privileged position in Cypriot society since the foundation of the Republic of Cyprus.

- The coherent, consistent and determined effort for a bizonal bicommunal federal solution has revealed the reaction of all those forces who have never truly accepted the solution of federation and who, whether they realise it or not, prefer partition than federation. It is evident that the opposition to federation is due to some extent also to economic interests and establishment forces that have developed all these years of the division.

- Narrow-minded and petty party ambitions and pre-election expediencies are sacrificing the good of the country and people solely for the sake of party interests and machinations.

- A substantial section of the mass media in violation of every sense of objectivity and codes is taking an active part in the anti-government and anti-AKEL campaign.

4. The 21st Congress of AKEL reaffirms the long-standing position of the Party that Unity on the domestic front is an indispensable precondition for the successful outcome of the struggle for the vindication of Cyprus. All the political forces can come together on this point and work together within the framework of the National Council, whose functioning has been upgraded under the Christofias administration. A broader unity is also required for the promotion of solutions to problems affecting Cypriot society and the implementation of progressive policies and reforms. Forces supporting similar policies on socio-economic issues can come to an understanding on this point. Unity is built based on principles, common goals and objectives. Unity does not mean the levelling of different views and approaches. Unity means dialogue, the respect of the entity of every political force and different opinion. Unity means a sincere effort to find convergences and cooperation based these convergences. Unity means the assumption of responsibilities and the repelling of demagoguery and populism.

5. The 21st Congress of AKEL declares that despite the difficulties, AKEL shall continue to work for unity on the domestic front based on the aforementioned principles. We will continue the efforts to maintain, improve and upgrade our cooperation with DHKO party within the framework of the government. We consider that for this effort to be productive, it must be mutual and reciprocal. We are ready to discuss with the leadership of DHKO every proposal that aims at the strengthening of the cooperation. However, we expect that DHKO, its leadership and leading members also behave as a Party that is participating in government and not as a party that is in opposition to it. The difference of opinion and criticism is legitimate; however, it must 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 meet on the same bastions of struggle.

6. Unity is built on a leadership, but also grass roots level. Despite the organised attempt by certain circles to provoke constant tension on the domestic front, a large section of the people support with their trust the President of the Republic. Based on this evaluation and the long-standing traditional cooperation of AKEL with other forces, the possibilities for a broader political and social cooperation on the level of the common people, local self-government, organised groupings, organisations and committees that exercise power, always exist and must constantly be utilised. The duty of the cadres, members and friends of AKEL is to use these possibilities continuously in a spirit of friendship and mutual respect to forge bridges of mutual understanding and trust and to work for the common good. In

particular, we must strengthen even more our relations with the friends from the New Forces and the friends from various Movements who supported the Christofias candidacy.

7. AKEL, faithful to its history and long-standing positions, will continue to work hard for unity - both on a leadership level and on the level of the common people - with consistency, determination and a sense of responsibility. However, we shall continue to defend the dignity of our Party and the correctness of its policy with the same determination. We shall continue to defend the President of the Republic, his policy and handling of the Cyprus problem.

8. The 21st Congress of AKEL expresses its deep concern about the activity of extreme right, fascist type organisations in Cyprus. Their rhetoric and slogans recall the period of the traitorous activity of EOKA B. Racism and xenophobia, which they represent, promote inhuman mentalities within Cypriot society. Their organisational structure and their appearance refer to paramilitary organisations. All those forces and circles tolerating or/and favouring these organisations because they are against federation and President Christofias bear an enormous responsibility. Cyprus does not have the luxury of being dragged into new adventures in the name of the exploitation of patriotic and nationalist feelings. The highest degree of vigilance is imperative for the political isolation of these dangerous forces, which mislead and trap young people in particular. Congress calls on the state and society to tackle these fascist type organisations in a resolute way. AKEL shall continue to expose and condemn the fascist type organisations. In cooperation with EDON and the wider Peoples Movement, it will continue to educate young people by projecting anti-fascist values and role models, and it will undertake initiatives for the mobilisation and joint action of the forces of Cypriot society who are opposed to fascism, racism and xenophobia.

The Presidency of the EU in 2020

The assumption of the Presidency of the EU by the Republic of Cyprus during the second half of 2012 represents a great challenge for Cyprus. The government of Demetris Christofias is working studiously, both on the political and organisational level, for the preparation of the six-month Presidency. AKEL has submitted views and thoughts concerning the priorities the Cypriot Presidency must promote, contributing to the efforts of the government for a programme with social priorities that will project the central role which Cyprus can play in the wider region, both with regards the cause of peace in the area , as well as through initiatives of the Union focused on international and inter-Union solidarity.

2. Congress calls on the political parties and Cypriot people to embrace the efforts of the government for a successful exercise of the presidency as a cause of Cyprus as a whole. It abominates that the EU Presidency will also find itself in the midst of petty-party and pre-election confrontations.

Parliamentary elections

1. The parliamentary elections of May 2011 will be the first election battle AKEL-Left-New Forces will be called upon to wage after the 21st Congress. We recognise the significance of this election battle. On the other hand, we pledge as a Party that we will not subordinate everything to the needs of this election confrontation. The forthcoming parliamentary elections are different than any other parliamentary election battle, mainly because today the up until recently leader of AKEL is at the helm of the state, the Party itself is a ruling party, a big effort to solve the Cyprus problem is ongoing, whilst the situation on the domestic front is disappointing.

2. Based on the previous conclusions and in view of the parliamentary elections as a Party we must:

a) Elaborate an effective strategy and tactics and an innovative and imaginative pre-election campaign.

b) Prepare the strongest possible election lists, representative of the strength and prestige of AKEL and the Left in general.

c) Reaffirm the policy of enlargement with New Forces and of renewal, through the inclusion of even more worthy and capable people, men and women, from the wider spectrum, but also young and competent people from our political spectrum.

d) Immediately after the Congress, we should harness and devote to the election battle all the forces of the Party and the Peoples Movement. In parallel with the political aspect, the organisational, financial and technical aspect of our election campaign must be planned promptly.

e) Intensify our efforts to promote the solutions of people's problems.

Local Self-Government elections

1. We hope that the forthcoming Local Self-Government elections will be conducted within the new framework for the progressive revision of the institution the Christofias government is promoting and which AKEL strongly supports.

2. In view of the forthcoming Local Self-Government elections in 2011 pre-election programmes must be elaborated that will define clear-cut goals, project the concern for the ordinary citizen and respond to their contemporary needs. Special emphasis should be put on health and public sanitation, the environment and ecology, social welfare, sports and culture.

3. Our constant goal remains the election of capable party cadres, both party members but also broadly, to local self-government. We are seeking

also in this election, the formulation of enlarged election lists so that they can express all the broadness of the spectrum of AKEL-Left-New Forces. The policy of cooperation and alliances must be at the centre of our attention in these elections too, especially concerning the elections of Mayors and the Presidents of Community Councils.

4. In a society where interweaving vested interests and corruption are taking on dimensions, the candidates of AKEL at all levels, particularly in local self-government, must always be distinguished by their honesty, integrity of their character and determination to fight against and combat unacceptable phenomena in our society.

5. The same fundamental principles also apply in the case of the election of the School Boards where the prosperity of school communities should be at the centre of our attention and interest.

The Party

1. The 21st Congress notes that AKEL is fulfilling adequately its duties as a ruling party. The chief duty of AKEL remains to assist the implementation of the programme of governance and to work for the success of the Christofias administration. AKEL must continue to provide its unwavering political and moral support to the President of the Republic, continue to elaborate suggestions and proposals that will help towards the concrete specification and defining of priorities during the implementation of the government programme and continue to propose solutions to problems that life and particularly the economic crisis brings to the fore.

2. In the daily political interaction, particularly in the mass media, the presence of AKEL needs to be strengthened. All the cadres appearing in the mass media must be more decisive in their positions and in the confrontation with cadres of other parties. Their interventions should be better documented, more specific and focused on the messages the Party wants to convey. We should trust the new cadres even more by assigning duties without hesitation and assisting them to fulfil their tasks successfully.

3. AKEL was and remains the expression of the interests and aspirations of the broad popular strata and more particularly, of the working people. In this sense, it continues to be the force defending these interests: the force asserting and struggling for safeguarding and extension of popular interests. The existence of a government in the people's interests that does not adhere to the philosophy and practises of neo-liberalism creates a favourable environment for the successful development of social struggles. The just socio-economic demands of various social strata and groups of the population, particularly of the working people, will always receive the support and assistance of AKEL. AKEL and its cadres will continue to help, always within the bounds of legality and meritocracy, to the solution of just and reasonable demands people face and which are due either to government bureaucracy, establishment forces, either to adverse discriminations. At the same time, AKEL will continue to point out the

corruptive mentality concerning "using the right connections" to gain undeserved posts, favours and privileges, and educate the people in the culture of meritocracy.

4. AKEL draws its strength from the people. The lively interactive relation with the people, the continual renewal of the ties of the Party with the popular masses, the organised contact of the leadership, cadres, Members of Parliament and elected representatives in local self-government of AKEL will continue to be at the centre of its day-to-day activity.

5. The Party is a voluntary organisation one joins in order to offer one's services through collective action and struggle. Party members and cadres have rights they must assert, but also obligations they must fulfil. The main duty of Party members and cadres is the implementation of the decisions of the Party through concrete actions, political work of each Party member in the field of responsibility of each Party Base Organisation. The changing times and conditions do not only not negate this obligation, but on the contrary make it even more pressing bearing in mind the enormous possibilities for propaganda and manipulation of people's consciences the bourgeois parties have.

6. The organisational situation of the Party is the solid foundation of its political and election successes. The constant improvement of the organisational situation of AKEL is a permanent and endless duty. The affirmation of shortcomings and shortcomings in our organisational work and the need to combat some negative phenomena led to the holding of the extraordinary Organisational Congress in December 2008. In the course of the implementation of the decisions of the extraordinary Organisational Congress, positive steps have been made to improve the organisational situation, proficiency and effectiveness of the Party. However, serious weaknesses and shortcomings remain, the overcoming of which must constantly concern the bodies of the Party, Party Base Organisations and every Party member.

7. What must be ingrained in our consciousness is that organisational work is above all ideological-political work, which is directly linked to the ideological level of the members of AKEL and the political duties we are called upon to fulfil. Restricting organisational work purely to practical work and even worse, viewing it as a bureaucratic procedure that is limited just to the fulfilment of some numerical goals of the party action plan must be uprooted from the consciousness of every Party member. The underestimation and depreciation of organisational work and of the cadres in organisational work must also be rejected. The cadres of the Party are at the same time organisational and political cadres. Every duty a cadre undertakes to fulfil has a political content.

8. The organisational effort must be focused on:

- The better and substantive functioning of party bodies, from the Central Committee down to the Bureau of the Party Base Organisation,

- The upgrading of the role and activity of the Advisory Bureaus of the C.C. and District Committees,
- The improvement in the functioning of Party Base Organisations, putting emphasis on the content of their meetings and political activity in the area of responsibility of every PBO,
- The promotion of cadres and the organisation of new members in the Party,
- The combating of the phenomena of complacency and self-motivating promotion. In view of the successive election battles ahead, the Party will be decisive and strict in the adherence of party constitutional principles and rules of party behaviour. Any violation whatsoever of these principles and rules must and will not be accepted.

9. The newspaper "Charavghi" ("Dawn") is a great gain for the Peoples Movement, a weapon in our daily struggle that exists since 1956. We sustained "Charavghi" in very difficult and arduous times. Our duty is to keep it active and militant in today's conditions too. Despite the proliferation of the electronic and printed mass media, nothing can replace the value and importance of the daily study of "Charavghi" by every Party member. Even more so given the situation that has developed in the mass media where objectivity is to a great extent absent and anti-government and anti-AKEL propaganda is rampant. The workers of "Charavghi" are entrusted with the duty of conveying correctly the messages of the Party, continuously improving the newspaper and its content so that it can be attractive to every reader. The leading bodies of the Party, from the C.C. to the Bureaus of the Party Base Organisations, Party cells themselves must constantly discuss and work for the increase of the circulation of "Charavghi". Every Party member should buy and read "Charavghi".

10. The main political duty of the Parliamentary Group of AKEL-Left-New Forces is its co engagement in the efforts to solve the Cyprus problem and reunification of our country and at the same time the projection of the work, decisions and innovative policies of the government. Simultaneously, we must repulse the oppositionist attacks by the DHSY party and others and reply with arguments to any criticism. Furthermore, a fundamental aspect of the daily work of our Parliamentary Group is the substantive contact of our Members of Parliament with the people and the solution of problems affecting them. The role of our Parliamentary Group is also significant in the efforts to promote unity on the domestic front. The House of Representatives develops international activity, which our Group must continue its active participation.

11. The Parliamentary Group of AKEL-Left-New Forces must continue to undertake initiatives both with regards the legislative aspect of parliamentary work and the exercise of parliamentary control, always

having the interest of the country and the popular strata at the centre of our attention.

12. To fulfil this duty, better coordination with the government and mutual efforts towards this end are required. In addition, the better utilisation of the possibilities the discussion of issues under Chapter 4 is imperative. We must resolutely react to the circumstantial oppositionist cooperation in the House of Representatives seeking to damage the government and our Party, as well as to the unacceptable phenomena of the violation of the rules of the House of Representatives and abuse of powers by Presidents of Parliamentary Committees.

13. The Parliament is the arena where a daily fierce confrontation of policies and ideas takes place and severe criticism is exerted. Subsequently, the duty of all the members of our Group is to be on constant alert so that our Party will always be the progressive and pioneering force in social, political and economic life. Mainly though, it must continue to be registered high among the peoples conscious as the most responsible and determined force.

14. Today mass associations and organisations play a multifaceted and significant role on all aspects of contemporary Cypriot society. Hundreds of cadres, members and even friends of the Party are active in a number of broader or/and specialised mass associations. Without any disposition to dominate and manipulate, as a Party we have the duty to ensure a more organised and methodical presence and intervention in these agencies. This is a necessity in order to contribute even more to the significant work mass associations are accomplishing.

15. The organised Party factions/groups in professional/trade union areas have grown tremendously over the last few years and have achieved successes. However, there is room for the further development of their activities. At the same time, due to the growing needs and possibilities, the need is constantly arising for the establishment of factions/groups in new areas. The experience gained so far shows that the functioning of various organised groups/factions depends on the degree respective Advisory Bureaus function. In areas where Party Advisory Bureaus exist and function satisfactorily, Party organised factions/groups in mass organisations indeed operate better and record noteworthy successes. It is important that organised Party factions/groups do not restrict their activity to purely election contests and not be converted into election mechanisms. They need to undertake continuous actions and initiatives, organise meetings regularly and constantly upgrade their work.

16. In the modern world, Non-Governmental Organisations (NGO's) are increasingly playing a greater role, dealing with specific issues and actions. The ruling circles in the European Union and elsewhere are trying to render to NGO's a character and content as a counterbalance to organised social and class struggle, to party and trade union activity. As AKEL, we disagree with this approach. We do not view NGO's as a counterbalance to organised

social struggle, but as a complementary element. AKEL urges the members and friends of the Party to become active in non-governmental organisations and transmit to them the progressive social and political ideas of the Left.

17. The ideological struggle, as a part and an expression of the wider class struggle is continuing relentlessly. Today, the ruling bourgeois ideology is consciously cultivating anti-communism, the vilification of Marxism-Leninism, de-ideologisation, apathy and an aversion towards organised struggle. Anti-communism is today on the rise in various countries. The most unacceptable form of anti-communism is the ongoing attempt to equate communism with fascism. Indeed, in some countries in Europe, legislation is being promoted which criminalizes the activity and symbols of the Communist Left. As AKEL, we vehemently condemn these actions.

18. The prevailing atmosphere of the ruling bourgeois ideology unavoidably also affects the ranks of the Peoples Movement. Negative phenomena, such as complacency, insufficient fulfilment of party tasks, reduced voluntary work, indifference and self-motivating promotion are due to this prevailing atmosphere; phenomena we cannot compromise with by invoking the change in conditions, but which we must constantly repulse and combat. The intensification of our ideological work represents a fundamental factor in our successful combating of these negative phenomena.

19. The fundamental principles of our own Marxist-Leninist outlook, vision for socialism, internationalism, the contemporary reflections within the international progressive movement must constantly be at the centre of our ideological work. The upholding of the organisational principles that govern the functioning of our Party, which ensure its ideological-political steadfastness and more effective intervention in the affairs of Cypriot society, must also be at the centre of our attention. At the same time, the militant defence of our ideology, exposure of the deadlocks, contradictions and illusions of bourgeois ideology, the well substantiated revealing and disclosure of the anti-peoples character of neo-liberalism, the struggle against nationalism-chauvinism, the fight against sub-culture and cosmopolitanism assume in the particular conditions of Cyprus, not only an ideological, but also an enormous political significance.

20. The 21st Congress notes that there are weaknesses in our ideological work, both within the Party itself as well as outside the Party, in society. Towards this end, we must intensify the work of the Party in the ideological and political field. The implementation of the decision to establish a Party School and the promotion of the foundation of a Research Institute must be at the centre of the Party's efforts to upgrade our ideological work.

21. The crucial period Cyprus is going through demand the greatest possible political vigilance so that through our own contribution the general democratic functioning of political life is safeguarded. Subsequently, Congress calls on all the members of the Party, each and everyone, but also the Party as a whole to upgrade our political vigilance.

22. International Relations represent a very important part of the work of our Party, especially in the current political context of the world and Cyprus. Based on our internationalist ideology, through international relations we seek to express substantive and practical solidarity with the peoples suffering from imperialist wars, interventions or internal oppression and the violation of rights and freedoms. Undoubtedly, the drawing of support and solidarity in the struggle of our people for liberation from the occupation always constituted a priority for the development of our international relations. The support and solidarity the Cypriot people receive from the Parties and forces of the Left, who with consistency and steadfastness are on the side of AKEL and our people in general, is invaluable. The 21st Congress calls for an even greater development of the international relations of the Party, the further consolidation of the traditionally good relations we maintain with a number of Parties and the expansion of our relations in regions of particular interest, such as Latin America.

Mass movement, fields of social life

1. In the preamble of the current Resolution, it is stressed that the 21st Congress approved the "Thesis of the C.C. to the Congress". The assessments, positions, policies, goals, actions and measures as stipulated in the "Thesis of the C.C." will guide the activity of AKEL in the coming five-year term in all aspects of the life of Cypriot society.

2. AKEL as the Party of the Working People will continue to have at the centre of its policy and actions the defence of the interests, gains and rights of the working people and will struggle with the working people and the trade union movement, headed by the Pancyprian Federation of Labour (PEO) for the expansion of these gains.

3. AKEL will continue to support the farmers, development of the rural economy, progress of the countryside and the safeguarding of agricultural income. It will always be an ally in the struggles of the farmer's movement, whose vanguard is the Union of Cypriot Farmers (EKA).

4. Reaffirming the great community of interests of the working people and the middle strata, AKEL will continue to support the middle strata and defend their interests in view of the pressure exerted by big capital.

5. The Left identifies itself with the visions of the young generation for a world of justice where the right to education and work will be safeguarded, for a society that will ensure the future of young people and utilise their capabilities, without shattering their dreams and dignity. AKEL will continue to be on the side and fellow combatant in the struggles of young people and the organised youth movement headed by EDON.

6. The Left has contributed as no other force to the cause of the emancipation of women. The workers and women's movement by nature are on the same front of struggle. AKEL shall continue to support the struggles

of the women's movement headed by POGO in the fight for securing equality and women's rights not only on the level of declarations but in practice.

- AKEL is on the side of the refugees and is struggling for their rights from the first moment they became refugees. AKEL shall continue to support the refugee movement and particularly the Pancyprian Committee of Refugees in the struggle for the solution of refugee problems and the safeguarding of the right of return to their homes and properties.

The enclaved people in the occupied areas, relatives of the missing persons and war-stricken people of the Cyprus tragedy will continue to receive the practical interest of AKEL for the solution of their problems. More specifically, on the issue of the missing persons AKEL will demand on every opportunity the verification of the fate of each and every missing person.

- AKEL greets the 100th anniversary of the Cooperative Movement in Cyprus. As in the past, the Cooperative Movement, for which thousands of cadres of AKEL worked and are still working for, will have the full support of the Party against any attempts to undermine it.

- The ideals of the Peace and Solidarity Movement are interwoven with the ideals of the Left. Hence, AKEL and the Peace Movement in the contemporary world of the imperialist "new world order" will continue to march on the same militant path.

- The close relation of AKEL with Local Self-Government dates back to the period of colonialism. In today's conditions, AKEL will lead the way for the implementation of the progressive reform of the institution of Local self-government the Christofias government is promoting.

- Regarding Education, AKEL took an active part from the beginning in the great project of the Educational Reform and we shall continue to struggle together with the Christofias government for the conclusion of the Reform and the fulfilment of the goal for a democratic, modern and human-centred school.

- The Left always was and continues to be an agency and creator of Culture. This is what the history of the Left in Cyprus testifies. AKEL will continue to struggle together with the people of the arts and letters for the upgrading of cultural infrastructures and the raising of the cultural level of our people Cyprus and its significant contribution to world cultural heritage deserves.

- The field of Health, despite the steps that have been taken, continues to face serious problems. The quality of life of people depends largely on the quality of health provided by the state. AKEL will continue to struggle in the field of Health guided by the principle that Health is a social right that society is obliged to provide for its citizens.

- The participation of AKEL in the struggle against the plague of addictive substances will continue to be decisive. Approaching the issue

comprehensively, we focus our attention and efforts on the need to tackle the social problems that lead to the hell of drugs.

- In the field of sports, AKEL shall continue to attach particular emphasis on the tackling of the negative phenomena in this area and to the development of mass sports as a precondition for a healthy society.

- The destruction of the environment is sacrificing the future of humanity. AKEL shall continue to be in the front line of the struggle for the protection of the environment and the cultivation of an environmental awareness, pointing out that the main cause for the destruction of the environment is the merciless drive for profit.

- Overseas Cypriots constitutes a great asset for Cyprus. Acknowledging this fact, AKEL considers that the Cypriot state and society have a duty to continuously be interested and embrace with care overseas Cypriots, but also our repatriated compatriots. Overseas and repatriated Cypriots will always find in AKEL a consistent fellow fighter. AKEL will contribute to the elaboration of a comprehensive policy on immigration.

- Under the Christofias government, a comprehensive policy on immigration has been elaborated. AKEL as an internationalist Party will always stand as a bastion against racism and xenophobia and will promote the class brotherhood by defending the dignity and rights of immigrants. We shall insist on the basic principle for the employment of immigrants under the same terms as Cypriot workers. Under no circumstances does this clash with the interests of Cypriot working people.