



30 YEARS

PARTY OF LABOUR



About the Party of Labor

I

The Party of Labor arose during the onset of the war and the breakup of Yugoslavia. It was founded in Belgrade on the 28th of March; by a group of Marxist-Leninists gathered around Vlado Dapčević, who continued his organized political work after years of imprisonment and isolation. The very act of creating the party was preceded by a clash of Marxist-Leninist groups with nationalist current within the newly formed CPY. This group decided to form a party under a new name, primarily due to Vlado Dapčević's insistence that it should distance itself from the multitude of groups that declare themselves to be communist in their name, but in reality, hold nationalist and chauvinistic stances.

The Party of Labor considered itself to be the ideological heir to the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, which led the fight against fascism and carried out a socialist revolution. At the same time, the Party of Labor set itself the goal to find answers to modern questions through concrete activities in concrete historical conditions.

The circumstances for the operation of The Party of Labor were extremely unfavorable due to the general propaganda about the collapse of communism, due to the compromise of the communist idea in Yugoslavia itself, the disoriented and shattered working class, and the complete dominance and rampage of nationalism and its madness in the crumbling Yugoslavia.





In the conditions in which the Party of Labor was created, its main goal was to crack down on nationalism and establish peace among Yugoslav peoples. It was considered that the pursuit of combat should be directed against greater-Serb nationalism as the most aggressive and strongest, which has managed to launch war against other peoples of Yugoslavia.

The party's propaganda during that period is based on handing out leaflets, issuing brochures in a small circulation, holding tribunes, and mostly on the presence of Vlado Dapčević in public through the media, which was used to propagate the basic views of the party. That period in the Party of Labor lasted almost a decade, until the end of the wars and the overthrow of the regime in Belgrade in 2000.

At that time, the party mainly conducted its activity on the territory of Serbia and in a smaller part on the territory of Montenegro.

In its propaganda opposing nationalism, The Party of Labor paid particular attention to the defense of a unified Bosnia and Herzegovina against the efforts of greater-Serb and greater-Croat nationalism to split it. The Party of Labor conducted its propaganda with a slogan: "Bosnia will not be split, because it can not be split!"

JEDNA JE BOSNA

PR
PARTIJA
RADA

JEDINA ZAJEDNIČKA KUĆA KOJU IMAMO, NAŠ OPŠTI DOM GORI VEĆ ČETVRTU GODINU. Taj požar izazvan je ZLOČINACKIM NACIONALISTIČKIM IDEOLOGIJAMA.

DUBOKO SMO UBEĐENI DA NAŠI NARODI SAMI TREBA DA ODLUČUJU O SVOJOJ SUDBINI. SAMO ONI MOGU PREKINUTI OVAJ BESMISLENI RAT I IZBORITI SE ZA MIR.

PRED NAJBOLJIM PREDSTAVNICIMA NAŠIH NARODA STOJI ISTORIJSKA ODGOVORNOST DA USTANU U ODBRANI CELOVITE BOSNE I HERCEGOVINE I SPREČE SVA NASTOJANJA DA SE IZVRŠI NJENO KOMADANJE.

ČETNIČKA I USTASKA IDEOLOGIJA NA BOSNI MORA PRETRPETI PORAZ.

BOSNA SE DELITI NEĆE, JER SE DELITI NE MOŽE!

USPOSTAVLJANJE CELOVITE BOSNE I HERCEGOVINE — ZAJEDNICE TRI RAVNOPRAVNA NARODA, PUT JE KA TRAJNOM MIRU I PUT ZA OBNAVLIJANJE PORUŠENIH MOSTOVA IZMEĐU JUGOSLOVENSKIH NARODA.

MIR MEĐU NAŠIM NARODIMA JE OSNOV ZA ZAPOČINJANJE BORBE PROTIV VLADAJUĆIH REŽIMA, DIKTATURE, DUHOVNE PUSTOŠI, SIROMAŠTVA, PLJACKE I SVIH OSTALIH VIDOVA LISAVANJA OSNOVNIH LJUDSKIH PRAVA KOJIMA SU IZLOŽENI NAŠI GRAĐANI.

SOLIDARNI U BORBI ZA INTERESE OSIROMAŠENIH I OBESPRAVLJENIH!

PARTIJA RADA

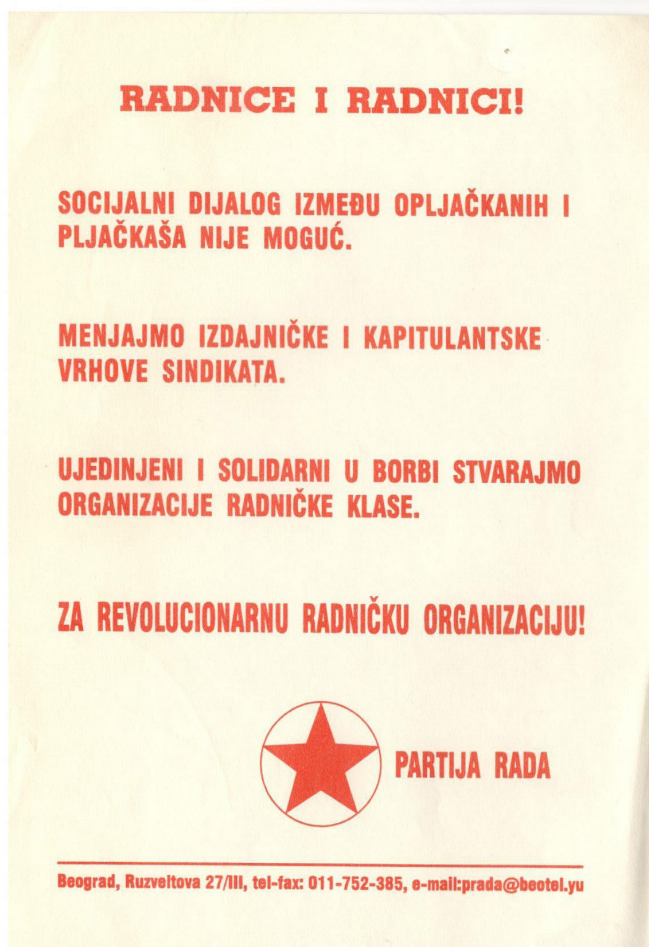
Partija rada — Beograd, Ruzveltova 27/III, tel.: 011-753-385; 011-360-189;
034-513-689; 033-47-343; 033-22-499.



During that period, the Party of Labor had directed a part of its activity toward social issues and labor, but this did not produce results. The disoriented and shattered working class on whom nationalism was imposed had no ear for a more organized class struggle which would be conducted from internationalist positions.

Party of Labor welcomed the end of the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina and advocated for the return of all refugees and the condemnation of all war criminals.

Following the end of the war, within the Party of Labor, the view that the party should focus on social issues gained a lot of ground. However, Vlado Dapčević rebutted with his stance: "This is not yet time for a workers' party", believing that nationalism has not yet been defeated and that Kosovo-Montenegro issue must be resolved first.



Afterwards, the Party emphasizes and focuses on the importance of the struggle of the Albanian people in Kosovo. In its bulletin, the party argued that the struggle of the Albanian people would be radicalized and would lead to its liberation from the boot of the Belgrade regime. For this purpose, the Party is conducting solidarity actions to defend the rights of the Albanian people in Kosovo and advocates an agreement between democratically elected representatives of the Albanian and Serbian people.

A current is formed in Party of Labor, which believes that struggle should not be led against the "Joint Yugoslav Left" (JYL), which appeared in Serbia. At the second assembly, this belief was a target of sharp criticism, from the opinion that the party should be abandoned by all those who do not accept the party's stance in relation to the entire corps of various "left" parties in Serbia. The JYL itself was designated, not only as an instrument of the Belgrade regime, but also as the last farce of false communism in the Yugoslav region. After this debate, a number of members left the party.



The Party of Labor concluded that this was in fact a continuation of the fight against the resurgence of nationalism in the party, which has now emerged from reformist positions and under the motto of some “modern left”.

Younger party members insist on the need for the realization of the first party congress, so that the party can get its program and elect a new leadership, which is ultimately accepted. The first congress was held in September 1997 and it led to the adoption of the first party program and the election of a new leadership. Vlado Dapčević



was elected as the head of the party, also as the committee of seven members. In its newly attained program, the first and most basic goal in this phase of the struggle is laid out: “In the current state of social consciousness, in the conditions of complete mafia-dictatorship, the working class is currently not able to carry out its role as the most revolutionary class and the wheel of social change. For that reason, the main task of the Party of Labor is to, through the fierce systematic work, smash the bourgeois-nationalist consciousness within the

working class, and to replace it with proletarian-internationalist consciousness. That is, as well, the first predisposition upon which the success of the struggle for socialism is dependent on. Success on the proletarian enlightenment of the working class is not possible unless a fierce struggle is waged against all parties that spread nationalist consciousness within the working class, which break it ideologically and politically and turn it into a reserve of the bureaucrat-mafia-bourgeoisie.” The congress also put forward two resolutions. Resolution PR (Party of Labor) on the national question in Yugoslavia and the Resolution PR on the NATO pact and its presence in Yugoslavia. These two caused some confusion within various communist parties abroad.

Before the Montenegrin elections of 1998, Party of Labor is actively supporting those forces that seek to defend Montenegrin independence, where Vlado Dapčević with his public appearances

played a crucial role.

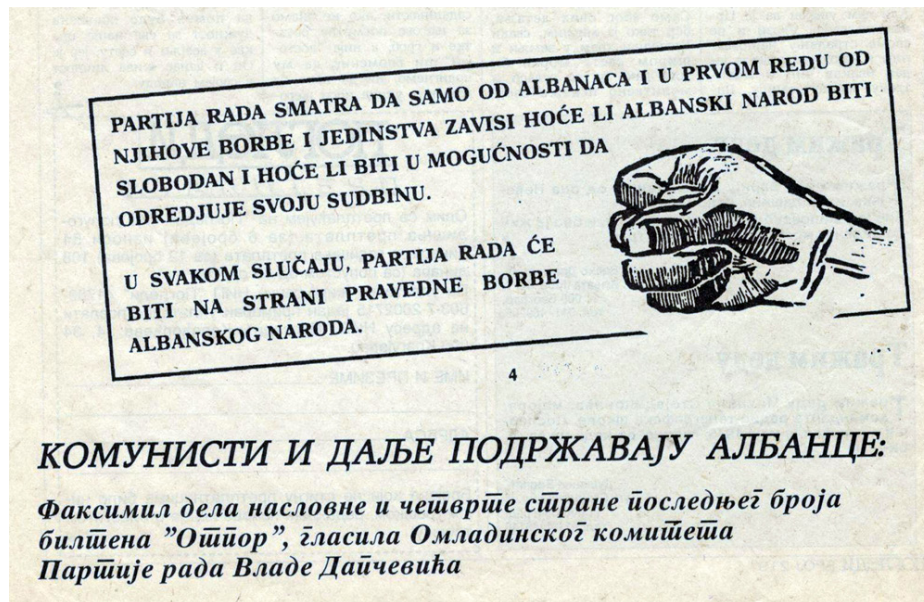


The armed conflict in Kosovo begins. Members of Party of Labor participate in anti-war actions and condemn the Belgrade regime because of their preparations for war on Kosovo. In its party press “Otpor”, Party of Labor puts forward a statement that the rotten Belgrade regime began a war against a whole nation and that it was doomed to lose that war.

Izdanje omladinskog komiteta Partije rada, novembar 1998.



Otpor



Party of Labor concluded that the NATO intervention beginning in 1999 (as well as before that in Bosnia and Herzegovina) was, at that time, in the interest of all Yugoslav people, because it put an end to, above all, the militaristic greater-Serb nationalist expansion, and ended the war in Kosovo, since the Yugoslav people had no force of their own which could defeat and resist the nationalist war.

Before the Serbian elections of September 2000, PR puts forth a slogan: "Dictatorship does not get taken down through elections!". Members of PR participate in demonstrations and blockades throughout Serbia, and especially played a role on the 5th of October when the Serbian government was taken down.



At the age of 84, Vlado Dapčević died on 12th of July 2001. Following his death, a number of members left the party, because they thought that the period of wars was over, that new circumstances were emerging and that without Vlado, PR had no prospects.



After the passing of Vlado Dapčević, the Party of Labor entered the second period of its development, characterized by the inflow of younger party membership, increased activism on the streets, but also certain confusion on

the further development of the party. That period lasted a total of nine years.

In its propaganda, the Party of Labor put forward a stance that the new government in Serbia was incapable of realizing the necessary democratic changes, considering that the government's politics was defined by those that wished to keep the greater-Serb politics in new conditions, those who refused to resist imperialism, and who wished to realize radical economic reforms to put the entire country under complete semi-colonial domination of imperialism through a brutal form of bourgeois dictatorship in the interest of the bourgeoisie and their mafia lackeys

The Party of Labor concluded that after the symbolic events of 11th of September 2001, and

the "Strike on America", the world is finding itself at the start of a protracted war cycle whose basic goal was to prevent the destruction of the capitalist order, and that imperialism has entered a phase where it can no longer keep itself afloat without a state of permanent conflict.

The Party of Labor increased its anti-imperialist and class propaganda, such as the organization of demonstrations in front of the US embassy in Belgrade, as a sign of rebellion against the US invasion of Afghanistan, which led to intervention against the demonstration.

The Party of Labor assessed that at the present moment of organizing the resistance to the imperialist crusade of the "war on terror" is an issue of all of the progressive movements around the world, and that solidarity with the struggle of proletariat at any point of the globe requires communist and labor organizations to develop consistent internationalist positions, which are foreign to any revisionism and dogmatic schematicism.

In June of 2002, the Party of Labor held it's second congress, during which a new program was put forth, and a new party leadership was chosen. While the first Party

of Labor program was principally against nationalism and for the establishment of peace, the second Party of Labor program gives much greater importance to the question of class and imperialism.

"Never before until now was it so clearly, and in its full force, visible the conflict between productive forces and capitalist productive relations. Just like the weaving machine and the steam engine destroyed the feudal social order, so will microprocessors, electronics and robotics destroy the capitalist social system."

(From the program of The Party of Labor)

By implementing its party program, the party begins organizing May Day marches on its own or participating in union events.





Due to the lack of a strong working-class party in Serbia, the Party of Labor believes that the tactics of all smaller parties and groups fighting for the interests of the working class at the moment should be based on a few key elements: Bringing class-consciousness into the ranks of the working class, attacking the defeatist role of the union leaders, taking the initiative in organizing unions, and leading the fight against the ideology of coexistence; i.e. the possibility of social dialogue between workers and capitalists in the process of so called “honorable” privatization.



In those activities, the Party of Labor puts forth a slogan: “Against the bourgeois dictatorship! Only through revolution!”

“Without removing the nationalist and petty-bourgeois consciousness from the working class, it will not be able to recognize its real goals and reach proletarian consciousness, the working class can only be used to achieve the most reactionary goals, i.e., it will easily be suppressed socially, without the right to rule the means of production and actively participate in the economic life of the country.”

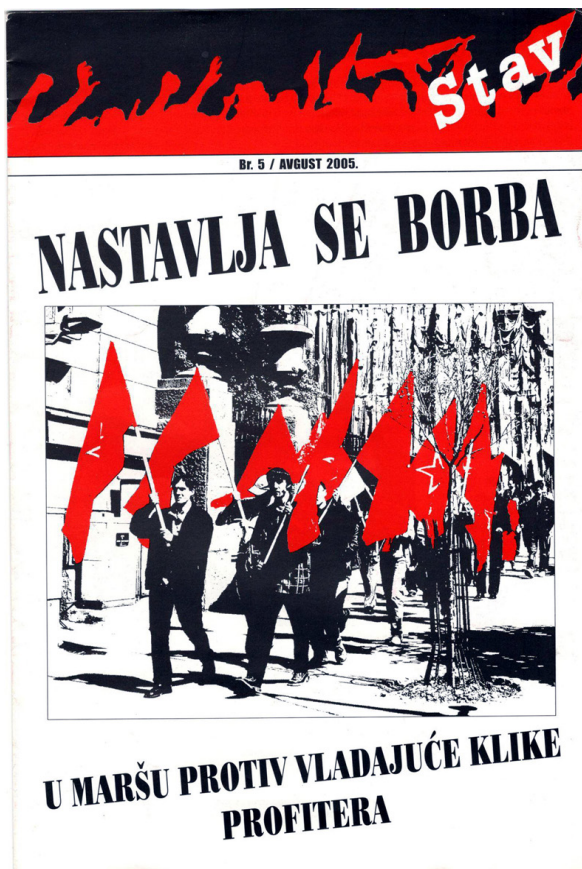
During this period, the Party of Labor intensified its relations internationally, participating in conferences of workers and communist parties around the world and in the Balkans. The first solid contacts with foreign organizations were also being established, particularly with organizations from the Turkish and Kurdish revolutionary movements.





On the occasion of the deepening power-building of NATO in Serbia, Party of Labor activists staged a protest in front of the Serbian government, calling for resistance from the Balkan people to the NATO occupation.

In Serbia, the government organizes, maintains and encourages the work of many nationalist and even fascist groups, which leads to the cooperation of the PR with many other groups that act from the position of anti-fascism. Through a series of joint actions, they are trying to oppose the penetration and activities of these groups at the University or on the street, such as the conflict with the fascists in Novi Sad in 2007.



The Party of Labor strengthens its activism in May Day demonstrations, spreading its stances and slogans into the presence of labor.

This heightened party activism on the street created a misconception of the party willingness to take it to the next level of its development. Without deep self-analysis and comprehensive discussion of the state of and abilities of the party, a party conference is called to adopt a document on the transition of The Party of Labor to a new phase of organizational activities.

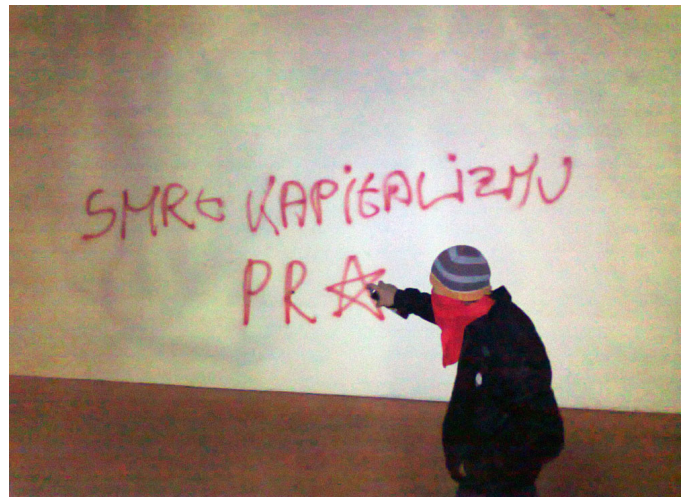


“The main reason for the party’s transition to underground work stems from the conditions in which it operates in and its set objectives, which cannot be achieved without the existence of an underground party. The basic task on the road to preparing one party for a revolutionary change of social order is to stop its structure from being available to the class enemy. To remain on the current level of legality, while at the same time wanting the party to move to a higher level of construction is in itself contradictory. Thus, the start of the transition to the illegal work must no longer be delayed. It is also a political issue, because the party that advocates the overthrow of the class enemy and the capitalist order, and does not want to go into illegal work, is completely contaminated by the most groundbreaking opportunism.”

The party was not ready to move on to a new way of working. After a short period, a conflict broke out in the party. One group of comrades rejects the party’s transition to illegal work, accusing the party of commandantism, that there is an improper attitude towards friends and that the party should be built from below through legal forms of association and initiatives. The group rejects a call for an inner-party debate to leave the party. This contributes to the party plunging into crisis and minimizing its work.

III

During a two-year period of crisis, the party seeks to preserve existing membership without abandoning the adopted principles of organization. The crises are being overcome by the acquisition of working-class sympathizers and other layers at the bottom of society’s social scene. The low theoretical level of activists tends to be compensated by increased studying of Marxist works. And in the 2010s, with new forces, the party gradually returned to the streets with its activism.





During the protests against cooperation with NATO, a number of activists were arrested, including party members.



But the real overcoming of the crises began with the penetration of the Party of Labor into Bosnia and Herzegovina. This caused an influx of new members and reinforced the sense among members that the period of new party work is beginning.





With that, the “third period” in the development of a Communist Party in the Balkans began. The basic characteristic of this period is the practical work done on the spreading of “Balkan Resistance Movement” idea in the masses and the development of party cadre.

The party carried out propaganda work systematically in dozens of cities and places in Bosnia and Herzegovina, through various means. Actions are carried out non-stop through 2012 and 2013.

The increased work in Bosnia led to party members in Serbia to increase their own activity, which contributed to eliminating the last bits of crises.







In parallel with this new ascent, the party for the first time more clearly formulates the idea in the need to create the Balkan Resistance Movement. The Party of Labor insists that the creation of the BRM is a historical inevitability, with the development of awareness that Balkan nations can only unite to jointly oppose colonizers, imperialism and modern fascism.

In order to implement BRM, a decision is made on the beginning of a camp, as a permanent practice, where in addition to party officials, members of other organizations with common ideological basis would gather. Comrades from Croatia are the first to be invited to the camp.



Members of the Party of Labor gather in protests with the goal of stopping historical revisionism in Serbia. Together with other groups and organizations, the party raised a voice against rehabilitation of war criminals and fascist collaborators of WW2.





The Party of Labor and its sympathizers had begun an action to destroy the symbols of the class enemy. Symbols of political organizations, their propaganda material, symbols of banks, etc., were targeted.





Fulfilling its international duties, the party conducted various actions of solidarity with imprisoned Turkish comrades.

The Party of Labor joined the popular revolt in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 2014. It was especially active in Tuzla, where key moments took place that contributed to the spread of rebellion to other cities. This was seen among the party membership as being confirmation of the party's past work in Bosnia and Herzegovina.





The defeat of the masses due to lack of a stronger revolutionary subject led to a conflict within the party.

The representatives of various international organizations gathered to the party's camp in 2015, which was conducted in Bosnia and Herzegovina, for the purpose of exchanging experience in class struggle

The Party of Labor gives support to local organizations which supported the Bosnian revolt.



A conflict arose on the question of the camp. Some comrades from Bosnia believed it should have a more open-ended character, that of a general public gathering. At the same time, those comrades showed a tendency of local-patriotism and a tendency to undermine democratic centralism in the party. This conflict caused harm to the party, and eventually a split. This caused harm to the movement as the group also called itself Party of Labor, causing great confusion within the masses, as well as international organizations. But the party recovered swiftly and much more easily this time.

The Party of Labor pointed out that the intention of the Montenegrin bourgeoisie to make Montenegro a NATO member – is in itself a crime. A propaganda campaign against NATO and Montenegrin intent to join it began, as well as calling forth the people to fight for freedom from imperialist butchers. For that purpose, various actions were held, including a burning of NATO flags, destruction of NATO symbolism, placing of banners, stickers, etc.



The Party kept spreading the idea of the Balkan Resistance Movement, hoping to involve as many activists from the area of Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Montenegro.







The Party of Labor pointed out that supporting the resistance of the Kurdish people is a basic duty in our internationalist spirit. The national-liberation struggle of the Kurdish people is in the interest of the struggle of the Balkan People.



On the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the founding of the party, an analysis of its work has been conducted. Despite a series of deficiencies during this period, it was concluded that the party rests on good conceptual foundations and that it performs its historical role of preserving and strengthening Marxist-Leninist ideas in the areas of its activities.





Comrades from Austria, Turkey, and Kurdistan attended the party camp on the occasion of one hundred years since the great socialist October revolution.





The party conducts great protests against the government in Serbia in 2018 and does so from a class perspective.



During the first of May protests of 2018, the party once again attacked the rotten union leaders and exposed them for their true role. That is to say, their role to suppress the resistance of the working class.





The party, under the slogan “Red Ribbons Against the System” and “Vote on the Street”, encourages citizens to boycott the elections in Serbia and not participate in the imposed farce of democracy.

**CRVENE TRAKE
PROTIV SISTEMA!**



**GLASAJ
NA ULICI!**





In a sign of solidarity with the hard struggle of women around the world against patriarchal and capitalist relations, the party conducts various actions of solidarity. The party also conducted internal discussions and debates, where it was concluded that the party did not do a proper job addressing the question of women.



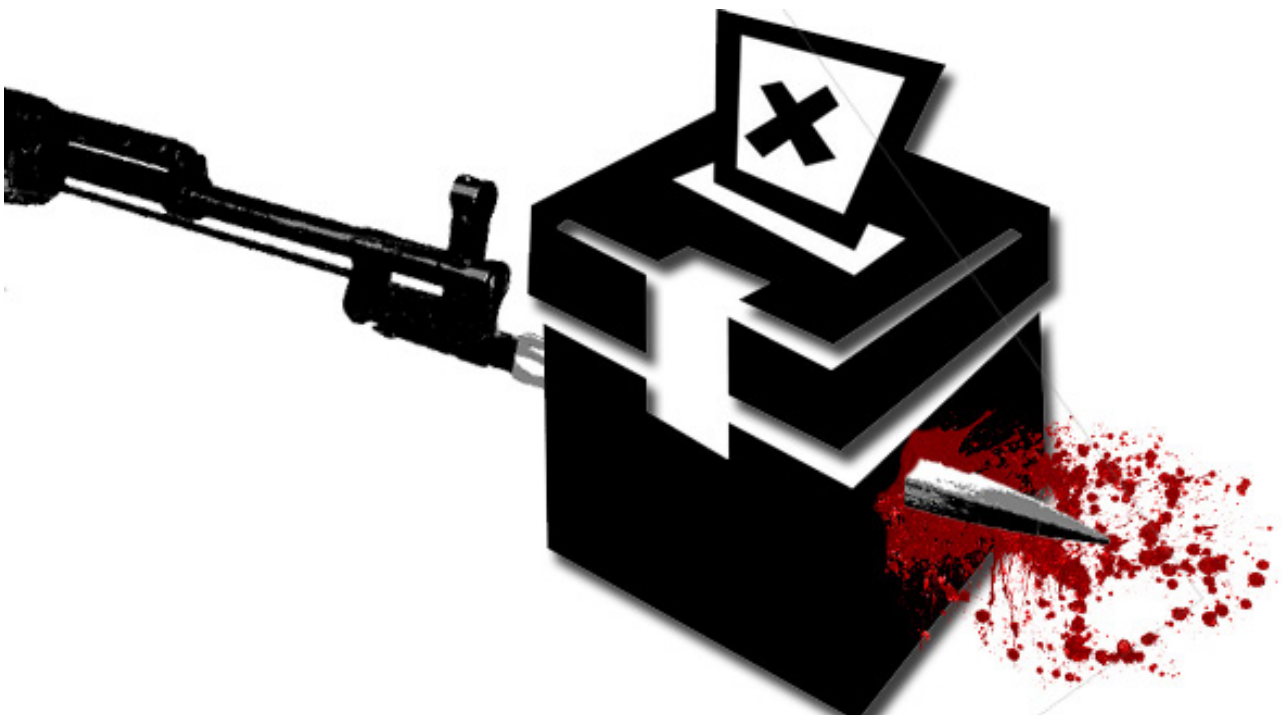


The Party of Labor pointed out that a 100 years ago, communists already had a concrete stance on the Macedonian national question and condemned all attempts of the Serb, Greek, and Bulgarian nationalists to argue against the existence of the Macedonian nation. The situation is the same today, communists must oppose all attempts to undermine Macedonian national identity.

On the 3rd party congress in 2018, it was concluded that the Party of Labor is still vastly outnumbered and does not have required authority over the masses, and is without a strong party structure. Opportunism and undermining of democratic centralism were also present in the party, as well as lack of criticism and self-criticism. It was concluded that the party has grown and gathered consciousness capable of turning it into a revolutionary party in modern conditions, on which organizations and movements around the world had a large influence, as well as the general crises of modern capitalism.

During this period, the Party of Labor kept waging a fierce struggle against reformist movement, especially because various reformist organizations called themselves parties of the proletariat.

“However, the policies of these groups, no matter how benign or sincere, are objectively a means of reaction. They favor imperialism, nationalism and the petite-bourgeois enemies, it is supposedly fighting. The bourgeois state apparatus (assembly, police, courts, military, etc.) exist solely to protect bourgeois interests and keep the proletariat in wage slavery. Because of this, any “progressive” policy that would try to break through the mechanisms of the existing bourgeois state apparatus is either doomed to fail or become a temporary tool in the hands of capital. By accepting the cynical liberal lie that by entering the bourgeois assemblies through the electoral mechanism can achieve concrete political changes in favor of the proletariat, these pseudo revolutionaries are harmful to the entire revolutionary processes in society. “Revolutionaries” hiding behind the ballot box are an “unaware instrument of the class and ideological enemy.”





The Party of Labor goes a step further and conducts criticism of all those that do not react to the basic problems of the current, the preparation of imperialist conflict, not understanding modern forms of fascism, and undermining the communist movement.

“But our position is also that being indifferent to all problems caused by contemporary capitalism, due to the technological revolution, means being indirectly indifferent to the demand for the abolition of privately owned capitalist relations. It means being indifferent to the basic goal of every revolutionary organization and movement. According to the goal that divides political organizations into those who remain in the sphere of existing relations and those who want to destroy the very foundations on which these relations rest. To those who want to liberate science from the hands of the ruling class through the destruction of the capitalist class itself, for the survival and well-being of mankind.”





IV

Within the party, various inner-party discussions are taking place. This gives birth to the “fourth period” in the development of our party. But, because of the party’s previous experience and the ideological readiness of the party being put into the question, which is still pre-revolutionary, it is not desired to make same errors from the past.

The party is discussing its engagement within international “Internationals”. Increasingly prevailing is the view that the widespread forms of various “Internationals” have played an initial positive role in the conditions of the general defensive proletarian movement. Today, however, they represent one form of obstacle in the development of the international revolutionary movement. And that new paths of connectivity and a new way of working should be created in order to strengthen the movement. Party of Labor believes conditions are being created for the construction of a new revolutionary line in the proletarian movement. In its practice, Party of Labor has already taken the position to build its contacts and co-operation with those organizations that demonstrate their revolution in practice, regardless of which declarative existing divisions in the international movement they come from.

“This revolutionary line occurs in conditions of total capital concentration on a global level, a thorough and permanent crisis of capitalism and the chaos it produces, which threatens the destruction of humanity. This revolutionary line is the essence of all previous lines, and also a specialty because it encompasses, until now, the widest form of disenfranchised layers – in addition to the working class, the million masses of peasants, the unemployed, the women, the precariat workers, the scientific intellectuals. However, the particularness of this revolutionary line is most reflected in this contrast of imperialist centers and its periphery, which is taking an increasingly harsh form, where there is a need to establish a single front of struggle in the fortresses of imperialism, its metropolises, and colonial expanses across the globe. This dialectical unity of radical struggle in various forms with the aim of destroying capitalism takes us back to the beginning and the end - to enable the birth of a new world whose existence is already presupposed in the dying world of capitalism.”







The Party of Labor began an initiative to work with different organizations and groups to strengthen the idea of a united front in practical work.

In its articles, the party struggled against and attacked new theories about a post-capitalist society, coming from the representatives of the biggest capital.

“Long ago, Marx formulated the “revival” of previous epochs in the face of the crisis of capitalism. When it all comes out, it’s all forgotten and the ideas of the last one come along. Thus, today the most fragile capitalists, due to the inability to overcome the continuing crisis of their system, seek salvation through the establishment of a “new feudalism”. This is nothing but a fantasy.”



““New”, “inclusive” capitalism, or the imagined post-capitalist era, as something that needs to overcome the current world chaos, intends to realize global capital, or rather a handful of the richest people in the world. It is a world that should rest on the so-called computer dictatorship basically; the abolition of nation-states and the fragmentation of the imperial states themselves; on the abolition of many of these formal rights proclaimed by previous capitalism; on the complete transformation of the financial sector; on the destruction of the so-called middle class as unnecessary; on the introduction of new control technologies; in ecologically clean and socially balanced oases with a reduction in the number of planetoids and under the complete control of the ruling “techno aristocracy”. As a new form of living in modern concentration camps.” (2021)

In early 2022, the Party of Labor conducted an analysis of the general crises of capitalism, and the upcoming inter-imperialist war, with its consequences for the future of the Balkan people and the Balkan Resistance Movement and the Party of Labor itself.



"A Revolutionary is a person who comes to a certain conceptual and political knowledge and who can no longer be a man without being a revolutionary."
- Vlado Dapčević

CRNA GORA CRNOJ GORI!

