

WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!

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SPEECH DELIVERED BY COMRADE I. BILEN, GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE TKP CENTRAL COMMITTEE, AT THE INTERNATIONAL THEORETICAL CONFERENCE ON "THE BUILDING OF SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM AND WORLD DEVELOPMENT" HELD IN SOFIA, 12-16 DECEMBER 1978

Esteemed comrades,

We take great pleasure in participation in this international conference organised jointly by the journal "Problems of Peace and Socialism" and the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party. Forums such as this, bringing together the fraternal communist and workers' parties, make valuable contributions to the solution of our common problems and further consolidate our fighting unity.

This conference on "The building of socialism and communism and world development" has a special significance in the conditions of our day. There are efforts by some to refute the close connection between the world socialist system and the world revolutionary processes. These efforts coincide with the fact that imperialism is escalating the arms drive, increasing tension and supporting reactionary and fascist trends and regimes in a number of countries. This is no coincidence. Since the Great October Socialist Revolution the Soviet Union, the main source of strength of the world revolutionary process, has not ceased to be the prime target for imperialist attacks. The efforts to separate the socialist countries, the communist parties and national liberation movements from the Soviet Union have continued uninterruptedly. In order to realise its aggressive ambitions, imperialism, whose positions are weakening today is trying to take full advantage of every deviation from the principles of proletarian internationalism and Marxism-Leninism, of all manner of anti-Sovietism. In Turkey too, different sections of the bourgeoisie are using those who engage in anti-Sovietism under a "left" guise, opportunist trends, as a weapon against the struggle for peace, against the anti-imperialist, anti-fascist struggle. For all these reasons, this forum, meeting to investigate the unbreakable bond between the building of socialism and communism and world development has, in our opinion, great topicality, both theoretically and from a practical point of view

Esteemed Comrades,

The vital question of the peoples, of the world is the question of peace. Imperialism, the greatest enemy of peace and the source of the threat of war, American imperialism in particular, the ruling quarters of NATO, are escalating the arms drive. The decisions of the NATO summit meeting in Washington and of the Brussels meeting of war ministers, the U.S. decision to produce the Neutron bomb are definite stages in this escalation process. By this policy,

imperialism, is preventing the extension of detente to the military sphere as well. It is using its military might against the peoples, as a buttress for neo-colonialist methods. Imperialism is increasing its pressures in our area and in the Near East, fanning the hotbeds of tension. This process constitutes a great danger both for Turkey and for the surrounding peoples.

The gigantic scale of the imperialist acceleration of the arms drive is a factor preparing the material foundations for a new war. The policy pursued by Peking hegemonists in harmony with U.S. imperialism and the NATO ruling quarters increases this danger even more. It is just as much an error to underestimate this danger of a war as to uphold the inevitability of war. This impedes the mobilisation of the masses for the struggle for peace and the strengthening of defence against imperialist aggression.

The radical shift in the balance of world forces in favour of socialism has created the preconditions for the prevention of war and the growing influence of the principles of peaceful coexistence. The Soviet Union, the community of socialist states, are waging a relentless, persistent struggle for the strengthening of peace and security in Europe and the process of detente in the world. Progress in this direction was accomplished through the joint efforts of the world socialist system, the international communist movement and all peace forces.

The concrete proposals put forward by the Soviet Union in United Nations meetings, and the latest Moscow declaration of Warsaw Pact states constitute a concrete programme of action for the peoples of the world in the struggle for peace, security and disarmament. The joint, coordinated actions of the fraternal communist parties, before all else, is of decisive importance in putting this programme into practice. In this way, the opportunities for drawing all peace forces into joint action are growing.

In this period when it is fanning the arms drive as much as possible, imperialism is also waging an intense ideological campaign in order to weaken the positions of the world socialist system, which it sees as the greatest obstacle in its path. In the third stage of the crisis of capitalism, imperialism, is constantly losing its chances of success in a full frontal assault in this sphere as well. In our day, when the principles of Marxism-Leninism are rapidly gaining in influence on a world scale, imperialism is striving to adapt itself to these conditions. In its attacks against socialism, it makes use of all manner of opportunist trends and renegades. It supports every trend, particularly within the workers' movement, which, under the guise criticism, displays hostility towards real socialism. It is doing everything possible to spread so-called "Marxist" views which come out against the integrity of Marxism-Leninism and its universal applicability. The clamour of revisionist efforts, the diversity of views, derive their strength from imperialist sources. Waging a constantly intensifying "psychological war" with the demagogy of "human rights", imperialism is playing the role of the bold thief who will bluff his way out of the house. Certain persons in the workers' movement are also susceptible to this campaign. There are even those who act as its mouthpiece. Thus in our day, struggle against views which revise Marxism-Leninism, against all manner of anti-Sovietism and hostility towards the socialist countries, is not simply a theoretical question, but a question of the vital struggle for peace, directly

affecting the fact of all mankind.

The position reached by Peking leaders at the end of their "long march" in the ideological swamp confirms this view. They too began by revising Marxism-Leninism from an anti-Soviet standpoint. Now they are referred to as NATO's 16th member in the Far East.

Esteemed Comrades,

The ruling quarters of imperialism and NATO are increasing their pressures on Turkey. The present government of Turkey has taken certain retrograde steps under these pressures. It ensured the intense reactivation of American bases. At the latest NATO war ministers' meeting, it promised to open a new base for a new espionage system directed against the Soviet Union. Thus the ruling quarters have foisted billions of lira worth of new military spending onto the backs of the people of Turkey.

One of the principal aims of the military, political and economic pressures of imperialism on our country is to obstruct the developing economic cooperation, cultural and political relations between Turkey and the Soviet Union. At the latest NATO war ministers' meeting, the General Secretary of NATO spoke of the need to "provide economic aid so that Turkey does not turn to other sources", referring to Turkish-Soviet relations. He emphasized the need to apply a new example of the old "Marshall Plan". The representative of the IMF, the organisation of imperialist monopolies which is trying to bring the economy of Turkey under its control, also opposed the Turkish-Soviet trade agreement.

The collaborating monopoly bourgeoisie is conducting its efforts to bind the country more tightly to imperialism, neck and neck with efforts to incite anti-Sovietism and hostility towards the socialist countries.

The bourgeois press is both transporting the international anti-Soviet campaign to Turkey and spreading the usual myth of a "Soviet threat". It is making use of the Maoist groups and right revisionists for this purpose.

The working class, our people, are taking concrete, active steps against these efforts. This year, in many large cities and working class centres of our country, Istanbul first and foremost, the anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution was celebrated with massive rallies. Despite all the provocations, our people received the Soviet naval visit to the port of Istanbul with warm attention. All these are examples which show that anti-Sovietism is more and more losing its influence in Turkey.

Esteemed Comrades,

The Soviet Union's policy towards Turkey is based on the principles of peace, friendship, good neighbourliness, and economic cooperation based on mutual benefit and equal rights. Soviet aid based on these principles both constitutes a material foundation for our country's economic independence, and assists our people's struggle for national and social liberation.

This is how our party regards the economic, technical and cultural cooperation agreements concluded with socialist countries. It supports with all its might the smallest step by the government in this direction. For example, in a period when the "Common Market" of the European Community is clamping an embargo on Turkish textile products, and the International Monetary Fund is exerting heavy pressures on the Turkish currency and economy, the

agreements concluded between the Soviet Union and Turkey last November provide highly favourable opportunities for the development of heavy industry in Turkey. Such a comparison of the relations between Turkey and each of the separate world systems is to the advantage of our people in the struggle against imperialism and monopoly rule. The TKP regards it as a duty to explain this to the broad labouring masses.

Our party is fighting with all its might in order that the Turkish-Soviet Political Document concluded in June, and particularly the principle of "not resorting to the use of threat or force, not allowing one's land to be used for aggressive and destructive purposes against other states", is put into practice.

From its very first days, the young Soviet state extended the hand of friendship and solidarity to the people of Turkey in the national liberation struggle. The TKP is fighting against those who want to erase this internationalist position from our people's memory. It is keeping alive these traditions of fraternity between the two peoples. These traditions are an important ideological support of our national independence struggle. Faith in the victory of the national independence struggle gains further strength through the strong support of fraternity between the two peoples.

The Leninist internationalist policy of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries is a most important support and source of strength for the national independence struggles, not only of the people of Turkey, but of the peoples throughout the world. This undeniable fact is confirmed by historical experience on a world scale. It suffices to recall the self-sacrificing assistance of the Soviet Union and Socialist Cuba towards Angola and Ethiopia.

Esteemed Comrades,

Every success in the building of socialism and communism scored by the Soviet Union, our neighbour Bulgaria, and the other socialist countries acts as an inspiring example for the struggle of the working class and people of Turkey. The TKP is fighting against the bourgeoisie's attempts to conceal and belittle these successes. Our party regards this work as an effective method of proving to our people, in concrete terms, the superiority of socialism over capitalism.

The ruling forces make use of views favouring so-called equidistance from the two systems, positions which tread on proletarian internationalism, and the anti-Soviet policy of the Maoists, to increase subjugation to imperialism and NATO. This fact proves that the struggle against revisionist tendencies and Maoism cannot be separated from the national independence struggle.

Esteemed Comrades,

Dependence on the military, political and economic organisations of imperialism, on NATO, CENTO and the Common Market Monopolies, has forced Turkey into the vice of profound economic, social and political crises.

According to official statistics, inflation is running at between 37-70% this year. The Prime Minister has disclosed that 20% of the working population, nearly 4 million, are unemployed. Turkey's foreign debts amount to 20 million dollars. The Turkish currency was devalued 15 times between 1972-1977. The foreign trade deficit has multiplied by 13 times in the past

14 years. This increase is closely connected with the fact that between 1971 and 1977, Turkey made the largest increase in military spending — as much as 33% — of all NATO countries.

The crises do not limit themselves to only sharpening the contradiction between labour and capital. The contradiction between imperialism and the collaborating monopoly bourgeoisie on the one hand, and the working class and people on the other, is also becoming sharper.

This is reflected in the wide dimensions, the harsh, bloody forms assumed by the class struggles. The ruling forces are reaching the position where they cannot rule very easily by the old methods. There have been ten government in the past 8 years. The salient feature of the political crisis, is the escalating fascist terror. The perpetrators of the fascist terror, directed by the CIA, the National Intelligence Organisation (MIT) and Counter-guerrilla, are the "grey wolves" of the Nationalist Action Party (NAP) and the Maoist groups. It has been disclosed that this year, the victims of the terror exceed 900 and the wounded are in the thousands.

It is becoming clearer each day, that the sharp edge of this fascist terror is being directed against the working class, communists, and quarters close to them. In the month of November alone, 7 members of the Progressive Youth Organisation (İGD), the most heroic representatives of the youth among them the editor of the newspaper "Politika", were killed. Three of these youths were murdered by Maoists. Thus, including these latest attacks, the number of martyrs given by the İGD is over 50. The fascist aggression is also directed against the socialist parties. Last October, seven youth belonging to the Worker's Party of Turkey (TİP) were barbarically murdered in Ankara. The left wing of the Republican People's Party is also a target of these attacks and massacres.

Although the murder centres are all known, the government is not eradicating them. The TKP is calling the people to mass resistance, to organise for defence against the fascist murders to which the government acts as a spectator. Our party is working to establish the unity of the working class and unity of action and front of all national democratic forces. It is calling on TİP, the other socialist parties, the RPP left wing, revolutionary youth organisations, trade unions and mass organisations to unite in the National Democratic Front. The mass actions organised in various cities against the fascist escalation which is rooted in imperialism, play a decisive role in breaking the air of intimidation which the fascists are trying to create. A concrete example of this is the mass resistance shrum to the head of the fascist NAP, Türkeş, in Zonguldak, the coal miners' stronghold, and his expulsion from the area.

In the struggle against the fascist menace, the TKP is fighting against manifestations of inactivity and defeatism, as well as tendencies of individual terrorism. Our party is making a patient effort to overcome the prejudices of certain leaders of organisations, who are acting as obstacles to unity of action.

The government is dominated by the right wing of the RPP, whose membership of the Socialist International was approved last November. Contrary to its election promises to the people, the government is further restricting democratic rights, rather than extending them. The government's

provincial governors have closed down 20 Progressive Youth Organisation (İGD) branches — and İGD is a member of the World Federation of Democratic Youth — without legal justification, in the space of one year. It banned the Progressive Women's Organisation from joining the Women's International Democratic Federation. The directors of progressive publications are being committed to trial with demands for several centuries imprisonment each. Fascist penal code article 142 is being wielded more intensely than in the period of reactionary fascist governments.

Alongside its failure to repeal the ban on the TKP, the only banned Communist Party in Europe, the Ecevit government is having our party's legally published programme confiscated. It is putting on trial Ahmet Taştan, the editor of "Ürün", which published the programme, with a demand for heavy imprisonment. This pressure by the government is an attempt to stop the strengthening of the TKP, and to stop the demand for freedom to the TKP being adopted by the masses. The working class, progressive, democratic forces gave the necessary reply against such an anti-communist attempts, against such a violation of human rights. And, they transformed the first trial on 17 October into a forum where articles 141 and 142 were put on trial. During a whole week they protested the ban on the TKP by mass demonstrations. Solidarity with the "Ürün" publishers had a great impact in the international arena. I regard it as a pleasant duty to express the thanks of my party for the solidarity that was shown to our party and the democratic forces in our country, in particular, that shown by the fraternal communist parties. We, the communists of Turkey, have seen once again, concretely, how important proletarian internationalism is.

The ideological struggle that our party wages against anti-Sovietism is also directed against one of the main buttresses of the ban on the TKP. The ruling circles are making use of the "Soviet threat" propaganda to justify this ban. They are trying to explain why Turkey is the only country in Europe where the communist party is banned, by reference to the "geopolitical position" of our country. Clearly, the reason for submission of our country to NATO is the same as that given by the ruling circles to ban the TKP — Anti-Sovietism cannot be separated from anti-communism.

Today, when the fact that there is no danger coming to our country from the Soviet Union is declared by official sources, more subtle reasons for the banning of the TKP are being spread. The efforts to pull the TKP away from the Marxist-Leninist principles in its programme, from proletarian internationalism, hold a key place among them. Liberal, reactionary-fascist and Maoist publications are often making comparison between a tendency that they call "Eurocommunism" and the principles of struggle of our party. They recognise our party's "right of existence" on the condition that we abandon Leninist principles. For more than half a century, the communists of Turkey have defended these principles under the most brutal terror and torture of the bourgeoisie. Neither will our party make any compromise whatsoever on this. Because, as shown by historical experience and by our own practice, we know very well that victory can be achieved, not by abandoning Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, but, on the contrary, by the closest loyalty to these principles.

Esteemed Comrades,

Our party does not have a one-sided view of proletarian internationalism. We are in solidarity with the struggles of all the fraternal communist parties. The actions of international solidarity which are organised in Turkey, are led by the communists – by our party. Solidarity with the people of Chile, is being shown in action. "La Esmeralda", the fascist junta's ship, was driven out of the parts of Turkey – by mass actions of progressive youth. Our people are actively supporting the struggle of the people of Iran against the bloody dictatorship of the Shah. We are in full solidarity with the Arab people, with the struggles of the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America for national and social liberation.

The TKP deems it an urgent duty to oppose all manner of attack against the Soviet Union, the main source of strength of the world revolutionary process, against the unity of the world socialist system, and that of the international communist movement, against the national liberation movement.

In particular, in the struggle for peace and disarmament, it is imperative to support the constructive efforts of the socialist countries, to persistently oppose imperialism's policy of aggression. This in turn necessitates joint and harmonious action of the world communist parties to draw the broadest possible peace forces into action.

Esteemed Comrades,

I regard it as a pleasant duty to express our thanks for the warm hospitality of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Bulgaria. Thank you for your attention.

JOINT COMMUNIQUE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF TUKEY AND THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF ITALY

On 13-16 December, a delegation headed by TKP Political Bureau member Comrade Ahmet Saydan, consisting of a Political Bureau member and a Central Committee member, came to Italy at the invitation of the Communist Party of Italy. The TKP delegation and the PCI delegation, headed by Giancarlo Pagetta, and consisting of Secretariat member Mario Birardi, Central Committee members Antonio Rubbin and Lina Fibbi, and Vittorio Orilia from the Foreign Relations section, exchanged opinions on the situation in the two countries and certain aspects of the international situation.

The comrades from Turkey met with Comrade Giulliano Pagetta from the Immigrant Workers Section, comrades Sacconi, de Angelis and Koehi from the Communist Youth Federation, Comrade Rodrigues from the Economic Section and Comrade Bragtisari from the Women's Section.

In the course of the discussions, the two delegations confirmed that they have a common interest in the reduction of international tension, the development of disarmament and arms limitation activity, and the further

strengthening of peace and security in the Mediterranean region in particular, which is of special interest to the two countries.

The PCI expressed its full solidarity with the struggle for democracy and national independence of the people of Turkey. It assured the Communist Party of Turkey that it is prepared to ensure full support for the struggle of the TKP to achieve legality and to fully support all initiatives to this end.

The two parties agreed to develop their relations and the relations between democratic organisations of the two countries.

Rome, 15 December 1978

ATTACKS AGAINST THE DEMOCRATIC PRESS AND DEMOCRATIC FORCES

Reactionary, fascist forces and the right-wing of the Republican People's Party (RPP) are becoming increasingly afraid of the growing respect for the TKP on a national and international scale, and of the fact that the Party Programme is being seriously taken up by the working masses as a document which shows the road to liberation. Relying on fascist articles like 141 and 142, these circles are intensifying their attacks against the TKP, its publications, and against the progressive press and democratic forces.

28 December – "The trial of the TKP Programme"

Ahmet Taştan, the head of "Ürün" publications, will be tried again on 28 December for having legally published the Programme of the Communist Party of Turkey. As is known, Ahmet Taştan was tried on 17 October at the 2nd Criminal Court in İstanbul and his trial was adjourned to 28 December. 11 years and 8 months imprisonment had been demanded for Taştan.

Government pressure on the Court

On the other hand, as is known, Çetin Yetkin, the prosecutor in the A. Taştan case, had taken into consideration the views of the defence lawyers on the fact that Articles 141 and 142 contravene the constitution, and had expressed his positive views on this matter. He also said that he would present his views on this to the Court on 28 December in written form. After this, the Ministry of Justice removed Çetin Yetkin from his duty and assigned him to another one. The trial of the TKP Programme is being conducted under such pressures.

Protests and solidarity with ÜRÜN

Protests against the trial of the TKP Programme and solidarity with the ÜRÜN publishers continues. The mass organisation of Federal German students, the Young Spartacists, expressed solidarity with the ÜRÜN publishers in a letter and protested pressures based on articles 141 and 142, against the progressive forces in Turkey, the patriotic youth in particular.

At the meeting in Hanover to mark the 60th anniversary of the

Communist Party of Greece, Chilean, Federal German and Greek workers, working and young people, expressed their solidarity with the communists and all anti-fascist and progressive forces in Turkey. They severely condemned the trials against the ÜRÜN and TEMEL publishing houses. They demanded that the TKP be allowed the right to function legally. They stated that the continuation of the ban on the TKP is in violation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Helsinki Final Act.

Fascist attacks

In the first half of December, the bloody attacks of fascist commandos and Maoists claimed new victims. On 6 December, fascists murdered Turkish Socialist Workers' Party Provincial Executive Committee member Mehmet Çelik in Antalya. The assassin admitted to having received the order to kill from the president of the Antalya Great Ideal Association, and to having received 20,000 lira for the act. On 10 December, NAP fascists attacked İGD members in Bakırköy, İstanbul. 9 İGD members were wounded. Police arriving on the scene attempted to protect the fascists. The police took the same attitude during fascist attacks at the Ankara University Press and Publishing School and the Political Sciences Faculty. The faculty dean was harassed by police, who also attacked progressive students. In Eskişehir, Motor Trade High School student Metin Akgün, was murdered by fascists. Metin Akgün was a patriot who had seen the truth and abandoned the fascist Ülkü Ocakları and joined the ranks of the İGD. In Torbalı, İzmir fascists critically wounded İGD member Erol Sakızlı saying, "You are a communist, we won't let you live". Black Sea Technical University lecturer Necdet Bulut, died in hospital following a fascist attack.

The bloody attacks by the fascist commandos and Maoists resulted in the death of many more countrymen in Elazığ, İstanbul, Ankara, Malatya, Adana, and other cities.

NATO IS INTENSIFYING ARMAMENT AND PRESSURES ON TURKEY

On 4-6 December, NATO European Group War Ministers and Chiefs of General Staff met in Brussels. On 7-8 December, the foreign Ministers of this aggressive organisation met.

The NATO Brussels meetings decided to increase armaments spending. The positive proposals concerning disarmament put forward in the Declaration approved by the socialist countries at their latest Moscow meeting were not even mentioned. The Turkish Defence Minister, Hasan Esat Işık, who chaired the NATO European group meeting, defended NATO's decisions in this direction, as well as production of the neutron bomb.

The government of Turkey signed the new armament programme in the Brussels headquarters of NATO. It approved the NATO proposal that the AWACS airborne radar system be established immediately. A new military base is to be opened in Konya for the NATO aggressor and these spy planes. 15 million dollars worth of new spending is being thrust on our people's backs for this purpose. The government is organising the 1979 budget accordingly. It has

been disclosed that armament spending is to be increased by 15 per cent compared with last year.

All these are concrete evidence that this government is bound to imperialism's enemy of peace policy and is pursuing a path contrary to national interests.