

On the Regeneration of a Revolutionary, Genuine Communist Party of Yugoslavia.

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I.

The counter-revolutionary coup d'état in Yugoslavia dealt a heavy blow to the Yugoslav working-class movement.

The Tito-Rankovic clique of imperialist hirelings devoted several years to preparing the blow against the working class of Yugoslavia. Having wormed themselves into the leadership of the Communist movement they systematically corrupted the Party ranks, removed, compromised and physically destroyed the healthy forces of the Party—their ideological and political opponents, the Communists loyal to the ideas of Lenin-Stalin.

The Tito clique deliberately distorted Marxism-Leninism and came forward as the bearer of ideological hotch potch and confusion in the Party. Hypocritically distorting the essence of the thesis that “Marxism is not dogma...” this clique resorted to incredible revisionist experimentation and deviations in order to carry out the assignments of the imperialist intelligence services and to deflect the Communist Party and the working class movement onto an anti-revolutionary path.

The Yugoslav counter-revolutionaries came out into the open and struck at the working class and the Communist Party of Yugoslavia precisely at that moment when it was no longer possible for them to mask themselves in the international working class movement, i.e. in the period of the resounding victories of the Communist movement throughout the world, of growing class contradictions. This revolutionary advance of the international proletarian movement—the outcome of the historic victories of the great land of Socialism, the victory of the Lenin-Stalin idea over fascism and international imperialist reaction, helped to lay bare everything alien and hostile to the revolutionary movement.

The fact that the class enemy—the Tito clique—succeeded, more or less easily, in smashing the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, is due to the serious ideological and political short-comings in the work of the Party. The misfortune of the working class movement and the Communist Party of Yugoslavia is that for the greater part of the time, over a period of thirty years, (the Communist Party of Yugoslavia was founded in 1919) they were actually headed by bourgeois agents who always deflected the Party from the correct path, provoked crisis after crisis in it and eventually brought it to ruin and ignominious liquidation.

Imperialist secret service agents had for years been trying to worm their way into the so-called Communist Party of Yugoslavia. During those thirty years, the central leadership of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia was changed on more than ten occasions and each time, as a rule (excluding rare individuals), it was a treacherous leadership, hostile to the working class. Of the dozens of general secretaries which the Party had, only one, Juro Djakovic, was not a traitor and an enemy of the working class! Every Yugoslav patriot and revolutionary recalls with indignation, with contempt and disgust the names Sima Markovic (Semic), Martinovic, Gorkic, Miletic, Josif Broz (Tito) and other traitors, spies and liquidators. It will not be amiss to recall that Djakovic had been leader of the Party only for a few months when he was assassinated. His body was found on the Yugoslav-Austrian border!

In its social composition the Communist Party of Yugoslavia never was actually a proletarian party. Less than ten per cent were workers (and of these the majority belonged to the labour aristocracy and lumpen proletariat). This situation prevailed right till the liquidation of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia in 1948. Even after the war, when numerically the Party was at its highest level, this percentage not only did not increase, it declined steadily. In the main

industrial centres of Yugoslavia: in industrial enterprises in Slovenia, in the Bor mines and in the mines in Bosnia, there were no party organisations before the war. According to the data quoted by the Tito-Rankovic clique at the Fifth “Congress of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia”, in 1948, three enterprises in Slovenia employing over 20,000 workers had a mere 245 Party members. In one of the industrial enterprises in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which employed seven thousand workers and an office staff of approximately a thousand, only 92 of the Party members were workers at the bench.

The Tito clique—enemy of the Communist Party—brought into the Party the agents of all kinds of imperialist intelligence services—capitalists, merchants, kulaks, bourgeois intellectuals, reactionary priests and even scions of the overthrown dynasty. For a long time, until his return to France, in 1948 ex-Prince Mihailo Petrovic, grandson of King Nikolai of Montenegro and notorious international spy and adventurer, was a member of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. The Titoites appointed this bandit to an important post in the Foreign Ministry!

In 1945 former members of over 20 reactionary bourgeois parties were in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, many of them occupying positions in the central and republican leadership of the Party. Thus, after the war, the Titoites co-opted to the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Slovenia, Marian Brezel—leader of the Christian Party (direct Papal agency in Yugoslavia) and son of the founder of this party.

In the course of the liberation war the Tito clique removed and physically destroyed the healthy forces of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. One has but to quote the basic figures. Due to the foul and criminal actions of Tito and his Anglo-American instructors, more than ten thousand of the total pre-war membership of twelve thousand in the underground Communist Party of Yugoslavia were killed! Two-thirds of the members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and hundreds of the leaders of the republican and regional Party organisations were killed. The entire leadership of the Party organisations in Serbia and Vojevodina was wiped out. This was the infamous Trotsky Hitlerite method of removing political opponents. Because of this fascist terror on the part of the Titoite gang against the healthy forces of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, the leadership of the Party fell into the hands of spies, assassins and imperialist hirelings.

It should be emphasized, that the genuine Yugoslav Communists, despite constant treachery and sabotage on the part of the leadership, displayed, both before and after the liberation war, magnificent examples of fidelity to the Lenin-Stalin ideas. But always blocking their way was the treacherous leadership which reduced to nought all their successes and achievements.

II.

The working class in Yugoslavia is in a particularly difficult position at present. Tito’s fascist regime is systematically dealing it heavy blows, gradually eliminating all the gains of the Yugoslav working class movement and of the national liberation struggle of our peoples. Having wrested the country from our great liberator and defender—the Soviet Union—and the entire democratic, anti-imperialist camp—the Titoites betrayed it and handed it over for plunder by the imperialists who are ruthlessly exploiting it. Yugoslavia has long since been deprived of its national sovereignty, political and economic independence; it is experiencing one of the gravest crises in its history and is actually on the brink of ruin and national disaster.

The working class of Yugoslavia is subjected to colonial exploitation in the interests of American-British imperialists. Workers are deprived of all rights, working class organisations

have been broken up and turned into fascist-militarist organisations under the supervision of agents of American-British reaction. Tens of thousands of the best workers have been killed or are being put to death in the Rankovic torture chambers. Hunger and poverty, corruption and the black market, terror and lawlessness, forced labour and deception are rampant.

The present-day Titoite party, which the Titoites for demagogic reasons still call “Communist”, is, in composition, organisational structure, ideological base and political character, a fascist counter-revolutionary party. Its functions are those of a police-gestapo, terrorist-provocateur, predatory functions and directed against the peoples. The Titoite party is a hotch potch of the remnants of the old bourgeois parties, of counter-revolutionary Trotskyism, of the liquidators of the Party and countless imperialist agents. It is a hotch potch of the most reactionary element: Trotskyism, fascism, Right Social democratism, etc. This party is in the service of the American-British imperialists who supervise it. It is at war with all the Communist Parties of the world, its “leaders” are rabid enemies of Communism.

It goes without saying that such a “party” bodes no good for the peoples and the working class of Yugoslavia. The Titoite party is waging war not only against the Communist Parties of the world but also against the peoples of Yugoslavia. The Belgrade fascists are using this party as an instrument for suppressing the popular resistance to the imperialist plunder, for terror against the peoples of Yugoslavia, for plundering the national wealth of the country, for preparing war in the interests of the American-British imperialist aggressors.

III.

In the light of these facts and in the conditions of the growing resistance of the peoples of Yugoslavia to the fascist regime of the Tito clique, the question of re-creating a Communist Party of Yugoslavia is of paramount importance. The situation in the country, the growing liberation struggle of the people for the freedom and independence of Yugoslavia, the leading role of the Yugoslav working class in this struggle—all this urgently demands acceleration of the process for the creation of a genuine revolutionary, Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of Yugoslavia—vanguard and leader of the liberation struggle of the peoples of Yugoslavia.

The Information Bureau of Communist and Workers’ Parties rendered extensive and timely aid to the Yugoslav revolutionary forces. The Resolution “The Communist Party of Yugoslavia in the Power of Assassins and Spies” states: “A necessary condition for the return of Yugoslavia to the socialist camp is active struggle on the part of revolutionary elements both inside the Yugoslav Communist Party and outside its ranks, for the regeneration of the revolutionary, genuine true Communist Party of Yugoslavia, loyal to Marxism-Leninism, to the principles of proletarian internationalism, and fighting for the independence of Yugoslavia from imperialism”.

The results achieved prove that the Yugoslav revolutionary forces correctly understand their task. The numerous underground organisations in the country are, despite the difficulties, searchings and inexperience, successfully reorganising their work in keeping with the internal situation; they are establishing contact with one another and are taking deep root in the heart of the working masses. The struggle for peace, against the Tito traitors who are seeking to provoke a military conflict in the Balkans, occupies the central place in the activities of the underground Yugoslav Communist movement. Peace committees are being formed in the country, signatures are being collected to the Stockholm appeal calling for prohibition of the atomic weapon; the war provocations and preparations by the Tito clique are being exposed, and a struggle waged to disrupt the export from Yugoslavia of strategic materials for the American-British aggressors.

The Communist organisations are countering the fascist propaganda and ideology with which the Titoites are poisoning the minds of the peoples of Yugoslavia, with Marxist-Leninist teaching, with Lenin-Stalin ideas and the Stalin policy of peace and friendship between peoples. Revolutionary newspapers, leaflets and pamphlets are circulated, revolutionary slogans advanced, and reports by radio stations in the countries of the democratic, anti-imperialist camp circulated. The Yugoslav revolutionary forces in emigration are waging an active struggle against the Tito clique; they issue five weeklies and two bi-weekly newspapers which are successfully circulated in the country by the underground workers.

As a result of the struggle of the Yugoslav revolutionary forces, the Belgrade imperialist hirelings, despite the terror, and despite their demagoguery actually suffered a political defeat in the election held in March. In many places more than two-thirds of the total number of electors voted against the Tito candidates or openly boycotted the election by keeping away. The masses are waging a successful struggle against the plunder of the working peasantry. Less than 50 per cent of the export plan and “export obligations” has been carried out, Under the influence of the underground organisations the Yugoslav working people are refusing to perform compulsory labour; they are leaving the factories and mines working for the Western imperialists, boycotting work on military objects, refusing to unload and transport the war materials and munitions sent by the imperialists to the Titoites.

The imperialists and their Belgrade servitors are trying to plant their agents and provocateurs in the underground Communist Party and among the revolutionary emigrants. With this aim in view Rankovic sent UDB agents to work in the “underground” with the object of smashing the clandestine organisations. At first these degenerates caused considerable damage to the underground movement. Take the case of the provocateurs Sima Balen and Voij Luic within the country and Brankov and Hadjipanzov abroad. Only by raising their ideological level and Bolshevik vigilance can the Yugoslav revolutionaries successfully combat the Rankovic bandits, expose them to the people and warn the masses against the danger threatening them.

IV.

In its struggle against the Tito-Rankovic clique, and to build its vanguard—the Communist Party, the working class of Yugoslavia relies on the fraternal assistance of the international proletariat and Communist Parties, uses their rich revolutionary experience and, above all, the experience of the heroic Russian working class and the great Party of Lenin-Stalin.

The regenerated Yugoslav Communist Party must absorb the best militant forces of the working class and working people of the country. The loyalty of every Yugoslav Communist to the cause of Communism, to proletarian internationalism is being tested in the daily practical struggle against the Tito clique. The masses of Yugoslavia are opposed to this clique—their struggle must be headed and organised. But this can be done only by a militant, Marxist-Leninist party of the new type. There must be, and there will be such a Party in Yugoslavia!

The regenerated Yugoslav Communist Party will be successful provided it pursues the correct political line contained in the well-known resolutions of the Information Bureau. Our goal is to overthrow the counter-revolutionary fascist Tito clique, to return Yugoslavia to the fraternal family of socialist countries. This goal can be reached only if the regenerated Communist Party, and this must be particularly stressed, is permeated with the spirit of proletarian internationalism, the spirit of loyalty to the great bulwark of the international working class—the Soviet Union. We must always remember Comrade Stalin’s words:

“The revolutionary is he who, without reserve, unconditionally, openly and honestly, without secret military conferences is prepared to defend the U.S.S.R., for the U.S.S.R. is the

first proletarian revolutionary state in the world building Socialism. The internationalist is he who unreservedly, without hesitation and unconditionally is prepared to defend the U.S.S.R. for the U.S.S.R. is the base of the world revolutionary movement and it is impossible to defend, to advance this revolutionary movement without defending the U.S.S.R., and he who thinks of defending the world revolutionary movement apart from and against the U.S.S.R., is acting against the revolution, is definitely slipping into the camp of the enemies of the revolution.”

The political line is carried out in practical, revolutionary work. The peoples of Yugoslavia, exploited and oppressed by the Tito clique, realise more and more from their own experience that Yugoslavia can be saved from national disaster, can be wrested from the clutches of the imperialists only by overthrowing the fascist regime. This sentiment of the masses should be channelled along lines of organised struggle. Only the Communist Party can do this. That is why the regeneration of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia is a timely task. Success depends on how soon the transition will be effected from group and primitive methods of work in underground activities to unifying all the revolutionary forces.

The experience of the international revolutionary movement and the Bolshevik Party teaches that a revolutionary party must be built, above all, along lines of a genuine proletarian party; the working class is the most revolutionary of all classes, and the conditions under which it labours facilitate its being organised. The Yugoslav Communist Party must rally together, above all, the finest sons of the working class and become a force that enjoys the confidence and esteem of the whole working class, of all working people.

Our Party must be an advanced conscious, Marxist detachment of the working class, organised on the scientific, theoretical principles of Leninism. In order to carry out the great role of leader of the liberation struggle it must be an organised unit of the working class. This is of particularly great importance in conditions of the fascist terror unleashed by the Tito clique, when Communist must display great courage, selflessness, and iron discipline.

Lenin wrote: “How is the discipline of the revolutionary party of the proletariat maintained? How is it tested? How is it reinforced? First, by the class consciousness of the proletarian vanguard and by its devotion to the revolution, by its perseverance, self-sacrifice and heroism. Secondly, by its ability to link itself with, to keep in close touch with, and, to a certain degree if you will, merge itself with the broadest masses of the toilers—primarily with the proletarian, but also with non-proletarian masses. Thirdly, by the correctness of the political leadership exercised by this vanguard and by the correctness of its political strategy and tactics, provided that the broadest masses become convinced of this correctness by their own experience!”

An extremely important aspect of the process of regenerating the Communist Party of Yugoslavia is that of educating Communists in the spirit of unflagging revolutionary vigilance. Revolutionary vigilance is imperative in order to safeguard the regenerated Party from provocateurs and traitors, in order to prevent a single Rankovic agent getting into the Party. Revolutionary minded people should be trusted, but it is also necessary to test cadres in practical work. No less important is the technique of conspiracy. The Tito clique has a ramified police apparatus and in order successfully to fight this apparatus we must know how to build the underground organisations, how to establish contacts, how to effect leadership. The proper handling of the technique of conspiracy will help us to avoid traps and at the same time enable us to establish contact with the masses, will help us to avoid sectarian mistakes. Our strength lies only in the masses! We must remember Comrade Stalin’s words that “a party perishes if it shuts itself up in its narrow party shell, if it severs itself from the masses.”

The uppermost thought and wish of the Yugoslav revolutionaries is that the new Communist Party of Yugoslavia from its very first step take the path indicated by the great leaders and teachers of the working class—Lenin and Stalin; that it regain as quickly as possible, its place in the family of the fraternal Communist and Workers' Parties and in the entire international Communist movement. The Yugoslav revolutionaries realise that only by taking the path along which the great and glorious Bolshevik Party advanced and is advancing under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin, and along which the entire international working-class movement is today confidently marching forward, only thus will the new Yugoslav Communist Party be victorious in the liberation struggle, only thus will it wipe out the disgrace which the Tito clique has brought on the Yugoslav working-class movement.

Today, with the Yugoslav revolutionaries on the eve of building their new revolutionary Communist Party, they are imbued more than ever before with a feeling of infinite love, gratitude and devotion to the leader and teacher of the international proletariat and of all working people—Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin.

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