

# WHAT SHOULD WE THANK COMRADE VLADO DAPČEVIĆ FOR?

*PROLETARIANS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!*

The living critical spirit of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism compels communist militants from time to time to criticize mercilessly the results achieved by their teachers. But in order to do it properly, they are required to give only temporary meaning to the present results, and to explain primarily the development that has led to that present.

It is not difficult to understand that the importance of this task must be especially emphasized at a time when militants of the Committee for the Reconstitution of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia have to study the history of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and the South Slavic workers and revolutionary movement in general – not in order to answer questions that have long been answered – but in order to put practice, which is largely only ahead of our militants, on correct theoretical foundations.

Before our militants the *cominformist* now appears as a particularly invaluable subject of discussion, but in a dual contradictory plan, as he is in essence and as he is directly given. These two, essence and appearance, form a unity of opposites, and the task which Marxist dialectic sets before us is precisely to reduce the phenomenon to the essence and to show why the essence has manifested itself in forms that contradict it. Traitor, enemy number one, cominformist – now is turning upside down – his revolutionary essence is being blunted and he has become a hero, spirit, humanist. Those who were responsible with uncovering Vlado's "secret" and showing the new generation of militants the way themselves lived in the delusion that son births his mother.

The real source of this deep rift is discovered precisely in the trenches of class struggle, in the last battles of Vlado Dapčević for the reconstitution of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. Comrade Vlado Dapčević led the fight against bourgeois and revisionist ideology throughout the history of the South Slavic workers and revolutionary movement, vigilantly guarding and sharpening even more in practice the powerful weapon of materialist dialectics. That is why comrade Vlado Dapčević always triumphantly repelled the attacks of all open enemies and false friends of the proletarian ideology during his lifetime. It was precisely this irreconcilability of Vlado Dapčević with those forces that hinder social development that allowed him to be the first to initiate the fight against the nationalist elements in the newly formed Communist Party of Yugoslavia, insisting on the sharpening of contradictions. Thus, he led the struggle of the left and successfully united with the center against the right to become the president of the newly formed Communist Party of Yugoslavia, not by the force of power but by the force of authority, the force of energy, the force of greater experience and greater talent – which ultimately leads to a joint reactionary campaign of sabotage and espionage of the "second Communist Party of Yugoslavia" and the old state against the internationalist Communist Party of Yugoslavia led by comrade Vlado Dapčević.

We see how this struggle for the reconstitution of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia played out as the struggle of opposites. The struggle of opposites is the driving force that destroys the old, that which is dying out, in order to make room for the new, for that which develops and is born. The abolition of the existing unity and the need to consolidate the new unity gained through struggle and

to overcome the counter-revolutionary campaign of the "second Communist Party of Yugoslavia" and the old state led to the re-establishment of the party, with a new program and statute, under a new name: Partija rada.

Partija rada was born in the most unfavorable subjective circumstances of nationalist madness and national theoretical emptiness, without an authentic theoretical tradition. Intellectuals, who in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia could only seek their future next to the working class (such as Ognjen Price), became an important accomplice of the bourgeois dictatorship in Tito's Yugoslavia – they had honorary positions and enough money and academic fame not to feel the vital need to resort to the working class except in the darkest crises and exceptions, and even then they could not completely break with the bourgeois ideology that nursed them. In this way, the workers and revolutionary movement in revisionist Yugoslavia was forced not only to confront with "Ranković's axe", but also with the intellectual axe that deprived the movement of its theoreticians.

Partija rada could explain its own theoretical poverty with the history of its predecessor, but it was unable to get rid of it immediately. Comrade Vlado Dapčević explains this double obstacle (nationalist consciousness, lack of intellectuals) as follows:

*"... What's happening in the country right now is not of a recent date. The root of this nationalist madness is in the politics of bourgeois nationalism that began in 1948. This is the epilogue of this policy. We know that in this flood of nationalism and the compromise of the idea of socialism by Tito's clique and his followers, we will not have many supporters at first. But we also know that the masses learn politics from their own experience, so time works for us." <sup>1</sup> \**

Comrade Vlado Dapčević was and remains the only man who could undertake this task of filling the existing voids, feeding on the authentic tradition of the anti-fascist People's Liberation War and the heroic efforts to reconstitute the Communist Party of Yugoslavia in the period of struggle against Titoist revisionism. The organic connection between the practical activity of Vlado Dapčević and the revolutionary Marxist dialectic is the decisive and essential feature of the heroic history of Partija rada in its first years of existence. His seemingly superhuman ability to orient himself correctly in the two-line struggle and in all the struggles of classes, parties and peoples, and to perceive correctly all the turns in the complex development of history, is entirely inconceivable without dialectics. Hence, with this great thinker at its head, Partija rada successfully provided answers to the burning questions of the workers and revolutionary movements.

The statements and interviews of comrade Vlado Dapčević from that period represent a rich treasure trove of Marxist dialectics. Vlado Dapčević always masterfully started from the concrete conditions of the reality of that time, getting acquainted with the facts and contradictions and thus finding the correct forms of struggle for each given situation. This is best seen when we pay attention to the positions where his spirit of going against the current is best expressed: when he analyzed that a democratic revolution was on the agenda for the South Slavic peoples; when he opposed leftism that wanted to put the national question aside; when he advocated for the right of people to self-determination; when he said that it was in favor of the South Slavic peoples that NATO's intervention for the sake of its own imperialist goals ended the war; when he assessed the overthrow of Milosevic as a mere change of personality... etc.

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\* Today, on the official website of the revisionist Partija rada, in which the Titoist revisionists have full membership, there is a forged copy of this quote that omits "by Tito's clique and his followers".

Then comrade Vlado Dapčević left us. Lung cancer initially made his life difficult and then ended it altogether. What followed already took place in the history of the revolutionary and workers movement. After the death of Marx, Engels wrote to Adolf Sorge:

*"Mankind is shorter by a head, and the greatest head of our time at that. The proletarian movement goes on, but gone is its central figure to which Frenchmen, Russians, Americans and Germans spontaneously turned at critical moments, to receive always that clear incontestable counsel which only genius and a perfect understanding of the situation could give. **Local lights and lesser minds, if not the humbugs, will now have a free hand. The final victory is certain, but circuitious paths, temporary and local errors – things which even now are so unavoidable – will become more common than ever.**"* <sup>2</sup>

The death of Comrade Vlado Dapčević on July 12, 2001, at the age of 84, came as a gift from heaven to the bourgeoisie and its henchmen. The South Slavic workers and revolutionary movement found itself in a disadvantageous position where the *"hands of lesser minds, if not humbugs, are now free."* The theoretical poverty, whose voids Vlado Dapčević successfully filled and whose influence he successfully suppressed, has now become emancipated, and even gives itself the right to determine the wealth of Vlado's life. A number of cadres left the organization, believing that without Vlado Dapčević there was no perspective for Partija rada. The "intellectual" Milenko Perović followed the path of his Yugoslav predecessors, leaving the proletariat and standing by the comprador-bureaucratic state of which he became a faithful servant. What was good died, and what was young and new had no teachers. The struggle of opposites has as its inevitable result the transformation of the old into the new, but this transformation sometimes does not proceed smoothly, but has sharp turns, many possibilities and forms of transformation, in the midst of which the dialectician must find the only form that will lead the new, progressive forces to victory. The greatest shortcoming of those who remained faithful to the task of reconstituting the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (Role and Co.) was that, although they could give general reasoning about the struggle, were incapable of concretely analysing the forms of transformation of the party nucleus into a Party proper. Their inability to do so stemmed primarily from their misunderstanding of proletarian ideology, today Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism, and proletarian party of a new type. *"The final victory is certain, but circuitious paths, temporary and local errors – things which even now are so unavoidable – will become more common than ever."*

Without Vlado Dapčević to provide guidance, the South Slavic workers and revolutionary movement faced decades of widespread confusion. The result of all this is precisely the dispersion of forces that we are still witnessing today. But as we can see, Vlado himself can hardly be blamed for this.

The course of the two-line struggle within Partija rada was such that opportunism and Marxism-Leninism-Maoism existed as a unity of opposites – through a process of historical development of contradictions and revealing of contradictions that lasted for years, the separation of the single arises – the struggle of opposites initially made unity less stable, and then, at a certain stage of development, broke it, destroyed it. The struggle of opposites has not led to reconciliation, cover-up, but on the contrary, to the transformation of opposites that had previously lived peacefully as "unity" into their extremes. Thus, a "decision" was placed before the entire organization: either exacerbate the contradictions and deal with opportunism, or blunt the contradictions for the sake of "peace" and negate Maoism. The leadership chose the latter. Under these conditions, some cadres

and leaders realized that unity with opportunism would be tantamount to treason and submitted to the process of forming a Committee for the Reconstitution of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia under Maoism. After more than half a year of persistent work, at a meeting in Mojkovac, the founding declaration entitled "*HOIST THE RED FLAG OF MAOISM TO FULFILL THE TASK OF RECONSTITUTION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF YUGOSLAVIA!*" was written. In it, it is stated:

*"And so, our movement also created a group of leaders, precisely in the trenches of class struggle, in the struggle for the reconstitution of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. Vlado Dapčević has risen as the clear head of the movement – the head that has thoroughly and fundamentally developed the efforts of reconstitution in the new conditions. Although Vlado Dapčević is no longer alive to provide guidance, his contribution remains eternal and a memory cherished in the hearts of advanced proletarians and communists in formation. No matter how many revisionist liquidators claim him to be theirs, an understanding of the life and work of Vlado Dapčević leads us to the conclusion that today he would be a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, principally Maoist, a fact that is imposed by life and the dynamics of the class struggle.*

*Comrade Vlado Dapčević left us a testament to hold high and keep untainted the great call of the reconstitution of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. In order to truly pay tribute to the life and legacy of Vlado Dapčević, we must continue and develop the struggle for the reconstitution of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia as a war machine of our class – we must reaffirm our commitment to Maoism, the fight against revisionism and the World Proletarian Revolution.*

*In synthesis, this task is only now understood and correctly defined by revolutionaries – a deeper understanding and commitment has developed within the framework of the process of struggle between the new and the old, through the two-line struggle and the class struggle; It is the product of decades of persistent struggle of the proletariat against the general offensive of the counter-revolution. Internationally, Maoism imposes itself as the command and guide of the World Proletarian Revolution, a fate that will not be different for the Yugoslav peoples.*

*Therefore, the Committee for the Reconstitution of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, as a committee of communists in formation, assumes with deep communist conviction the responsibility for the great and difficult task of reconstituting the Communist Party of Yugoslavia as a militarized war machine of our class capable of conquering power through a people's war."*

Gradual development was abruptly interrupted by a leap that leads to a qualitative change. The taking up of proletarian ideology, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism, plays the role of a turning point in the creation of a new unity. Self-elevation from a lower to a higher conception of a party of a new type, where it is understood that the task is not to establish a new, but to reconstitute the already existing Communist Party of Yugoslavia, allows our militants to find concrete forms of transformation of party nucleus that suit every historical situation.

There is no royal road to science, but inevitably revolutionary militants and all progressive people would find and embrace modern materialism, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. However, it would have taken them much longer, and their path would have been filled with much more confusion and mistakes, if it had not been for comrade Vlado Dapčević. His sacrifice for the proletariat taught us what it means to shed blood for the party and the revolution; his heroic life taught us what it means

to be a revolutionary; His ingenious mind has taught us how to overcome all the difficulties that lie ahead of the workers and revolutionary movement of our peoples. For this and much more, we must be grateful to this proletarian fighter who dedicated his entire life to the service of the World Proletarian Revolution.

COMRADE VLADO DAPČEVIĆ, WE WILL CONTINUE TO FOLLOW THE RED PATH THAT YOU HAVE CARVED! THE PEOPLE WILL NEVER FORGET THEIR BEST SON!

LONG LIVE THE MEMORY OF COMRADE VLADO DAPČEVIĆ!

LONG LIVE THE INTERNATIONALIST, THE COMMUNIST, THE COMINFORMIST!

LONG LIVE MARXISM-LENINISM-MAOISM, PRINCIPALLY MAOISM!

FOR THE RECONSTITUTION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF YUGOSLAVIA!

- 1 „Komunistička iskra: list Komunističke partije Jugoslavije“, Centralni komitet Komunističke partije Jugoslavije, Beograd, 01. 10. 1990.
- 2 K. Marks, F. Engels, Dela. Tom 42, [Pisma: januar 1881 - mart 1883]. Beograd: Institut za međunarodni radnički pokret; Prosveta, 1979, str. 397