

**THE NEW ROLE OF  
NATIONAL LEGISLATIVE BODIES IN THE  
COMMUNIST CONSPIRACY**

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**REPRINT OF  
"HOW PARLIAMENT CAN PLAY A REVOLUTIONARY  
PART IN THE TRANSITION TO SOCIALISM" AND  
"THE ROLE OF THE POPULAR MASSES"**

**By JAN KOZAK  
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**COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES  
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
EIGHTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS  
FIRST SESSION**



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# RULES ADOPTED BY THE 87TH CONGRESS

House Resolution 8, January 3, 1961

## RULE X

### STANDING COMMITTEES

1. There shall be elected by the House, at the commencement of each Congress,

(a) Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine Members.

## RULE XI

### POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

(a) Committee on Un-American Activities.

(1) Un-American activities.

(b) The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time investigations of (1) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (2) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (3) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

The Committee on Un-American Activities shall report to the House (or to the Clerk of the House if the House is not in session) the results of any such investigation, together with such recommendations as it deems advisable.

For the purpose of any such investigation, the Committee on Un-American Activities, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized to sit and act at such times and places within the United States, whether or not the House is sitting, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, to require the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents, and to take such testimony, as it deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or any subcommittee, or by any member designated by any such chairman, and may be served by any person designated by any such chairman or member.

27. To assist the House in appraising the administration of the laws and in developing such amendments or related legislation as it may deem necessary, each standing committee of the House shall exercise continuous watchfulness of the execution by the administrative agencies concerned of any laws, the subject matter of which is within the jurisdiction of such committee; and, for that purpose, shall study all pertinent reports and data submitted to the House by the agencies in the executive branch of the Government.

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# THE NEW ROLE OF NATIONAL LEGISLATIVE BODIES IN THE COMMUNIST CONSPIRACY

## INTRODUCTION

From behind the Iron Curtain has come one of the most amazing Communist documents of our time. Brazen, boastful, and alarmingly frank, it is a detailed account of treachery and intrigue employed by the Reds during the three years preceding their 1948 conquest of Czechoslovakia. The document offers the case history of Czechoslovakia as a Communist blueprint for subversion and coercion in all free world nations. It places special emphasis on the use of parliaments in bringing about Communist revolutions.

The document actually consists of two chapters from a book entitled "About the Possible Transition to Socialism by Means of the Revolutionary Use of Parliament and the Czechoslovak Experience," first brought to the attention of the free world at the 1957 London conference of the Inter-Parliamentary Union. Three years later, copies of two chapters<sup>1</sup> from the book came into the possession of Radio Free Europe, which translated them into English.

The authorship of this document is of great significance. It was not written by a Kremlin theoretician, but by Jan Kozak, a Communist member of the Czechoslovak National Assembly. Kozak, now the official historian of the Czech Communist Party, is a chest-beating, battlewise conspirator who knows from first-hand experience that bold and deceitful Communist tactics can overcome strategical and numerical disadvantages when the non-Communist opposition fails to comprehend a threat to its existence until it is too late. Kozak was a participant in the new Communist parliamentary tactics which proved so successful in achieving and maintaining victory "from within" in Czechoslovakia and other countries that the Kremlin departed completely from long-standing strategy and adopted a new post-revolution role for legislative bodies in Red-conquered nations. Whereas destruction was formerly the Communists' plan for a national legislative institution, it is now their policy to convert it into "an active revolutionary assembly."

"Our experience," says Kozak, "provides notable and practical proof that it is possible to transform parliament from an instrument of the bourgeoisie into an organ of power for the democracy of the working people [i.e., a Communist dictatorship], into a direct instrument of power for the peaceful development of the socialist revolution."

Parliaments, of course, have always been the targets of Communist conspirators in free nations. The Second World Congress of the Comintern (Communist International) in Moscow in 1920, for in-

<sup>1</sup> Entitled "How Parliament Can Play a Revolutionary Part in the Transition to Socialism" and "The Role of the Popular Masses."

stance, reiterated the original Communist doctrine on national legislatures:

The parliament at present can in no way serve as the arena of a struggle for reform. . . . Therefore it is the immediate historical task of the working class to tear this apparatus out of the hands of the ruling classes, to break and destroy it. . . . At the same time, however, the revolutionary general staff of the working class is vitally concerned in having its scouting parties in the parliamentary institutions of the bourgeoisie in order to facilitate this task of destruction. . . .

Communism repudiates parliamentarism as the form of the future; it renounces the same as a form of the class dictatorship of the proletariat . . . its aim is to destroy parliamentarism. Therefore it is only possible to speak of utilizing the bourgeois State organizations with the object of destroying them.

Now Communists hold a different view: Parliaments can be helpful post-revolution vehicles for transforming democratic nations into full-fledged Communist satellites and, therefore, should not be destroyed. Kozak explains the new Red reasoning:

Parliament in bourgeois countries is a product of historical development and cannot be erased from life. It is necessary, therefore, to work in it and to use it in the fight against bourgeois society.

That the Communist leaders have in fact done an about face in regard to the role of parliament is confirmed in Moscow's official English version of the book, "Fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism," the latest compendium of Red doctrine (published in 1959) for the instruction of Communists in all parts of the world. The book states:

The Communists have for decades persistently exposed the parliamentary illusions which the reformists sowed among the workers. This does not mean that the Communist Parties wholly rejected the parliamentary struggle. They recognized its significance for the defence of the day-to-day interest and democratic rights of the people. At the same time, however, they pointed out that by means of the parliamentary struggle the working class could not achieve its fundamental aims, could not wrest power from the hands of the bourgeoisie.

This position was correct for its time because it was dictated by the historical conditions which then prevailed.

But the situation has now changed and the revolutionary parties have a different attitude to the parliamentary struggle. Analyzing the conditions of the working class struggle in our day, the Twentieth Congress of the C.P.S.U.<sup>2</sup> arrived at the conclusion that the working class can now make use of the machinery of parliamentary democracy to win power. [Emphasis added.]

<sup>2</sup> Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

At the Twentieth Congress of the C.P.S.U. held in Moscow in February, 1956, a resolution was adopted which stated, in part, that—

in present-day conditions the working class in many capitalist countries has a genuine opportunity to unite the overwhelming majority of the people under its leadership and to ensure that the basic means of production are placed in the hands of the people. Rightist bourgeois parties and the governments which they form are suffering failure more and more often. In these conditions, the working class, uniting around itself the working peasantry, the intellectuals and all patriotic forces, and firmly rebuffing opportunist elements incapable of renouncing a policy of collaboration with the capitalists and landlords, has an opportunity to defeat the reactionary, anti-popular forces, to win a firm majority in parliament and to turn the parliament from an agency of bourgeois democracy into an instrument of genuinely popular [i.e., Communist] will. [Emphasis added.]

The previously mentioned "Fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism" acknowledges how impressed the Kremlin is by the Czechoslovakian type of Communist parliamentary revolution when it attributes passage of the above resolution by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to the fact that other Communist parties of the world had arrived at this same conclusion on the basis of their actual experience.

"Fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism" continues:

It is quite clear why Marxism has tackled this problem. Broad anti-monopoly, anti-imperialist coalitions, uniting the majority of the nations, are now in process of formation in the capitalist world. These coalitions may give rise to new types of popular power, and parliament—as a nation-wide representative institution—may serve as their organizational form and as a means of developing a wide struggle against monopoly rule.

By retaining the national legislature in a country which they have seized, the Communists hope to cloak themselves with a measure of respectability and establish a basis for self-serving propaganda. Kozak, therefore, insists that the Red victory in Czechoslovakia was accomplished "absolutely legally," and adds:

Our way has supplied a definite proof that Marxism-Leninism has nothing in common with a "cult of violence" and has shaken very seriously the lying propaganda . . . that the basic difference between the revolutionary workers' movement and reformism lies in the question of a "non-bloody" way to socialism.

"Fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism" elaborates on the same subject:

The parliamentary method of transition to socialism would give the working class a number of advantages. The formation of a new power by so traditional an institution as parliament is for many countries, would at once endow it with the necessary authority, facilitating the subsequent socialist

transformations. Any resistance to the socialist revolution would in this case be illegal, not only *de facto* but also *de jure*, and aimed against the will of the nation expressed by parliament.

Although "Fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism," in these words, does advocate the seemingly "democratic" and "peaceful" extension of the Communist conspiracy where possible, it also freely acknowledges that this is not always possible and calls for force and violence whenever they are necessary to implement a Red revolution. The book states:

While noting that the possibility of a peaceful revolution has appeared, Marxists-Leninists are at the same time aware of the fact that in a number of cases a sharp accentuation of the class struggle is inevitable. Wherever the reactionary bourgeoisie has a strong army and police force at its disposal, the working class will encounter fierce resistance. There can be no doubt that in a number of capitalist countries the overthrow of the bourgeois dictatorship will inevitably take place through an armed class struggle. [Emphasis added.]

A manifesto released December 5, 1960, at the conclusion of a lengthy Moscow meeting attended by representatives of 81 Communist parties throughout the world, clearly spelled out the need for violence in furthering the Communist revolution. It stated that—

in the event of the exploiting classes' resorting to violence [to resist a Communist takeover] the possibility of *non-peaceful* transition to socialism should be borne in mind. *Leninism teaches, and experience confirms, that the ruling classes never relinquish power voluntarily.* In this case the degree of bitterness and the forms of the class struggle will depend . . . on the resistance put up by the reactionary circles. . . . [Emphasis added.]

In short, whenever free world nations refuse to lie down and play dead before the conspiratorial menace, the Communists intend to resolve the issue in their favor with violence.

In a major address delivered in Moscow on January 6, 1961, Soviet dictator Nikita Khrushchev said:

Marxism-Leninism starts from the premise that the forms of the transition to socialism may be peaceful and *non-peaceful*. It is in the interests of the working class, of the masses, that the revolution be carried out in a peaceful way. But in the event of the ruling classes resisting the revolution with violence and refusing to submit . . . the proletariat will be *obliged to crush their resistance and launch a resolute civil war.* [Emphasis added.]

In sum, Communist doctrine states that the conspiracy can sometimes achieve its aims, as well as "respectability," through parliamentary intrigue or other non-violent means; but that when this is not possible, it must resort to force and violence.

Lest the Communist cloak of respectability be taken seriously, witness Kozak's description of the Reds' program for Czechoslovakia, formulated long before their seizure of power (to be accomplished with the blessing of parliament if possible, without if necessary):

Of the political points in this program, these were the most important: the breaking up of the basic members of the old oppressive bourgeois state apparatus and assumption of power by the national committees, the formation of a new people's security system and army, the prohibition of the revival of the political parties which had represented the treacherous upper bourgeoisie, a systematic purge of the entire political, economic and cultural life of the country, the settlement of the relations between the Czech and Slovak nations on the principle of equality, the expulsion of the German minority, etc.

Of the economic measures, the following were the most important: the transfer of all enemy property, of that of the treacherous upper bourgeoisie and of other traitors, to the national administration of the new people's authorities; the transfer of the land belonging to these enemies and traitors to the ownership of landless persons, tenants and working smallholders.

The principal foreign policy task was unequivocal alliance with the Soviet Union, safeguarding national liberty and independence as a state and further undisturbed, peaceful development for the nations of Czechoslovakia.

The form of parliament remained the same in Czechoslovakia after the Red takeover, but as Kozak admits, "the content was different."

Communists have always preferred, when feasible, to extend their international conspiracy by legal or seemingly legal means. This lessens the chance of civil war and eases the path of conquest. Friedrich Engels, in a foreword to Marx' "Class Struggles in France," wrote:

The irony of world history puts everything upside down. With us "revolutionaries" and "rebels," legal methods agree much more than illegal ones or than a coup. The parties of order, as they call themselves, die by the legal state which they created.

Lenin, too, preferred to follow the easiest road to revolution—even though he said Communists should never hesitate to take the hard road of violence when it was called for. According to Kozak, Lenin held that:

A delivery may be difficult or easy. Naturally, we are all for an easy and painless delivery. . . . But if necessary we are ready to undergo a difficult and painful delivery [the use of force and violence] to see the child born.

All-out Communist military aggression and guerrilla warfare in Korea, Tibet, Vietnam, Cuba, and Laos underline the fact that Communist strategy has never departed from Lenin's call for force and violence, when necessary, "to see the child born." Furthermore, the bloody streets of Budapest and the execution pits in Havana provide



indisputable evidence that Communist leaders will employ all the tools of terror and violence necessary "to keep the child alive."

Clearly the international conspiracy of communism is a multiple assault on the dignity and freedom of man. Cries of peace, threats of war, open coercion, quiet subversion, testing of bombs, and deceitful disarmament schemes are all included in the many-sided Communist strategy designed for only two purposes—conquest and enslavement. Although the conspiracy's right hand is often extended in an apparent gesture of friendship and human decency, its left hand ever grips tightly the handle of violence and treachery. Shamelessly it substitutes the left hand for the right hand at will.

In a letter published by the Washington "Evening Star" on December 13, 1961, Stefan Korbonski, chairman of the Polish delegation to the Assembly of Captive European Nations, related an outstanding example of Communist hand-switching in his native country. It occurred after World War II, when the Communist regime mistakenly considered itself to be strong enough to call for an election and have its authority confirmed by the people in a show of democracy. When overwhelming opposition to the Polish Communist rule became obvious during the pre-election days, the Reds reverted to a savage campaign of terror and murder. Quoting from official protests filed just before that January 19, 1947, election, Korbonski described what happened as follows:

One hundred and eighteen local leaders of the anti-Communist independent Polish Peasant Party, on behalf of which I became a member of parliament, were murdered by the security police during the electoral campaign.

One hundred and sixty-two candidates for parliament, 1,962 local militants, almost all of our observers at 5,227 boards of elections and about 100,000 members of our party were arrested.

Three hundred and twenty-seven of our party offices were raided by the security police who in 48 cases planted weapons on the premises and our party was prohibited from carrying out its activities in 29 counties; finally, our lists of candidates were declared invalid in 10 districts comprising 76 deputies.

"In all 'elections' which were held afterwards," wrote Korbonski in his "Evening Star" letter, "no opposition party was ever tolerated and they followed the well-known Soviet pattern."

Another example of how Communist force is used for both the takeover and the enslavement of a people is found in the case of East Germany. An article which appeared in the Moscow newspaper "Pravda" on December 30, 1961, according to an Associated Press dispatch, reported that East German Communist Leader Walter Ulbricht had "acknowledged officially for the first time that the presence of the Soviet army alone made possible the communization of East Germany."

One of the great lessons to be learned from the Kozak document is that the Communist movement is not a reform movement; to the contrary, Communists are the arch enemies of parliamentary reformists and consider the latter obstructionists to the underlying Red aim of

rendering impotent all elements of society which refuse to submit to the will of their international conspiracy. Kozak explains:

To the reformists, parliament . . . is an organ for co-operation between the workers' class and the bourgeoisie. Partial reforms achieved in the parliament (in agreement with the capitalists) serve the reformists as evidence that peaceful coexistence of bourgeoisie and the workers' class is possible, that class struggle is dying down, that revolution is superfluous and political domination of the workers' class unnecessary. Instead of the necessity of a proletarian democracy, they sustain the illusion of a parliamentary, pure democracy.

Therefore, if the workers' class is to create under its leadership a united revolutionary popular movement able to break the resistance of the reactionary bourgeois forces, if it is to transform a bourgeois parliament into an organ of the will of the working people and to use it as an instrument for a peaceful transition to socialism, it must fight systematically and energetically against reformism with its treacherous ideology and practice.

Yet Kozak readily advocates a Communist alliance with reform groups for the purpose of creating a "National Front" in the formative stages of a revolution. In pursuing this strategy, he says, ". . . not the questions of fundamental differences should be emphasized but those questions which are common and which reflect immediate interests." Such an alliance was necessary for the Communists in Czechoslovakia because they represented a distinct minority among the numerous power-seeking groups; but once they had set up a National Front, it didn't take long for the militant Communist minority to capture control of it "over the heads of the leaders."

In addition to advancing the Communists' interests in Czechoslovakia, the National Front strategy provided them with a better opportunity for subverting and reducing the power of their so-called reformist "allies." Says Kozak:

It fulfilled the tactical principle of obtaining from all unreliable allies concessions, obligations and promises as far-reaching as possible, this being the surest way to compromise them and to help the faithful allies within these parties.

Although the use of parliament played an important role in the Communist takeover in Czechoslovakia, it was only one element in the over-all strategy which accounted for the Red victory. From the outset, the plan followed was one of creating pressure "from below" (the masses) and combining it with pressure "from above" (Reds in key government posts and parliament) to clamp the opposition in the jaws of a pincer. A prime example of this tactic was the land reform program passed by the Czech Parliament after a violent struggle between its Communist and anti-Communist members.

First, the Communist-controlled Ministry of Agriculture (pressure "from above") announced a proposal for a drastic "reform" program that would confiscate land from all but small holders. The Ministry

invited reaction and support from the working peasantry (pressure "from below"). Workers' organizations and newly-created "Peasants' Commissions" throughout the country were instructed to draft petitions and pass resolutions in favor of the land reform proposal. These were forwarded by the thousands to Parliament.

The Communist minority in the Parliament openly agitated and debated for passage of the program. A sharp class fight followed. Members who would not support the proposal were labeled as representatives of the big landowners and enemies of the people. They were falsely accused of wanting to give additional state-owned land and forests to the big real estate holders.

Next, the Ministry of Agriculture announced even more drastic land reform proposals (more pressure "from above"), increasing the intensity of the class struggle. These included the seizure of all land held for the purpose of investment and a state mechanization plan for small farms.

The climax came when delegations from Peasants' Commissions, the Communist Party, pro-Communist elements in other National Front parties, and other Red-inspired groups descended upon Parliament in mass and, in Kozak's words, "stormily warned the leadership of the bourgeois parties not to obstruct their demands, claiming their immediate implementation" (more pressure "from below").

Parliament was converted into a riotous, revolutionary assembly. The badly shaken opposition fell apart, and the land reform law was passed. For all practical purposes, parliamentary resistance to the Communist conspiracy was ended. Twelve non-Communist government ministers soon resigned in indignation over still another Red-created crisis and were replaced by pro-Reds. The Communists then armed selected factory guards and key workers' groups to secure the revolution.

In discussing victories and defeats in other countries, Kozak credits the Communists' arming of "mature" workers with the suppression of counter-revolutions in Poland and Hungary. He attributes the defeat of the Communists in the Spanish Civil War to the fact that the Reds were unable to muster sufficient pressure "from above" for a "purge of fascist generals from the army, so the army was preserved for the counter-revolution . . . ."

Parliament, as a pressure "from above," played a key role in the gradual movement which gave Communists complete control over Guatemala in the early fifties. A 1957 State Department pamphlet, entitled "A Case History of Communist Penetration," points out that—

what is almost incredible is the measure of success the Communists achieved in penetrating, subverting, and finally controlling the governmental machinery of Guatemala.

Within 10 years a handful of Communists in Guatemala attained a position of political influence which was unique in the free world . . . . Through the technique of the "popular front" they dictated to the Congress and openly manipulated the President. The judiciary made one valiant attempt to protect its integrity and independence, but the Communists,

using their control of the legislative body, caused the Supreme Court to be dissolved when it refused to give approval to a Communist-concocted law.

Having attained dictatorial power over the Congress and having "legally" removed the Supreme Court, the only remaining restraint on the national legislature's actions (the executive was already under complete Red domination), the Communists in Guatemala had a clear field in which to implement their revolutionary aims (until an armed revolt was required to end their rule in 1954).

Even here in the United States, Communists have, from time to time, made successful penetrations of "parliaments." Sworn testimony at 1948 hearings conducted by the Washington State Joint Legislative Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities, for example, disclosed that more than a dozen members of the Washington State Legislature in the late thirties and early forties had simultaneously been members of the Communist Party. There were at least nine Communist members of the State Legislature during its session of 1939. Whenever legislative strategy of common interest to this group was required, word passed among them that there was to be a meeting of the "Dykes, Drains and Ditches Committee." Then the Reds would retire to one of the committee rooms for a caucus.

Several of the identified Communists were still serving in the Washington State Legislature at the time of the 1948 hearings.

A naturalized U.S. citizen who had served ten years in the Michigan State Senate was identified in sworn testimony before the House Committee on Un-American Activities as a member of the Communist Party. In several appearances before the committee, he consistently asserted his privilege under the fifth amendment and refused to confirm or deny party membership.

Three former U.S. Congressmen, two elected in 1936 and the other in 1944, were subsequently identified as having been members of the Communist Party. Two of them became fifth-amendment witnesses on this subject before the committee. The third ex-Congressman denied that he had ever been a Communist Party member, but freely admitted that he had aided numerous organizations listed as subversive by the Attorney General. Furthermore, during an appearance before the committee in 1955, he went so far as to refuse to acknowledge that the Soviet Union had ever attempted espionage activities in the United States.

At the Seventeenth National Convention of the Communist Party of the U.S.A. held in New York City in December 1959, an adopted resolution, with apparent reference to the 1958 elections, claimed:

Despite certain glaring gaps and much unevenness, the Party played an important role in a number of electoral struggles (California, Ohio, New York, Illinois, Michigan, etc.). . . .

In outlining future Communist Party action, convention leaders hammered at the need for infiltrating both the Democratic and Republican Parties (with special concentration upon influencing the nomination of candidates in primary elections), creating dissension within, and causing factions to break from, the two major parties and ultimately organizing these dissident groups into a Communist-run third party of the "farmer-labor" variety. However, mindful of the



fate of the Progressive Party—which, the Communists now admit, failed because they had not developed sufficient grassroots support to sustain it before setting it up—the party's convention bosses warned against "premature and adventurist splits which result in isolation." The convention delegates were told:

If such a party is to serve effectively as the political expression of a broad democratic [Communist] front of the people against monopoly, its emergence would involve a mass break-away from the traditional two-party system. It would have to be based firmly on the trade unions, have at its core a solid Labor-Negro alliance, and win the adherence of the mass of farmers and of the city middle strata.

An article by Betty Gannett in the July 1961 issue of the Communist magazine "Political Affairs" is recent evidence that the Reds are carrying out the instructions laid down at the Seventeenth National Convention. Comrade Gannett outlined a feverish program of activity by which the Reds were to influence the then approaching November 7 New York City elections. She said that "we must give serious consideration to running several Communist candidates."

In view of the renewed emphasis by the Communist Party of the USA on penetrating legislative bodies in this country, it is well for every American voter to be reminded of the long-standing "rule of allegiance," as spelled out at the Second World Congress of the Comintern, under which Communist "legislators" operate:

Each Communist representative must remember that he is not a "legislator", who is bound to seek agreements with the other legislators, but an agitator of the party, detailed into the enemy's camp in order to carry out the orders of the party there. The Communist member is answerable not to the wide mass of his constituents, but to his own Communist Party—whether legal or illegal.

It must also be remembered that the Communist Party of the USA is not answerable to itself or its members, but rather, as an integral part of an international conspiracy, to the Red bosses in the Kremlin. After extensive hearings, the Subversive Activities Control Board found on April 20, 1953, that the Communist Party of the USA "is substantially directed, dominated and controlled by the Soviet Union, which controls the world Communist movement." The Board said that the Communist Party in this country "has and does at the present time teach, advocate, and carry out activities having for their objective the overthrow of the United States Government . . . pursuant to directives of the Soviet Union . . . for the purposes of defending and protecting the Soviet Union. . . ."

Therefore, like the Czech party and all Red parties in the international conspiracy, the Communist Party of the USA is committed to the subversive parliamentary tactics and objectives outlined in the Kozak document, the "Fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism," the manifesto of 81 Communist parties in 1960, and all other orders and directives sanctioned or dictated by Moscow.

If Communists are to be thwarted from making further penetrations of the "enemy's camp" in this country, it would seem incumbent upon every American voter to adopt a more careful interest in his own

political party and especially in primary elections. All too often, primaries are ignored or considered of secondary importance by the general public; thus militant Communist conspirators, by default, win greater influence on the vital matter of selecting the candidates who will run for office.

Communists have made significant penetrations of parliaments in many of the other long-established free world nations. As of January 1960, they held 25 per cent of the national parliamentary seats in Finland, 17 per cent in Iceland, and 24 per cent in Italy. Now the Reds are confident they can make even faster and more extensive progress in both older and newly emerging nations—as they have in British Guiana with the subtle infiltration of parliaments. The joint statement by delegations from 81 Communist parties which met in Moscow in 1960 said:

Whatever form of dictatorship of the proletariat is established, it will always signify an extension of democracy, a transition from formal, bourgeois democracy to genuine democracy [communism], to democracy for working people.

In his January 6, 1961, address, Khrushchev said:

The transition to socialism in countries with developed parliamentary traditions may be effected by utilizing Parliament and in other countries by utilizing institutions conforming to their national traditions. In this case it is a question of using the parliamentary form and not the bourgeois Parliament as such in order to place it at the service of the people [i.e., the Communist Party]. . . .

Jan Kozak gives further impetus to the general realization that newly emerging nations are a primary target of the Reds:

In the interest of their further development, they [newly emerging nations] are obliged to cooperate with the socialist camp and thus to strike new blows at world capitalism.

In the October 29, 1961, issue of "This Week" magazine, Petr Zenkl, vice premier of Czechoslovakia and a member of its Parliament at the time of the Red takeover, confirms that the Communists used his country as a "dress rehearsal" for new "techniques to undermine free governments without the use of military force." He compares Kozak's document in importance to Lenin's "State and Revolution" and Hitler's "Mein Kampf." He describes it as "a frightening blueprint of the things the Communists hope to accomplish." Zenkl also points out that the Reds are now repeating in the United Nations the same parliamentary trickery which succeeded for them in Czechoslovakia. (Ironically, the Soviets used the "parliament" of the United Nations to veto a 1948 move to study the circumstances surrounding the fall of Czechoslovakia.)

In reflecting on how the Reds were able to overthrow the non-Communist majority in the Parliament of his native land, Zenkl says:

While democratic Czechoslovakia's defeat was composed of many factors, one important element facilitating the Communist march to power was our *wishful thinking*. We believed that Communists could be transformed into partners

in the parliamentary sense. The contrary happened. While taking part in Czechoslovakia's Parliament, they successfully followed Kozak's commandment: "not to lose sight for a single moment of the aim of a complete socialist overthrow."

But now the secret is out—in Kozak's book of revelation. Read it and heed it, gentlemen of the Free World, while you are free. For those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it. [Emphasis in original.]

### Prefatory Note

The Kozak document, which has been under discussion throughout the introduction, is reprinted in full on the following pages. Quite obviously, the Communists consider it a work of great significance and did not want it disseminated on the free world side of the Iron Curtain. For three years, they resisted all attempts by the West to procure copies of it through normal channels.

The Kozak document provides a unique insight into the techniques employed by the Communists in their takeover of Czechoslovakia and other Eastern European nations which were formerly governed by democratic, parliamentary institutions. By the same token, the committee believes that it serves as a clear warning of how Communists in this country will attempt to subvert the Congress, as well as state and local legislatures, if unwary voters present them with the opportunity to do so. The history of the fall of Czechoslovakia should strongly impress upon the American people why a thorough understanding of the strategy, tactics, and objectives of the Communist conspiracy is vital if we are to make true the expression, "It can't happen here."

The committee offers a word of caution about the terminology contained in the Kozak document. Many words and phrases which have favorable, and even appealing, connotations when used by non-Communists are given drastically different meanings when stroked by the pen of a Communist propagandist. When Kozak makes reference to the "democratic will of the people," he actually means a "demand by the Communist Party." A "democratic revolution" is the Communist way of saying "Communist seizure of power." When Kozak says "socialism," he means "communism."

For purposes of clarity and ease in reading, the committee has made some minor changes in the Radio Free Europe translation of Kozak's document and has also incorporated subtitles in the text.



## "HOW PARLIAMENT CAN PLAY A REVOLUTIONARY PART IN THE TRANSITION TO SOCIALISM" AND "THE ROLE OF THE POPULAR MASSES"

By JAN KOZAK

The classics of Marxism-Leninism never ceased to point out that the inexorable revolutionary transformation of the capitalist society into a socialist one does not preclude, but even presupposes, the possibility of various forms and roads of the proletarian revolution. V. I. Lenin, in particular, illuminated this serious question thoroughly and systematically. In his lifetime the proletarian revolution became an immediate question of the day. In his theoretical works, and concretely in his practical activity, he started from the principle that the forms of transition to socialism are dependent on the concrete balance of international and internal class forces, on the degree of organization of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, on the ability to gain allies, the level of the economic structure and on the political traditions and forms of the organizations.

From the moment the Great Socialist October Revolution broke the chains of imperialism and gave power to the relatively weak proletariat of the nations of backward Russia, profound objective and subjective changes began to take place in the world. The present fruit of the Socialist October Revolution is the new historical era, the characteristic feature of which lies in the origin and consolidation of the socialist global constellation. This constellation now embraces 17 countries with the USSR and China at its head; it comprises over 25 per cent of the whole world; 35 per cent of the world's population lives in it and about 30 per cent of the world's industrial output is produced by it.

The second characteristic feature of this new historical era is the collapse of the colonial system as a world factor. Important Asian and African countries such as India, Indonesia, Burma, Egypt and others have cast off the shackles of imperialism. In the interest of their further development, they are obliged to cooperate with the socialist camp and thus to strike new blows at world capitalism.

Both these main characteristics of the new historical era—the origin of the socialist constellation and the collapse of the colonial system—have profoundly changed the objective structure of the world. These profound changes in the objective structure of the world are necessarily accompanied also by profound subjective changes—changes in the thinking, views, political and practical orientation of the broad popular masses. The aggravated conflicts in the weakened capitalist constellation compel the imperialists to resort to harsher oppression, exploitation, suppression of national rights, interference with democracy and preparations for a new war. By this, however, they cause broader and broader oppressed and dissatisfied social sections to rally

against them, sections which are fighting against national suppression, for democracy and peace. In this struggle for national and democratic interests, the individual trends and currents of the anti-imperialist battle are forming their ranks. These trends, which are the result and the product of the new subjective processes in society, are, however, dispersed, isolated and constantly weakened by the propaganda of the ruling bourgeoisie and by the ideology and practice of reformism. In a number of capitalist and dependent countries there still slumbers the enormous, but still dispersed, force of the broad popular masses. In this situation the workers' class in these countries is faced with the task of firmly taking a stand at the head of the struggle for the national and democratic interests of its respective nations, of uniting in its fight for socialism and of creating, under its leadership, a united and mighty anti-imperialist popular movement.

The new historical era and its tasks have created most favorable conditions for the workers' class in this way for gaining new allies. The old tenets about the allies of the workers' class which corresponded to old historical conditions are undergoing a change and are widening. Along with the changed conditions for the struggle for national democratic and peace interests, the conditions for the struggle of the workers' class for socialism are also changing. In the fight against imperialism, which endeavors to overcome its conflicts by completely ignoring the interests of the nations and which strives to liquidate their independence as states, the national role of the workers' class is growing and it is placed in the forefront of all patriotic and democratic forces.

"Patriotism," V. I. Lenin proclaimed, "is one of the deepest feelings firmly rooted in the hearts of people for hundreds and thousands of years from the moment their separate fatherlands began to exist. It has been one of the greatest, one can say exceptional, difficulties of our proletarian revolution that it had to pass through a period of sharpest conflict with patriotism during the time of the Brest-Litovsk peace." (V. I. Lenin, "Spisy" Vol. 28, Czech edition 1955, p. 187.)

It is a great, one may say exceptionally favorable, circumstance for the socialist revolution in the present situation that patriotism, "one of the feelings most deeply rooted in people," leans on and needs socialism in the struggle against imperialism for national interests. *In this way patriotism and democracy have become mighty weapons of the workers' class in present times and, step by step, they bring masses of new allies to the workers' class.*

The new conditions which are the consequence of the profound objective and subjective changes in the world create also new opportunities and prospects for the socialist revolution, new avenues, as far as the forms of transition to socialism are concerned. In a number of countries which are particularly weakened by the conflicts within the capitalist order, the opportunity has arisen for the workers' class to place itself firmly at the head of great popular movements for national independence, democracy, peace and socialism, to defeat the reactionary anti-people forces striving for the maintenance and aggravation of national oppression and exploitation, to win a decisive majority in parliament and to change it from an organ of the bourgeois democracy into an organ of power for the democracy of

working people, into a direct instrument of power for the peaceful development of the socialist revolution.

Also, our experience provides notable and practical proof that it is possible to transform parliament from an instrument of the bourgeoisie into an instrument of the revolutionary democratic will of the people and into an instrument for the development of the socialist revolution.

When the German imperialist occupiers, aided by the treacherous bourgeoisie at home and with the consent of the Western imperialist powers, destroyed the national liberty and the independence of the Czechoslovak Republic in 1938 and 1939, the CPČS<sup>1</sup> placed itself at the head of the struggle for national liberation by the Czech and Slovak people. Following up the policy of the Popular Front originating from the time of the defense of the republic against fascism at home and abroad, it formed, in the course of a heavy fight against the occupiers requiring many sacrifices, a broad National Front, in which stood, under the leadership of the workers' class, and side by side with it, peasants, tradesmen, the intelligentsia and part of the Czech and Slovak bourgeoisie. This broad National Front, embracing all patriotic and democratic forces of the country, was led by the workers' class into the national and democratic revolution.

#### MOSCOW'S ROLE IN THE CZECH REVOLUTION

Thanks to the fact that Hitler's Germany was crushed by the armies of the Soviet Union and that our country was directly liberated by the Soviet army, that national and democratic revolution conquered. As a consequence the occupation power of the German imperialists and of their domestic helpmates—the treacherous financial, industrial, and agrarian upper bourgeoisie—was swept away, national unity and independence as a state was revived and a deep-reaching democratization of the country was carried out. Furthermore, the sovereignty and independence of Czechoslovakia was renewed in the form of a new, people's democratic order.

In this struggle the workers' class, led by the CPČS, became the recognized driving force of the nation; its action-unity was consolidated and the influence of reformism which had splintered it in the years of the pre-Munich republic was weakened. The victory of the national and democratic revolution meant for the workers' class, which had relied in this struggle on all patriotic and democratic forces—the peasants, tradesmen, the intelligentsia and part of the Czech and Slovak bourgeoisie—its access to power.

The workers' class was the main force in the new revolutionary democratic government (the so-called *Kosice Government*) and in the national committees—the new organs of the state's power created from below by the revolutionary masses. The program for the building of the liberated republic, which had been elaborated and submitted by the Communists and which became the program of the government, was quickly implemented by the revolutionary activity of the popular masses. Its implementation gave rise to far-reaching political, economic, social and cultural changes in the country.

<sup>1</sup> Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

*Of the political points in this program, these were the most important: the breaking up of the basic members of the old oppressive bourgeois state apparatus and assumption of power by the national committees, the formation of a new people's security system and army, the prohibition of the revival of the political parties which had represented the treacherous upper bourgeoisie, a systematic purge of the entire political, economic and cultural life of the country, the settlement of the relations between the Czech and Slovak nations on the principle of equality, the expulsion of the German minority, etc.*

Of the economic measures, the following were the most important: the transfer of all enemy property, of that of the treacherous upper bourgeoisie and of other traitors, to the national administration of the new people's authority; the transfer of the land belonging to these enemies and traitors to the ownership of landless persons, tenants and working smallholders.

The principal foreign policy task was unequivocal alliance with the Soviet Union, safeguarding national liberty and independence as a state and further undisturbed, peaceful development for the nations of Czechoslovakia.

All these measures, aiming at far-reaching changes in the social structure of the country, emanated directly from the conditions and tasks of the anti fascist, national and democratic fight for liberation and arose from the old democratic traditions and longing of our people and they, furthermore, deepened and safeguarded that democracy. One of the tasks the Czechoslovak workers' class set itself in the struggle for the national and democratic interests of the people was, also, therefore, the re-establishment of the institution of Parliament which the occupiers had abolished, aided by the treacherous domestic upper bourgeoisie and traditions which had deep roots among the people. As early as at the end of the summer of 1945, after agreement had been reached between the political parties forming the National Front, the Provisional National Assembly was elected (on the principle of parity representation) and, in May 1946, the Constituent National Assembly in general, secret, direct and fair elections. The composition of Parliament was strongly influenced by the results of the revolution, by the practical schooling of the working masses in the course of the victorious revolution. Of the eight political parties which were part of the National Front of Czechs and Slovaks at the time of the elections, the Communist Party emerged as by far the strongest. It gained over 40 per cent of the votes in the Czech lands and, with the Communist Party of Slovakia, 38 per cent of the votes cast in the state as a whole. Parliament and, along with it, the fight between the workers' class and the bourgeoisie about its role and content, entered the history of the people's democratic development of Czechoslovakia. The workers' class, whose struggle had made it possible that this institution could be re-established, strove for Parliament, as one of the most prominent political traditions and forms of the past, to change its character (lit.: content; Tr.) to change it from the instrument of the workers' class into one of the levers actuating the further development and consolidation of the revolution into a direct instrument for the socialist building of the country. The bourgeoisie, on the other hand, strove for Parliament to be revived with its old content—bourgeois par-

liamentarianism—and tried to use it for the stopping of the revolution, for the demolition of its achievements, for the consolidation and widening of its former political and economic power positions, for the preparation of the restoration of its former rule and dictatorship.

This struggle took place during the period 1946–1948. In the course of these years the workers' class, led by the Communists, made effective use of all its old forms of fighting, employed by the revolutionary workers' parties in Parliament, adjusted, however, to the new conditions, and found new ones. *Helped by Parliament, which was used by the workers' class for deepening the revolution and for the gradual, peaceful and bloodless change of the national and democratic revolution into a socialist one as "pressure from above" and by its effect on the growth of the "pressure from below," the bourgeoisie was pushed step by step from its share in the power. This gradual and bloodless driving of the bourgeoisie from power and the quite legitimate constitutional expansion of the power of the workers' class and of the working people was completed in February 1948 by the parliamentary settlement of the government crisis engineered by the bourgeoisie. The scope of the power was definitely settled in favor of the workers' class and Parliament, as one of the instruments of its power, began to serve immediately the socialist transformation of the country.*

Parliament, which had played an important role in pre-Munich, capitalist Czechoslovakia in the political, economic, cultural and social life of the country, which had awakened and created a number of bourgeois, democratic, parliamentary traditions among broad sections of the population, underwent a change. The form remained but the content was different. Our working people, led by the Communists, provided practical proof during the years 1945–1948 that it was possible to transform parliament from an organ of the bourgeoisie into an instrument developing democratic measures of consequence, leading to the gradual change of the social structure and into a direct instrument for the victory of the socialist revolution.

This fact, coupled with similar experiences gained by other Communist and workers' parties, led to the possibility being envisaged of the transition of some countries from capitalism to socialism by revolutionary use of parliament. This road which was most clearly illuminated and generalized at the 20th Congress of the CPSU<sup>2</sup> shows, at the present time, the real possibility of forming a government of broad democratic forces grouped round the workers' class, relying on the revolutionary activity of the masses. Such a government can be set up without armed battle, by peaceful means. Its installation would be practically tantamount to the establishment of the democratic revolutionary power of the people. (Therefore, about the same would be achieved, as was attained in our country, by the armed, bloody battle of the national and democratic revolution.) The purpose to which this new power, the nucleus of which would be formed by the workers' class, should be put thereafter would be the use of parliament for the consolidation and deepening of the real democratic rights and to a more or less speedy unfolding of the socialist revolution (generally our tasks during the years 1945–1948). The use of parliament itself for the transfer of all power into the

<sup>2</sup> Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

hands of the workers' class, the speed of progress and the order of its revolutionary tasks would be, however, the same as the methods of the struggle—variegated—and would always correspond with the specific class and historical conditions.

Despite these differences there are in existence fundamental, generally valid conditions for the possibility of a revolutionary use of parliament on the road to socialism, the substance of which is revolutionary and which are to be clearly distinguished from the reformist conception of the aim and use of parliament. Our own (Czechoslovak) experience has also contributed to the generalization and practical proof of the validity of these principles.

The most important of these lies in the necessity of combining the revolutionary activity of parliament with a systematic development and the organization of revolutionary actions on the part of broad popular masses.

# I

*The Combination of "Pressure From Above" and that "From Below" — One of the Elementary Conditions for the Revolutionary Use of Parliament.*

A preliminary condition for carrying out fundamental social changes and for making it possible that parliament be made use of for the purpose of transforming a capitalist society into a socialist one, is: a) to fight for a firm *parliamentary majority which would ensure and develop a strong pressure from "above,"* and b) to see to it that this firm parliamentary majority should *rely on the revolutionary activity of the broad working masses exerting pressure "from below."* The elementary condition for success consists, therefore, of a combination of pressure from "above" with that from "below" and its joint effect on the unfolding and strength of the revolution. This connection of the form of fighting from "above" with that from "below" emanates from the principle that questions regarding the class struggle (and, all the more, the social revolution) are decided and can be decided by strength alone. The pressure from "above" is a combination of preparations of the conditions for the creation and organization of the strength of the revolution, for its aggressiveness and its drive.

## a) Regarding Questions of Using Pressure from "Above"

The possibility and necessity of using tactical pressure from above in the stage of the democratic revolution was emphasized by the classics of Marxism-Leninism. In 1873, F. Engels criticized the Spanish nihilists (lit.: Bakunin-ists; Tr.) for not making use of pressure from above for the development of the democratic revolution. In 1905, V. I. Lenin proclaimed:

1. "To restrict, as a principle, revolutionary actions to pressure from below and to forego pressure from above, is anarchism.
2. "Whoever cannot grasp the new tasks in the era of revolution, the tasks of actions, from above, whoever cannot state the conditions for and the program of such actions, that person has no idea of the tasks of the proletariat in any democratic revolution.
3. "The principle that it is not admissible for the social democracy (i.e., the revolutionary party of the proletariat) to take part, jointly



with the bourgeoisie, in a provisional revolutionary government, that every such participation should rate as betrayal of the workers' class, is a principle of anarchism." (V. I. Lenin, "Spisy," vol. 8, Czech edition 1954, p. 477.)

The Bolsheviks were to have participated in the envisaged provisional revolutionary government in the bourgeois democratic revolution in Russia in 1905, with this aim: to lead a heedless fight against all counter-revolutionary efforts and to protect the independent interests of the workers' class. The overall character of the participation in this government was: not to lose from sight, even for a moment, the carrying out of a complete socialist coup.

Pressure from "above" is, therefore, the pressure of a revolutionary government, parliament and the other organs of power in the state apparatus or its parts and it has, in substance, a dual effect—the direct suppression by power of the counter-revolution and its machinations and, at the same time, the exertion of pressure on the citizens, inciting and organizing them for the struggle for a further development of the revolution. A most important lesson for the whole of the international workers' movement (and by this for our Party as well) was learned from the experience gained during the era of the Popular Front in Spain and France. In particular, the example of Spain showed that as a result of the weakness of the Communists who did not stand at the head of the whole movement, the pressure from "above" was weakened. The Republican government, whose leading force was the Liberals, refused to meet the demands of the Communists who pressed for a purge of fascist generals from the army, so the army was preserved for the counter-revolution, the army which later became the main force of the victorious counter-revolutionary uprising.

Our workers' class and the CPCS gained valuable experience from the course of the struggle from "above" and the various forms of application in the new conditions. What were the principal forms of pressure "from above" applied in the period of the transformation of our national and democratic revolution into a socialist one?

#### STEP ONE

The first direction given to the pressure "from above," which our workers' class applied from its position of power in the organs and newly forming links of the apparatus of the people's democratic state, was a systematic fight against enemies, traitors and collaborators. Gradually, as the national and democratic revolution changed into a socialist one, the pressure "from above" was applied in an ever-increasing measure for the direct suppression and destruction of the counter-revolutionary machinations of the bourgeoisie. Let us recall the signal role played in the development and extension of that pressure by the Ministry of the Interior, for instance, which was led by the Communists and the units of State Security directed by them.

But other organs of the state and of the state apparatus controlled by the Communists also served for the direct suppression of bourgeois sabotage and obstructionism. So, for instance, the Ministry of Agriculture quickly completed, by means of so-called "roving commissions" (lit.: flying commissions; Tr.), the confiscation of the land

of enemies and traitors which had been sabotaged in the autumn of 1946 by the bourgeoisie. The national committees organized in autumn 1947 the "Special Food Commissions" which uncovered the hidden stores of landowners and kulaks and contributed greatly in this way to their isolation. In December 1947 organs of the Ministry of Internal Trade, controlled by the Communists, uncovered an extensive black market in the textile trade organized by the bourgeoisie, and liquidated, for all practical purposes, the private capitalist textile wholesale business by the setting up of state textile distribution centers.

The organs holding powers and the components of the state controlled by Communists, in this way, became unusually effective levers for the defense of the revolutionary achievements of the people and for the further advancement of the revolution. They made it possible to suppress directly bourgeois counter-revolutionary elements (to render harmless their sabotage and subversion). They made an outstanding contribution to the isolation of the bourgeoisie. They gave impetus to the revolutionary determination and self-confidence of the working masses. And so they formed a mighty support and force furthering the revolution.

#### STEP TWO

The second prong of the pressure "from above" successfully employed by our workers' class was the use made of the organs holding powers (the government, parliament, national committees) for bringing about a wide popularization of revolutionary demands and slogans. So, for instance, the government approved the "Program of Building" elaborated by the Communists, which, in its substance, was a program for the further transformation of the democratic revolution into a socialist one. Its passage was of immense importance since the program of the next economic-political measures for advancing the revolution, elaborated by the Communists, became the program of the entire government. This later enabled the workers' class to uncover all attempts made by the bourgeoisie to thwart it as evidence of the anti-people, treacherous policy of the bourgeoisie and to isolate its political exponents. At the same time, because of the fact that revolutionary demands and recommendations were sponsored directly by organs of the state, they gave an unusually effective incentive for the revolutionary initiative of the masses. Examples of the far-reaching results in closing the ranks of the working masses round the slogans of the Party were, e.g., the proposal of the Communists in the government recommending the introduction of the Millionaires' Levy, the draft proposals of the Agricultural Laws elaborated by the Communist-controlled Ministry of Agriculture and submitted to the working peasants for comment, and other things. The fact that such demands and recommendations emanated directly from the highest state organs had a strong influence on their popularization and gave an exceptionally strong impetus to the revolutionary elan of the masses who pressed for their implementation. (So, e.g., the notice for the preliminary registration of all land exceeding 50 hectares, issued by the Ministry of Agriculture in the course of the struggle for the implementation of the third phase of the people's democratic land reform, had the effect of the working peasants in all villages realizing, when the registration was carried out, what land was beyond their reach and how much



of it there was; of their visualizing the possibility of getting hold of it soon and, therefore, the effect of an increasingly more determined and decisive stand being taken in favor of carrying out the proposed reform.)

This direction given to the pressure "from above," therefore, served particularly the wide popularization of the demands and slogans of the policy of the Communists designed for a speedy progress of the revolution. It served as a means for the revolutionary education and organization of the popular masses.

### STEP THREE

A particularly important and exceptionally effective way of the struggle "from above" lay in the utilization of economic-political power positions, especially the nationalization of the banks, of banking, of key and big industries.

The economic power positions of the workers' class, represented by the nationalized sector of the country's economy, were a mighty lever for the development of pressure "from above." It made possible the suppression and, to a considerable extent, the paralyzing of bourgeois counter-revolutionary intrigues aimed at economic decline and chaos. On the other hand, these positions also made possible the exerting of "pressure" on the citizens and broad masses of the working people. The fast expansion of the nationalized production and the resulting rise in the standard of living of working people presented examples in point showing the advantages of a nationalized and, in its substance, working-class-controlled and -directed production; gave rise to revolutionary self-confidence and determination on the part of the working people and thus contributed to a still further isolation of the bourgeoisie.

This method of pressure "from above" was, therefore, a mighty pillar and force of the progressing (lit.: deepening; Tr.) revolution.

### STEP FOUR

The fourth direction given to the pressure "from above" existed in the utilization of the organs holding power for the direct uncovering of the anti-people policy of the bourgeoisie, for the isolation of the reactionary, bourgeois leadership of the other parties of the National Front.

All organs vested with powers (the national committees, Parliament, the government) became places for the workers' class in which the anti-people policy of the bourgeoisie and of its parties was being uncovered. The Communists made use of these organs for sharp criticism levelled against the other parties and their representatives on the grounds of inconsistency and obstructionism regarding the fulfillment of the tasks accepted in the program (in Parliament, for instance, the criticism and uncovering of the anti-people activity of the Ministry of Justice which was controlled by the National Socialist Party, the uncovering of the obstructionist inactivity of the Ministry of Food, controlled by the rightist Social Democrat Majer, etc.). At the same time, these organs holding power were used for tabling further demands and proposals in favor of the working people and, in this way, the bourgeoisie and its minions were forced either to their

acceptance or to an open showing of their anti-people's face. (How important for the isolation of the bourgeois leadership of the other parties of the National Front was the proposal of the Millionaires' Levy alone, tabled in the government by the Communists in 1947 and at first rejected by its majority!)

These disclosures were especially tilted at those parties which professed to be socialist by their name and slogans, particularly at the National Socialist Party and the right wing of the Social Democratic Party. Their lying slogans and bourgeois conception of socialism were uncovered by the hand of their concrete activity within the organs, and their "socialist cloak" was torn from them before the eyes of the working people.

All the basic forms and actions involving pressure "from above" employed by our workers' class in the years 1945-1948 conformed, in the new circumstances, to the tasks allotted to the pressure "from above" as predicted by Lenin—a fight without quarter against all counter-revolutionary attempts and the defense of the independent interests of the workers' class. By using these methods, this principle was fulfilled in practice: not to lose sight for a single moment of the aim of a complete socialist overthrow.

The individual forms and actions of the struggle "from above" carried out by our workers' class in the years 1945-1948 meant making use of the positions held by the workers' class in the organs vested with powers and in the entire state and economic apparatus for strengthening the people's democratic power, for weakening and isolating the bourgeoisie, for conquering its positions by the workers' class and for the consolidation of the revolutionary democratic people's power in the dictatorship of the proletariat.

These forms and actions of the struggle "from above"—always serving the release, the mobilization and organization of the revolutionary forces of the popular masses—greatly enriched the tactical armament and experience of the international workers' movement.

Our practice and successes in the struggle "from above" made a trenchant contribution to the generalization of the experience gained and toward the outlining the possibilities of a revolutionary use of parliament during the transition to socialism.

#### b) Questions of Utilizing Pressure "From Below"

To bring about a parliament which would cease to be a "soft-soap factory" and would become a revolutionary assembly of working people requires, however, a force constituting, maintaining and actively assisting its revolutionary activity. This force, necessary for breaking the resistance of the reactionary bourgeoisie, exists in the pressure by the popular masses "from below." Whereas pressure "from above" is the pressure exerted by the organs of the state and of the state apparatus for the direct suppression, by power, of the counter-revolution and which helps, at the same time, to rally and organize the popular masses for the fight for further progress of the revolution, pressure "from below" is the pressure exerted by the popular masses on the government, on parliament and on other organs holding power. This pressure takes effect mainly in three directions:

a) it systematically supports the revolutionaries in the organs of power, enhances their strength and makes up for numerical weakness;

b) it has a direct effect on limiting the influence and positions of waverers and enemies standing in the path of further progress of revolution;

c) it awakens the forces of the people dormant for many years, their energy and self-confidence; it breaks through the onerous circle of intimidation and spiritual terror of the old institutions, the Church, etc.

The pressure from "below," the revolutionary emergence of the popular masses, is, therefore, essential for the success of every revolution. In the February revolution in France in 1848 the provisional government, in which there were only two representatives of the workers, refused to declare the republic. However, it was forced to do so by the threat of the armed proletariat. The pressure "from below" prompted the provisional government to act. When, however, the Paris proletariat came out in unreserved support of the provisional government in the March demonstrations, it was defeated from the beginning.

"It consolidated the position of the provisional government instead of subordinating it." (K. Marx, "The Class Struggle in France." K. Marx—F. Engels, "Vybrane Spisy," I, page 156.)

When Lenin clarified the possibility of and conditions for the participation of the revolutionary workers' party in the provisional revolutionary government in 1905, at the height of the bourgeois democratic revolution in Russia, he sharply stressed: "We are obliged to influence the provisional revolutionary government from below in any event." (V. I. Lenin, "Selected Writings," I, page 456.)

In 1936,<sup>\*</sup> when the Seventh Congress of the Communist International elaborated the line of a united and popular front and the government possibilities of a united or popular front, the necessity of pressure brought to bear on such a government by the revolutionary masses was stressed:

"Since this movement of a *united front* is a militant movement against fascism and the reactionaries, it will be a constant movable force driving the government of the united front into the fight against the reactionary bourgeoisie. . . . And the better this mass movement is organized from below, the broader the *network of supra-party class organs of the united front in the factories*, among the unemployed in the labor districts, among the little men in towns and villages, the more guarantees will exist against a possible rejection of the policy of the government of the united front." (G. Dimitrov, "Digest from Speeches and Articles," 1950, page 103.)

#### CPSU 20TH CONGRESS REAFFIRMS DOCTRINE

The principle and the necessity of using pressure from below by the popular masses, forming one of the fundamental possibilities of making revolutionary use of parliament, as mentioned at the 20th Congress of the CPSU, ties in fully with the old practice of the revolutionary workers' classes in parliament and also with the new conditions. Therefore, the revolutionary workers' movement must

<sup>\*</sup> Should read "1935." Error in original.

bring pressure to bear from below on parliament and the government whenever it wishes to protect, consolidate and extend the achievements of the revolution. It is in this pressure of the revolutionary masses, purposefully led by the revolutionary workers' party, that there exists a source of strength, power, courage and energy of the revolutionary parliament, breaking the resistance of the reactionary forces; that there exists an instrument of the real will of the people which is capable of playing an exceptional part in the "peaceful" transformation of the capitalist society into a socialist one. And it is this principle of utilizing purposeful development and organization of pressure "from below" referred to at the 20th Congress of the CPSU, which stands out in the sharpest contrast with the old reformist theory and practice of the "parliamentary road," which isolates and foregoes the pressure of the popular masses.

Our workers' class and the CPKS also gained valuable experience from the waging of the fight "from below" and the various forms of its application. *Of particular importance is the experience with the great variety of forms of directing the pressure "from below," guaranteeing for the CPKS the leadership of the workers' class and of the broad popular masses.*

The very conception of the existing broad *National Front* contributed to attaining this end. It consisted not only of the political parties but also broad *united national mass organizations*, the establishment of which the CPKS achieved with the help of the revolutionary activity of the masses. These organizations comprised broader masses than the political parties: they fortified the unity of the people and, at the same time, considerably reinforced the positions of the workers' class and the positions of left progressive democratic forces in the other parties of the National Front. The united mass organizations, *which were led and influenced to a large extent by the Communists*, represented, in this way, *virtually the direct reserves of the Party*. Through them the strong influence of the policy of the Communists also penetrated into the other political parties, and thus the unity of the National Front was strengthened from below over the heads of the leaders.

#### USE OF MASS ORGANIZATIONS

*Of quite exceptional importance was the origin of the United Revolutionary Trade Union Movement (ROH). ROH, as a class and socialist organization, consolidated the unity of the workers' class; it enhanced its revolutionary strength and weight and, under the leadership of the Communist Party, it used this strength most effectively for the fortification of the people's democratic power and for the advancement of the socialist revolution.*

*Other means for influencing and guiding the working masses were in particular: The United Association of Czech Peasantry, the Association of Liberated Political Prisoners, the Association of Friends of the Soviet Union, the C.S. Youth Federation, etc. A great help for the guidance and organization of the revolutionary fight of the peasants were the so-called "Peasants' Commissions," whose members could be only farmhands, tenant farmers and small and medium farmers from the ranks of applicants for land.*

*This network of broad national mass organizations was used by the Communists for the popularization of their policy and slogans, for engendering and organizing the initiative of the masses, and for using the various forms and actions of the pressure "from below" for the purpose of implementing that policy.*

The second experience gained in the struggle "from below" is the many-sided use of the proper forms of pressure exerted by the popular masses. These forms corresponded to the complicated class situation in the conditions prevailing under the people's democratic order, when the workers' class assumed power but the bourgeoisie still kept part of the power. *On the one side, all the old proven forms of the struggle of the popular masses were employed, the forms which were in keeping with the revolutionary initiative and determination of the workers and matched the degree of resistance shown by the bourgeoisie: calling of protest meetings, passing of resolutions, sending of delegations, organizing mass demonstrations and also, eventually, using strikes, including general strikes (when finally the open political clash with the bourgeoisie was brought about in February 1948).*

The strength and striking power of the individual actions of the pressure "from below" were constantly increased as need arose and were safeguarded by exceptional organizational forms. An especially prominent role was played in this by the "Congresses of Factory Councils" and the "Congresses of Peasants' Commissions" (when the political crisis was resolved in Slovakia in the autumn of 1947; in the struggle for the nationalization of private capitalist enterprises with over 50 employees and the entire domestic and foreign wholesale business; when the demand was pressed home for the land reform above 50 hectares; and when the political crisis was settled in February 1948).

On the other side, the Communists, aided by the network of national mass organizations (and by the pressure "from above" exerted by the organs holding powers, especially the national committees and the government), developed new forms of pressure "from below," meeting the situation when the workers' class was proceeding with the assumption of power. *These forms must be particularly noted. They are the organization of a broad building movement on the basis of voluntary brigades (coal, harvest, machine, etc.) and the advancement of competition in production within the factory and on a state-wide scale. These "constructive" forms of pressure "from below" fortified the overall position of the people's democratic state, paralyzed the efforts of the bourgeoisie to bring about an economic and political upheaval and, through their results (fast economic consolidation of the country and a rising standard of living of the working people), permanently entrenched and reinforced the power positions of the workers' class in the country.*

*The third most valuable experience gained by our workers' class is the creative application of the principal condition for pressure "from below," much emphasized by Lenin, that is to say, arming the proletariat. (V. I. Lenin stressed, in his work "Two Tactics," two principal conditions for the pressure from below: the proletariat must be armed because the threat of a civil war exists and the proletariat must be led by a revolutionary workers' Party.)*

*The workers' class armed itself in the course of the national and democratic revolution. It retained its arms even after the victory of that revolution. One part of it, from the ranks of the partisans, barricade-fighters and from the units of the CS corps formed in the Soviet Union, became the nucleus of a new armed state apparatus, especially in the security apparatus under the control of the Ministry of the Interior which was in the hands of the Communists.*

The second part, the so-called *Factory Guards*, permanently secured the safety of the works. In case of danger of an attack by the counter-revolution, individual parts of the workers' class were armed: *in the summer of 1947 the former partisans were armed for the liquidation of the Bender groups in Slovakia and, in February 1948, when the preparations for a counter-revolutionary conspiracy by the bourgeoisie were uncovered, strong, armed people's militias were formed.* In the last instance, it was the arming of the workers' class which took away the bourgeoisie's liking for an armed conflict, which prevented bloodshed and ensured the undisturbed course of the revolution. (The necessity of arming the most mature part of the workers' class for repulsing the counter-revolutionary machinations of the bourgeoisie and for ensuring the undisturbed building of socialism has been proved, incidentally, again by the later formation of the workers' militias in people's democratic Hungary and Poland.)

The armed parts of the workers' class thus represented a very real and concrete form of the pressure "from below," directed against the counter-revolution and a very concrete and effective support for the workers' forces in the organs of the state.

Of great importance for the international workers' movement is not only the experience gained in the individual forms and actions of the pressure "from below" (corresponding to the concrete historical conditions), but also the absolute necessity of such a pressure as proved again by the actual practice which ended in victory. *The pressure of the popular masses "from below" (in the totality of all its forms and concrete actions) made it impossible for the representatives of the other parties of the National Front, controlled by the bourgeoisie, which had numerical superiority in the decisive organs endowed with power, to isolate the Communists and to stop the revolution.* Thus it (the pressure . . . : Tr.) made up for the numerical weakness of the revolutionary representatives of the workers' class in these organs and enhanced their strength; it contributed in a decisive manner to the acceptance of further revolutionary measures weakening the bourgeoisie and fortifying the power of the workers' class. This experience, that pressure "from below" is absolutely essential for the undisturbed unfolding of the socialist revolution, is also reflected, in full measure, in the theory about the possibility of the revolutionary utilization of parliament in connection with the road to socialism.

The combination of the pressure "from above" with that "from below"—the path toward the progressive, undisturbed breaking of the resistance of the bourgeoisie, toward the gradual limitation and making impossible of a show of force by the bourgeoisie. The real possibility of the revolutionary utilization of parliament for the road to socialism lies, therefore, in the combined mass strength of the revolutionary acting people, supporting parliament as a revolutionary active assembly which fights for the systematic fulfillment of the



demands of the working people. This coordination of actions by the broad popular masses and the revolutionary forces in parliament, in the government and in the local organs of power, mutually germinates their strength, drives the revolution ahead and infuses it with attacking and penetrating power.

Can this force really render impossible, or reduce to a minimum, however, armed violence on the part of the bourgeoisie? This question is very topical and it is discussed especially among the comrades of those Communist Parties which have oriented themselves toward a peaceful transition toward the socialist revolution. Let us take an example from France, where, after the 20th Congress of the CPSU, a controversy developed in the periodical "France Nouvelle" between comrades H. Iannucci and Florimont Bonte.

"When reading H. Bonte's article," Comrade Iannucci writes, "we gain the impression that the bourgeois state consists of parliament alone and not also of a powerful bureaucratic, military and police apparatus which has grown substantially under imperialism. In our social order, great political problems are settled behind the scenes, the exchanges, or in administrative bodies rather than in parliament . . .

"Is it at all possible to imagine that in a country such as France, which has a strong and most dextrous bourgeoisie, which has a model administration and possesses, thanks to colonial wars and the suppression of internal disorders, strong armed and police forces—why, could one imagine that the bourgeoisie here would 'resign' because of a mere 'decree of parliament' or without 'civil war' without an 'armed uprising'?" ("France Nouvelle," 1956, No. 542.)

Comrade F. Bonte replied to the doubts expressed by Comrade Iannucci and attempted to disperse them, referring to Engels' idea that as soon as the workers' class gains the support of the masses, of the working peasantry and of other exploited sections, it will become "the decisive force, to which all the other forces will have to submit willy-nilly."

Let us try to imbue this theory with the life of our practice and to render it clearer and more convincing in this way. Let us first take, however, a concrete instance of how the pressure from "above" was combined with that "from below" in a situation in which Parliament was already playing a powerful role in our development.

#### CONFISCATION OF THE LAND

In accordance with the Kosice government program, the first big transfer of land was effected in people's democratic Czechoslovakia. 2,046,896 ha [hectares] of land belonging to big holders, enemies and traitors were confiscated and allotted, on the basis of decrees, to 305,148 families of agricultural workers, tenants and small-holders, and put partly under the administration of the cooperatives, national committees and the state. This land reform resulted in the almost complete liquidation of big holdings of land in the border regions, but the central parts of the country were affected by these decrees to only an insignificant measure. Big landowners, holding above 50 ha of land, and the Church still retained some 1,400,000 ha of agricultural land, which means almost a fifth of the entire land. An economically and numerically strong section of kulaks still represented a very important

force of the bourgeoisie in the countryside and the bourgeoisie was still most influential with the medium farmers as well.

The possibility of a further successful advance of the revolution depended on the reinforcement of the influence of the workers' class and of the CPKS in the countryside, on a further strengthening and widening of the bond between the workers' class and the working peasantry. The road to this was the struggle for further demands of the peasants (especially the still unquenched thirst for land), a more intensive campaign for uncovering the face of the bourgeoisie and further subversion of the biggest bastion of the bourgeoisie in the countryside—the landholders' ownership of the land.

In the summer of 1916, the Communists began the fight for handing over more land to the working peasantry (simultaneously with the demands that the allotted land should be speedily registered in the land rolls, that hunting rights should be democratized, boundary adjustments should be effected, the splitting up of agricultural land should be prevented and the agricultural production plan should be safeguarded). They demanded a revision of the land reform of 1919 which the bourgeoisie had carried out in the pre-Munich republic. The revision affected a total of 1,027,529 ha of land and its materialization would mean the complete liquidation of the group of big landowners with over 150 ha of arable or 250 ha of agricultural land, the group of the so-called "rest-estate holders" and land speculators.

The demand for the revision of the first land reform of 1919 was pressed home by the Communists in the program of the new government after the elections in May 1946 ("The Building Program"). In the autumn of 1946 the Ministry of Agriculture, controlled by the Communists, submitted this demand (along with others) as a draft bill to the working peasantry for their comments (the so-called six Duris Acts). The fight proper for carrying out a revision of the first land reform was, therefore, started by pressure from above.

The acceptance of the demand for a revision was bound to affect severely the big landowners and the countryside bourgeoisie and, by this, the bourgeoisie as a whole. The bourgeoisie, making use of its positions in the leadership of the other parties of the National Front, in Parliament and in the government, therefore, started to put up resistance against it immediately. It tried to prevent the acceptance of this law or to elip it and, in this way, to retain big land-ownership. A sharp class fight with the bourgeoisie developed over the acceptance of this law.

The pressure "from above" exerted by the Ministry of Agriculture (i.e., emanating directly from the supreme organ of the state—the government) by coming out with the draft law and openly inviting the working peasantry to comment on and support it, triggered off, at the same time, a strong pressure "from below."

The peasants discussed the draft proposal of the law at their meetings and their overwhelming majority demanded its acceptance. In the villages in which there was land subject to revision, "Peasants' Commissions" were set up as the organs of the landless, small and medium farmers—applicants for land. The demand for the revision was backed up more and more strongly by the local national committees (representing pressure from below, vis-à-vis the higher administrative organs, Parliament and the leadership of the other parties



of the National Front), by the United Association of Czech Peasantry and by the local organizations of the other political parties.

To increase the effectiveness of the pressure "from above" and "from below" against the bourgeoisie, the Communists proclaimed (on behalf of the Ministry of Agriculture) additional far-reaching demands for the working peasantry, the so-called "Hradek Program." *Its basic demand was the division into lots of all big estates of over 50 ha and the complete liquidation of land held for the purpose of investment [lit.: speculation; Tr.] (furthermore, the introduction of peasants' insurance, grants of agricultural credits and protection to peasants, the introduction of a uniform agricultural tax graded in accordance with production areas, the size of farms, the number of dependents, etc., a speedy mechanization of agriculture aided by the state, especially the establishment of State Tractor and Machine Stations).*

The area of land subject to division according to this demand amounted to 432,905 ha, situated in 9,540 parishes, i.e., in two-thirds of all the parishes in the whole state. This meant that additional masses of small and medium farmers were drawn into the decisive fight for the liquidation of big estate ownership (and the other demands). The struggle for the revision of the first land reform entered the next, decisive stage. In the summer the proposal of the law was debated by Parliament. The Communists used these debates for uncovering the bourgeois leadership of the National Socialist, the Popular and the Democratic parties, and proved them to be furious defenders of the landowners and enemies of the working peasantry. Every attempt of the bourgeoisie at thwarting, delaying or limiting the proposed law was brought out into the open by the Communists in Parliament and pilloried. On June 9 and 10 alone, the central organ of the Party, "Rude Pravo," published a number of such disclosures made on the floor of Parliament ("The Representatives of the Big Land-Owners in Parliament Against the Peasants," "They Wanted to Give the Big Land-Owners and Rest-Estate Holders Millions of Hectares of Forestry Land," "The Secretary-General of the National Socialist Party, Dr. Krajina, Threw the Peasants out of the Lobby of National Socialist National Assembly Members," etc.).

The Communist pressure in the government and in Parliament (the pressure "from above") engendered more and more decisively the pressure "from below." Thousands of resolutions from meetings of peasants demanding the immediate acceptance of these laws were submitted to Parliament and the government. The resolutions, which were also signed by the village organizations of the National Socialist, Popular and Democratic parties, said: "... we now recognize who is with us and who is against us." Dozens of Peasants' Commissions, composed of members of all the political parties, came to Parliament and stormily warned the leadership of the bourgeois parties not to obstruct their demands, claiming their immediate implementation. (For instance, the largest of these delegations was composed of 57 members of the National Socialist Party, 35 members of the Popular Party, 38 Social Democrats, 153 Communists, 15 members without political allegiance and 48 members who did not state to which party they belonged.)

On July 11, the pressure from "above" and from "below" closed like the claws of a pair of pincers. The bourgeoisie, whose political positions were perceptibly shaken, had to give way. *The bill on revision of the first agricultural reform was passed by the Parliament. The consequences of this victory were: the liquidation of more of the economic positions of the bourgeoisie in the village, a big political defeat of the bourgeoisie (its increasing isolation), a considerable strengthening and broadening of the bond between the workers' class and the working peasantry.* The peasants recognized that, given the direct political, organizational and material help of the workers' class, they could lead a successful fight against their arch-enemy, the landowner and his helpers. Increasingly wider masses of peasants were coming over to Party positions and supported its political line aiming at further deepening of the revolution.

#### INDUSTRY NATIONALIZED

By a similar method, the claws of the pincers were being closed by pressure from "above" and from "below" in the years 1945-1948, penetrating deeper and deeper into the flesh of the bourgeoisie. Thus, when the liquidation of the political and economic positions of the occupiers and of the treacherous native grand-bourgeoisie was completed in the course of the national and democratic revolution on the basis of the Kosice program, further groups of the bourgeoisie were gradually annihilated as the revolution progressed. The nationalization in October 1945 liquidated particularly the economic power of the financial bourgeoisie, the group of industrialists dominating until then the key industries and the basic sources of raw material and the group of factory owners employing over 500 employees.

Apart from the 62 per cent of the industry already nationalized, another 13 per cent of the "small confiscates" were torn from the hands of private enterprisers in the spring of 1947. The revision of the first land reform signified the liquidation of the group of big landowners owning over 150 hectares of arable or 250 hectares of agricultural land, and the liquidation of the owners of "residue" farms. In the fall of 1947, these "pincers" helped to carry out the "Millionaires' Levy" and to solve the political crisis in Slovakia caused by the sabotage and counter-revolutionary activity of the strongest Slovak political party, the Democrats.

All these class clashes with the bourgeoisie had far-reaching political consequences. The influence and strength of the bourgeoisie was collapsing: the broad masses gathered with growing resolution around the CPKS and its policy.

#### UNDERMINING THE POLITICAL OPPOSITION

At the end of 1947 and the beginning of 1948, an actual disintegration of the National Socialist, the People's and the Democratic parties, took place. Honest members of these parties were parting with their bourgeois leadership and were coming over to the ranks of the CPKS and the Slovak CP (by November 1947, when the Communists had gained 237,334 new members since the beginning of the year, the CPKS was stronger than all other political parties taken together), or created opposition groups within their own parties. *The isolation of*

the bourgeoisie within the parties of the National Front was proceeding not only from the outside, through the turning away of the broad masses from parties ruled by the bourgeoisie, but also from within, through the growth of democratic and socialist forces in these parties; through the growth of progressive opposition, seeking the maintenance and strengthening of people's democratic freedoms and rights and, therefore, endeavoring to cooperate with the Communists. From the bottom and over the heads of reactionary leaders of the other political parties, the National Front grew constantly stronger as a class and social unity of the working people, recognizing as its leader the CSOP, the party which worked toward a total socialist reconstruction of the country.

The progress of the class struggles confirmed that the CSOP would gain a decisive majority in the forthcoming elections and would achieve the fulfillment of its other demands with the help of a democratically manifested will of the people. It demanded the liquidation of all private capitalist enterprises employing over 50 people, a total liquidation of the group of local and foreign merchants and a total liquidation of landowners owning over 50 hectares of land.

Thus, the situation of the bourgeoisie was, at the beginning of 1948 on the eve of the new parliamentary elections, substantially different from that in 1946. While prior to the elections in 1946 the bourgeoisie had a relatively strong mass basis, the short time of less than two years of people's democratic development had been sufficient for the disintegration of the political army upon which it could formerly count. The broad masses of the people, especially working peasants, lost their illusions as regards the bourgeoisie and went over to the side of the workers' class in order to place the bourgeoisie and its anti-popular and treacherous policy into the right light in the eyes of our nations. In 1948, when the decisive fight between the workers' class and the bourgeoisie drew closer, the bourgeoisie had only a shade of the power and influence that it used to have in 1945. In this situation, the bourgeoisie, frightened by this peaceful progress of the revolution which kept removing and destroying its economic and political positions one after another and which threatened their complete annihilation within a short time, decided to violate the lawful ways and to achieve its counter-revolutionary aims through a coup. It was signaled by a government crisis provoked by the resignation of 12 ministers. But by this the bourgeoisie only offered another new and open evidence of its spirit of disruption: it achieved its own isolation and complete defeat. After five days of government crisis, the people settled their accounts with bourgeois reaction, legally and constitutionally (under consistent use of all forms of pressure from "above" and from "below").

The representatives of the bourgeoisie and their agents were replaced in the government, absolutely legally and in accordance with the constitution valid since pre-Munich days (1920), by new representatives faithful to the people, selected from the ranks of the reconstituted National Front and recognizing the leading role of the Communists in the state; the government was nominated by the President of the Republic and was unanimously approved by the Parliament.

As evidence of the fact that this form of transition of political power into the hands of the workers' class was absolutely legal and constitu-

tional (and this point has an extraordinary political importance), we shall use a spontaneous and very valuable opinion of an important bourgeois emigré, the former chief of the office of the President of the Republic, Jaromír Smutný:

"In their calculation they (i.e., the representatives of the bourgeois parties who submitted their resignation—J. K.) failed to take into consideration other fundamental circumstances:

"a) that the government is not 'ipso facto' dissolved if a minority of its members resigns (according to the constitution, the government was able to pass decisions if more than half of its members were present, not counting the premier. In the case of the February government, 13 members made up an absolute majority);

"b) that the premier could not be forced into resignation with the rest of his ministers unless given a vote of non-confidence by the Parliament;

"c) that the President of the Republic had no constitutional right to make the premier resign when only part of his ministers left the government, even if the character of the government was substantially changed;

"d) that only the national assembly had the power to force Gottwald to resign."

Yes. "The irony of world history puts everything upside down. With us 'revolutionaries' and 'rebels,' legal methods agree much more than illegal ones or than a coup. The parties of order, as they call themselves, die by the legal state which they created." (F. Engels, foreword to Marx' work "Class struggles in France," K. Marx-F. Engels: Selected Works, volume 1, 1950, p. 133.)

And now let us return to the fears of Comrade Iannucci. Quite rightly, he draws attention to the fact that a bourgeois state is not just the parliament but also an enormous bureaucratic, military and police apparatus, and he asks in the light of this warning: "Is it possible to believe that the bourgeoisie would 'yield' by a simple 'act of parliament' or without a civil war, without an 'armed uprising'?"

No, the bourgeoisie has never yielded its power by a simple "act of parliament." But it may be deprived of its power at an opportune moment without an armed uprising and civil war—by the force of consistently acting revolutionary masses led by the revolutionary workers' party, supporting their representatives in the parliament and transforming the parliament into an active revolutionary assembly.

In the fight for direct national, democratic, peaceful, economic and social demands of the people, by a combined pressure from "above" and from "below," the position of the bourgeoisie in the organs of power and in the state apparatus may be weakened, step by step, and so may its economic positions, and thus the workers' class heading the popular masses may be given, step by step, conditions more favorable for its fight for socialism. (Naturally, these demands will always be founded upon the concrete situation prevailing in the country concerned and will greatly differ. For example, defense of national interests by cancellation of all agreements and treaties with the United States of America damaging to the interests of the nation; prohibition of all war propaganda, punishment of warmongers and active support of the policy of collective security; abolition of all

forms of racial, religious and national discrimination; fight against the monopolies and their nationalization; carrying out of a land reform; introduction of a general system of social security; abolition of every kind of economic, social and legal inequality of women; separation of Church and state; etc.) In the course of the fight for these national, social, economic and political demands of broad masses of the working people, the following may and must be carried out successfully: a broadly founded democratization and reorganization of the organs of power (for instance, the principle that all the organs of state power, from top to bottom, are elected by the people; the abolition of the senate and concentration of all power in the hands of the parliament; a democratization and reorganization of the state apparatus—courts, police, army, etc.). This broad democratization is carried out, in principle, by the gradual destruction of the bourgeois state apparatus and its transformation into an instrument and source of power of the new democratic might.

Therefore, the Eighth Congress of the Italian Communist Party, which worked out the Italian line to be taken on the road to socialism, emphasized that the parliament may and must carry out its active function, both in the interest of a democratic and socialist transformation of the country and in the new socialist society:

"It must be stated that the fundamental condition for its fulfilling this function is that it must take its initiative, impulses and inspiration for its regenerative activity from the new political and administrative system in the state—towns, provinces and regions—as defined by the constitution and the forms of directing democracy which are materialized through the participation of the working classes in the political-economic direction of the state." (Political resolution of the Eighth Congress of the Italian Communist Party, "Information Bulletin, International Political Questions," No. 1-2, p. 87.)

All these measures and their consequences (a systematic strengthening of the positions of power of the workers' class and the gradual weakening and destruction of the economic-political supports of the bourgeoisie) are, in their entirety, the actual way toward a limitation and perhaps exclusion of any violence of the bourgeoisie against the people and thus toward prevention of civil war. In this case, in the course of the fight for a complete takeover of all power by the workers' class, no notice can be taken of the present relationship between class forces; it must be considered what this relationship will be during the time of government of the revolutionary democratic might. Thus, at the moment when the bourgeoisie is in danger that all power is about to be taken over by the workers' class, it will be by far not so powerful and its main supports will be undermined.

Progress toward socialism may take, under these circumstances, a democratic and constitutional course. The parliament, which will be an active revolutionary assembly relying upon the revolutionary mass movement of the workers' class and its allies, will turn into an instrument of the workers' class on its way to power, into an instrument of the transformation of the whole state and its machinery. Under these circumstances, all the changes which, in their entirety, represent a revolutionary transformation of the capitalist society into a socialist one will proceed absolutely legally. The parliament may pass, in a

democratic and legal way and in the name of the nation, a new constitution codifying and making possible a socialist transformation of the country. (Within less than three months following the crushing of an attempted bourgeois coup, the Parliament of the Czechoslovak Republic approved a new constitution which safeguarded all the progress so far made and ensured the sovereignty of the working people in the state, the popularization of the state apparatus and the liquidation of the remnants of the bureaucratic police state apparatus; anchored nationalization as a firm economic basis of the people's democratic state and, in its totality, strengthened and ensured the transition of the country to socialism.)

Thus, progress toward socialism, with the help of the parliament and without a bloody civil war, is a real possibility. However, this possibility must not raise false illusions among the workers' class which must not be, in the least, morally disarmed by doubts as to its right to take to arms in every case when forced to do so by the resistance of the bourgeoisie. Therefore, the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party proclaimed with absolute frankness: "There can be no doubt that for a number of capitalist countries a violent overthrow of the bourgeois dictatorship and, with it, a connected vehement acceleration of the class struggle is inevitable."

Thus, the 20th Congress of the Soviet CP proclaims, in full harmony with the spirit of Marx and Leninism, that at the present historical stage in the development of society, the possibility of breaking the resistance of the bourgeoisie against socialist transformation of the society by non-violent means, without recourse to revolutionary violence, has matured or will mature in many countries. But the workers' class and the working people will not renounce armed fight and revolutionary violence where it is inevitable in order to break the resistance of the exploiting classes. Thus, it uses Lenin's paraphrase: "A delivery may be difficult or easy. Naturally, we are all for an easy and painless delivery. Conditions for such a delivery are now favorable. But if necessary we are ready to undergo a difficult and painful delivery to see the child born."

## II

*Conflict between the revolutionary use of parliament and the reformist meaning of a "parliamentary way to socialism"*

A revolutionary usefulness of the parliament will demand, in new historical conditions, a realization of a new form of transition to the dictatorship of the proletariat: parliament must become a new instrument of socialist revolution depriving the bourgeoisie of its power, of its means of production and materializing the building of socialism with the working class directing the policy making. Thus, it serves the revolutionary aims of the proletariat and corresponds to the Marxist-Leninist principles of a necessity of revolutionary transition of the capitalist society into a socialist one, corresponds to Lenin's conclusions: "... capitalism cannot collapse but through a revolution." (V. I. Lenin: "Works," vol. 29 of Czech edition 1955, p. 394.) "... There can be no successful revolution without a suppression of the resistance of the exploiters." (V. I. Lenin: "Works," vol. 28 of Czech edition 1954, p. 66.) The reformist "parliamentary way to



socialism" denies the necessity of a revolutionary transition of capitalist to socialist society, denies the necessity of a socialist revolution, denies the necessity (under the slogan of "parliamentary democracy") of seizure of all power by the workers' class, denies the necessity of acquiring the political direction of the state and of establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat. The reformist "parliamentary way" cannot, therefore, in its consequences, ever lead to the building up of socialism; is not, in its substance, a socialist program. It is capable of attacking within the framework of capitalism, with varying force, the consequences of capitalist exploitation but is not capable of grasping its causes, of smashing capitalism and materializing a revolutionary transformation of society.

These deep-rooted dissimilarities of the two approaches correspond to a similarly profound difference in the tactic in making use of the parliament.

The substance of the tactic of revolutionary use of the parliament is fully based upon the old principle of revolutionary activity of the workers' class in a bourgeois parliament, worked out in detail by the classics of Marxism-Leninism and further developed in the new conditions. It starts from the following principle: *Parliament in bourgeois countries is a product of historical development and cannot be created from life. It is necessary, therefore, to work in it and to use it in the fight against bourgeois society.*

The task of the representatives of the workers' class in the bourgeois parliament has always been to transform the parliament into a mirror showing to the working masses the class interests and conflicts of bourgeois society in their nakedness and to unveil, consistently and unflinchingly, the bourgeoisie and its helpers (whether they are aware of their position or not). Their task has always been to use bourgeois parliament as a platform for revolutionary agitation, propaganda, and organization, as an effective form to unchain revolutionary activity of the broad popular masses, side by side with the workers' class.

*Linking and systematic combination of parliamentary and non-parliamentary actions has always been the fundamental principle of the revolutionary tactic in making use of the parliament.*

This tactic of linking and combining the parliament with revolutionary actions by the proletariat and the working masses outside the parliament, still used by Marxist-Leninist parties, may be given a new task in the new historical conditions and under the new circumstances: namely, to transform the parliament from an organ of the bourgeoisie into an instrument of power of the workers' class, and parliamentary democracy into an instrument for the establishment of a proletarian democracy, of a dictatorship of the proletariat.

*The tactic of using parliament as a potential new specific form of transition to socialism is therefore only a further development, another step of the old Marxist-Leninist tactic combining the use of parliament with the use of the revolutionary masses, and is by its whole substance a complete antithesis to the reformist parliamentary way to socialism.* In the same way as the revolutionary tactic of making use of the parliament corresponds to the revolutionary aims of the Marxist-Leninist party, the tactic of reformist use of parliament corresponds to the reformist aims of rejection of revolution.

To the reformists, parliament (an instrument of the bourgeoisie for strengthening and maintaining capitalist power) is an organ for cooperation between the workers' class and the bourgeoisie. Partial reforms achieved in the parliament (in agreement with the capitalists) serve the reformists as evidence that peaceful coexistence of bourgeoisie and the workers' class is possible, that class struggle is dying down, that revolution is superfluous and political domination of the workers' class unnecessary. Instead of the necessity of a proletarian democracy, they sustain the illusion of a parliamentary, pure democracy.

Because, in the reformist conception, parliament is an organ of cooperation of the workers' class with the bourgeoisie, the reformist tactic takes the weight of political work exclusively to the parliament (i.e., organ of bourgeois power), rejects and refutes the use of the pressure of broad popular masses, isolates parliament from the revolutionary actions of the working people. The reformists have already taken care, by their own deeds, of offering not one but scores of examples of the absolute impossibility and absurdity of their "parliamentary way to socialism."

In many countries the reformists won the majority, often absolute majority. Their governments were in existence, and have been in existence, for extended periods of time. One of the chief propagandists of this way, the British Labour Party, already has three times had an opportunity to turn its "theories" into practice. It held the government in 1924, in the years 1929 through 1931, and for six years in 1945 through 1951. The Swedish Social Democratic Party has for 25 years already, a whole quarter of a century, been the strongest and the governing party in the country (in this year's elections to the Riksdag, the lower chamber of the Swedish parliament, it won 108 mandates, while the second strongest party, the Agrarian Union, obtained only 20 mandates). A similar situation prevails in other Nordic states. And still socialism is not built in these countries. To the contrary, capitalist domination grows stronger, the profits of the monopolies are rising.

There could be no clearer evidence of the absurdity of the idea that socialism may be built in cooperation with capitalism, without bringing down the political might of the bourgeoisie, without the dictatorship of the proletariat. (As a matter of fact, the bourgeoisie in capitalist states has a justified confidence in the reformists, as the present situation in France shows. While it breaks, in one place, a strike by bloodshed and force of arms, it entrusts the "government" to the reformist socialists without hesitation if need be. And it knows why. A consistently conducted fight of the workers' class in one single factory is more dangerous to it than a formal "entrusting with the government" to their helpers.) In spite of its absolute hopelessness, the theory of "a parliamentary way to socialism" is still alive in the capitalist states and appeals to the backward part of the workers' class and especially to the petty bourgeoisie (in view of the long, opportunistic influence exerted upon the masses which, again, is in direct connection with the idealization of parliamentarianism carried out by every means by the bourgeoisie).



Opportunist ideology and practice are, therefore, a serious obstacle to the creation of a broad and revolutionary movement of the masses fighting consistently for democratic and socialist demands. They are a serious obstacle to the efforts of the workers' class to transform the parliament into an instrument of power of the workers' class and must, therefore, be systematically and energetically fought.

The Communists and the workers' parties seeking to make a revolutionary use of the parliament in the fight for the transition to socialism may follow our advice from the moment of the transition of the democratic revolution into a socialist revolution. This advice clearly demonstrates the grave danger of reformism and some of its concrete signs, which can be discovered even in the activity of the Social Democratic Party in conditions of the people's democratic system, a party which used to have a comparatively strong left leadership and followed a policy of cooperation with the Communists.

In the complicated class conditions of the years 1945-1948, when the question of power in people's democratic Czechoslovakia was not yet definitely settled and when power was still shared by the workers' party and the bourgeoisie, two basic political lines were opposing each other. One was the revolutionary political line of the workers' class, which had as its purpose and aim the achievement of a gradual isolation of the bourgeoisie and the closing of the ranks of the nation around the workers' class and its vanguard, the Communist Party. Its aim was the transition from the tasks of national and democratic revolution to the tasks of a socialist revolution and the definite settlement of the question of power by consolidating people's democracy into a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The second basic political line was the line of the bourgeoisie, whose aim was to isolate the workers' class and its vanguard, the CPCS, to halt the national and democratic revolution and to attain, with the help of Western imperialists, the restoration of the capitalist domination under a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

In this tug-of-war situation, when the class struggle was accelerating, the workers' class fighting for complete political power was attacked from the rear by the reformist ideology and practice of the "democratic way to socialism" as preached by the right wing of the Social Democratic Party. While the workers' class under the leadership of the Communists was locked in battle with the bourgeoisie for a deeper and broader hegemony among all classes of working people, a battle for the strengthening and consolidation of its leading role in the nation, the reformists came forward with their theories denying the leading role of the proletariat and proclaiming its merging with (and thus absorption by) the other classes, for instance, with the peasantry.

The progress in agricultural production and the technical revolution in agriculture signify "that the peasantry moves with increasing momentum to the level of the workers, that the two massive sections of the working people become economically balanced and that thus the centuries-old wall between the worker and the peasant, between town and country, is inevitably disappearing. No doubt, this results in all the political consequences, for now the peasants as well become the bearers of technical and social, and thus also political (!) and cultural, progress; like the workers, they uphold the struggle for a new social order (!) and take their place by the side of the workers in the socialist movement . . ." ("Minutes of the 20th Congress of the CS Social Democratic Movement," page 80.)

This is a clear example of revision of the Marxist theory of classes. The peasantry (including the rich peasants who were the chief bearers of technical progress in our villages), the private owners of land, become, through the progress made in agricultural production (capitalist production) and through the introduction of technical means (as well as capitalist), just like the workers' class, the bearers of the struggle for the socialist social order. What else could the bourgeoisie wish, concentrating its efforts at breaking the hegemony of the workers' class in the nation? How far was this theory suppressing the difference in purpose of the individual classes and social groups in the socialist revolution from the voices of the bourgeoisie itself: "The nation is not composed of one occupation or class and it is to its benefit that all occupational and class interests be harmonized, for an excessive elevation or attenuation of one class must necessarily mark a detriment for the other classes and thus for the whole whose gain must be our only aim." ("Lidova Demokracie", 10.6.45.)

#### NO "PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE" WITH NON-COMMUNISTS

It is as if this transparent wishful thinking were the father of the theory of a permanent peaceful coexistence of capitalism and socialism in one state, of the merging of antagonistic classes. "To us, nationalization or socialization of key positions in production and distribution and protection of private ownership of small and medium production units, and especially of private ownership of small and medium agricultural property, are an expression of a wise and economical organization. . . . The materialization of this plan will lead to gradual elimination of class conflict in human society." ("Draft Proclamation . . ." page 566.)

Within the framework of this "democratic way to socialism," obstinately supported by the right wing of the Social Democratic Party, the private capitalist production sector was to be preserved permanently and so was the bourgeoisie with its still powerful economic foundation. Also permanently to be preserved was its position of strength, used for the dissipation of the country's economy and for political discrimination against the workers' class heading the state.

Also, the old reformist understanding of the role of parliament manifested itself under the influence of the right wing of social democracy, both in theory and practice, in the years 1945-1948 and was in crass conflict with the revolutionary line of using the parliament followed by the Communists. In complete accord with that line, the 20th Congress of the Social Democratic Party proclaimed that "the center of all political life will be the National Assembly" (p. 66). The proclamation of this principle was not made by chance. "In every (!) democracy parliament support for the will of the people is the most important." ("Social Democracy and the Rights of the National Assembly," "Cil," 1946, page 5). "In the parliamentary system (bourgeois as well?), decisions are made before the eyes and under the direct control of the people." (V. Erban, "Svet Prace," 14.9.46.)

What this meant in practice was well defined in A. Samek's article entitled "On the Reactionary Role of the Social Democratic Ideology of Transition of National and Democratic Revolution into a Socialist Revolution" ("Filosoficky Casopis," vol. 1955, No. 1):

"In practice this meant that whenever the people manifested its will otherwise than through its representatives in the National Assembly, the right wing of Social Democracy raised its voice in opposition to it. When in the course of the fight for the 'Uradec Program' the Communists appealed straight to the people and when the peasants approved this program at their meetings and sent their representatives to the National Assembly to voice their demands, the right wing of the Social Democratic Party reacted as follows: 'The Communists began to arrange public meetings of the peasants. This grew into the whole campaign organized with a view to compelling the National Assembly, also with the help of deputations dispatched to the Parliament, to pass the draft submitted by the Ministry of Agriculture without change. With such influencing of the Parliament and with these methods employed by the Minister, we could naturally not agree.' (Report on activity, p. 13.) The people must not take a resolute position against the bourgeoisie; it is only allowed to discuss through its representatives in the Parliament! When the bourgeoisie kept pronouncing, due to its position in the Ministry of Justice and in the Courts, disgracefully mild sentences against traitors and when the people raised their voices resolutely against this state of affairs, the CS Social Democratic press wrote that the Courts (in the given case, the bourgeoisie), and not the street (i.e., the working people), should judge. When the SNB takes steps against the enemies of people's democracy, when it openly defends the interest of the people and not those of the bourgeoisie, the Report complains as to the 'political influencing and misusing of the security apparatus' (p. 48). When the National Assembly discusses the bill on the enlightenment of officers of the security force, CS Social Democratic deputies submit a resolution stating that political education of the SNB is unnecessary! Thus, the workers' class was to be deprived of its important weapon. On 2 July 1946, 'Pravo Lidu' writes that CS Social Democracy will not let itself be influenced by public proclamations, stoppages of work, demonstrations, etc. These facts prove clearly that Social Democracy opposes the true rule of the people and tries to undermine the political activity of the working people, limit their political horizon, and make them a helpless tool in the hands of bourgeois politicians."

This characteristic may be supplemented by an example demonstrating how the theory and practice of Social Democratic isolation of parliament from the revolutionary struggle of the masses of working people suited the bourgeoisie. When, in the fall of 1945, the bourgeoisie opposed the decree nationalizing key and heavy industries, the CPKS decided to appeal to the people. A gigantic mass movement for nationalization ensued, pressing the bourgeoisie with its back against the wall. The bourgeoisie, afraid of the pressure of the popular masses, proclaimed: "We consider any pressure demanding an accelerated approval of the decree to be harmful. The government needs nothing more than peace and time. . . ." ("Lidova Demokracie," 26.9.45).

The pressure of the people's masses holding the bourgeoisie in its pincers was to be relaxed. The Social Democratic Minister of Industry, Lausman, attempted at the decisive moment to frustrate the political activity of the working people: "Folks, have patience, the draft decree on nationalization of big industry has 46 paragraphs and we are arguing the first." ("Pravo Lidu," 24.9.45.)

In order that the reformist "democratic way" to socialism be complete, there had to be, of course, a denial of the basic condition of the possibility of victory for socialism—of the dictatorship of the proletariat. "Our state has decided for socialization in the democratic manner, that is to say, through the ballot and not through revolution and dictatorship." ("Minutes of the 20th Congress of the Social Democratic Party," page 161.) Thus, solving the problems of transition from capitalism to socialism, of breaking the desperate resistance of the bourgeoisie, of expropriating the exploiters and transforming small private capitalist production into socialist production on a large scale, should be possible without the direction of policy by the workers' class, without the dictatorship of the proletariat—just by phrases about some kind of pure democracy; in other words, revision and denial of the basic maxim of Marxist Leninist theory of classes and class struggle.

The reformist theory and practice of the "parliamentary way," although flavored by new conditions, remained what it has always been, even on the soil of people's democracy, a theory and practice of the defense of the bourgeoisie. Its aim was the undermining of the leading role of the workers' class in the revolution, for it denied the necessity of a revolution, proclaimed the possibility of a permanent cooperation with the bourgeoisie, attempted to isolate the parliament from the revolutionary pressure of the working people and preserve it as an organ for cooperation with the bourgeoisie, negated the necessity of a dictatorship of the proletariat and, instead of a necessity of a proletarian democracy, nurtured illusions of "pure democracy." Therefore, even in the people's democratic system in which the working people under the leadership of the Communist Party are able to see daily, in the course of attaining political, economic and social demands, the result of their revolutionary unity and of the perfidy of the reactionary bourgeoisie, it was necessary to fight systematically against the destructiveness of reformism subservient to the bourgeoisie. (The Social Democratic Party which, as a whole, was already following the policy of cooperation with the Communists, was purposely cited as an example of the strong influence of reformism and of its dangers. Much more open and also much more transparent was the reformism of the National Socialist Party proclaiming "national socialism," definitely rejecting Marx' theory and attempting, without shame, to strengthen capitalism. This warning experience convincingly points to one of the basic conditions of a revolutionary use of the parliament for the purpose of transition to socialism; namely, to the necessity of "decisive rejection of opportunist elements unable to drop the policy of compromise with the capitalists and landowners." (20th Congress of the Soviet CP, "Nova Mysl," February 1956, p. 23.)

Therefore, if the workers' class is to create under its leadership a united revolutionary popular movement able to break the resistance of the reactionary bourgeois forces, if it is to transform a bourgeois parliament into an organ of the will of the working people and to use it as an instrument for a peaceful transition to socialism, it must fight systematically and energetically against reformism with its treacherous ideology and practice. Therefore, it is the duty of the workers' class to continue and step up its criticism of the reformists who, following their theory of the "parliamentary way to socialism," cannot and do not want to use the parliament in the fight against the capital-

ists and refuse to mobilize, organize and utilize the people's masses against the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie.

The fight against the opportunists who are unable to drop their policy of cooperation and compromise with the capitalists and landowners, whether they are aware of it or not, cannot be separated from a systematic and purposeful effort to establish cooperation and to create a unity of action with Social Democratic and other socialist parties. This has been made possible by the change of objective and subjective processes in the world during this present historical epoch. The struggle for the preservation of national independence, democracy, peace and the betterment of the social position of the working people presents itself, under the present conditions, increasingly as a common task of Communist and all other political parties and organizations which acknowledge the principles of socialism and democracy. In the present situation, not the questions of fundamental differences should be emphasized but those questions which are common and which reflect immediate interests.

Evidence of the possibility and success of such a struggle is again to be found in our own experience. In the course of the fight against the occupiers and their helpers among the big bourgeoisie in this country, in the course of the fight for the recovery of national and state independence and of the anti-fascist fight for democratic right of the people, a broad National Front of workers, peasants, tradesmen, intelligentsia and part of the bourgeoisie was created. This National Front, headed by the workers' class, represented a decisive internal force ensuring the victory of the national and democratic revolution.

The unity of action of the workers' class and the strong influence of the ideas of socialism, manifesting itself in the course of the national and democratic revolution, made it possible to conclude, in June 1945, within the framework of the National Front, a "socialist bloc." The creation of the socialist bloc within the National Front signified an agreement between the CPCS, the CS (Social Democratic Party and the CS National Socialist Party on a common advance in all questions resulting from the execution of the Kosice government program. The existence of the "socialist bloc," whose representatives were in the majority in government, could signify the possibility of a relatively fast transition to socialism while a continuous strengthening of left and truly socialist elements in the non-Communist parties was proceeding. The practice and development of the forces in the country has shown, however, that the main significance of the agreement was the fact that this agreement, concluded before the eyes of rank-and-file members of the parties concerned, strengthened the unity of the workers' class and made it more difficult for the bourgeoisie and its agents in the leadership of the National Socialist and Social Democratic parties to find a way out of the obligation to execute the government program which has become the political foundation of the bloc. (It fulfilled the tactical principle of obtaining from all unreliable allies concessions, obligations and promises as far-reaching as possible, this being the surest way to compromise them and to help the faithful allies within these parties. This device and this form of cooperation may lead in another situation in other countries to a gradual rapprochement between the socialist parties and thus to far greater and deeper consequences.) Both these agreements and this

cooperation—the creation of the National Front with the representatives of other political parties and the creation of the "socialist bloc"—were and could be effected only because they came into being under the pressure of the unity of popular masses, their actual cooperation from "below."

The whole course of the struggles in the years 1945–1948 demonstrated that the decisive and basic factor in creating and strengthening the action unity of the workers' class is its creation from "below" in the course of the fight for immediate political, economic and social demands of the working people. Thus, for instance, when in 1947 the Communists put forward in the government the demand of a "Millionaires' Levy" for the benefit of the peasants suffering through the consequences of a catastrophic drought, even the representatives of the Social Democratic Party raised their voice against this demand. The Communists immediately organized a common stand and pressure by the popular masses, especially a common and resolute stand of the workers' class for the approval of this demand. "Rude Pravo," the central organ of the CPCS, immediately after the refusal to approve the "Millionaires' Levy," published the names of all the ministers who voted against the measure and added the following disclosure: "All these gentlemen were elected by our people in the honest belief that they have subscribed to the program of the National Front. However, by their attitude, they demonstrated to the broad masses of workers, peasants, office workers and tradesmen who elected them that they protect millionaires, speculators, industrialists, land owners and merchants. There are only 35,000 such people in our country. Their votes would hardly suffice for two mandates. In fact, they found supporters in the four parties of the National Front in the government." ("Rude Pravo," 4.10.57.)

This comprehensive and clear demand of the Communists brought the rank and file members of the Social Democratic Party into the common fight against the right wing forces in their own party. Organizations as a whole stood resolutely behind the common actions. This represented a very strong pressure on the leadership of the Social Democratic Party, a weakening of the right wing and strengthening of the left, with the result that after a week's struggle, on September 11, an agreement was concluded between the leadership of the CPCS and the leadership of the Social Democratic Party on common action. This agreement contained very important obligations on both sides:

1. to submit a common draft proposal for the "Millionaires' Levy";
2. to proceed jointly on the question of remuneration of state employees;
3. to fight for the unity of the National Front and to appeal to the membership of both parties to act in unity from "below."

This whole tactic offers a clear example of the decisive influence of unity at the bottom upon the possibility of effective cooperation with the leadership of other socialist parties. This tactic, which the Communists employed during the whole period 1945–1948, i.e., during the period of transition from national and democratic revolution to socialist revolution, led to a strengthening and greater decisiveness on the left wing of the Social Democratic Party and to its successive shift to the positions of a true revolutionary Marxism and, thus, to its gradual ideological harmony with the Communists. It prepared



conditions for the left wing of the Social Democratic Party to expel right-wing representatives from the party at the moment when the right, reformist wing prepared for an open crossing to the side of the bourgeoisie (in the February crisis in 1948), to cleanse the party and to increase substantially the party's cooperation with the Communists.

Our experience with the creation of an action unity of the workers' class, one of the fundamental conditions of a peaceful transition to socialism, shows that the center of its true beginning must be pressure from below, systematic uncovering of the reformist theory and of cooperation with the bourgeoisie, a common fight of the broad masses of all socialist parties or parties and organizations approving the revolutionary demands of the working people; in other words, direct actions from below based on our own experience of fighting and winning.

#### RUSSIAN REVOLUTION A MODEL FOR ALL

Apart from this, the practical experience of the Czechoslovak way to socialism confirmed the validity of many basic experiences of the Great October Revolution. In these basic, generally valid experiences of socialist revolution, the Soviet Union stands as an example for all; thus, in spite of its specific aspects, our revolution has taken its course and follows basically the way taken by the Soviet Union. It is a very important task, also, from the point of view of the international workers' movement and its needs, to analyze how far the generally valid principles of socialist building are applied under the concrete historical conditions prevailing in our country. All our experiences must be scientifically classified; it must be shown under what situations and conditions they originated and the process of their materialization must be demonstrated.

Our example has shown that Czechoslovakia's transition to the building of socialism was successful only because it was under the political direction of the workers' class, headed by the Marxist-Leninist Czechoslovak Communist Party. It has shown that the specific form of transition did not affect in any way the substance of the new force created by the socialist revolution, the dictatorship of the proletariat. It confirmed the validity of Lenin's maxim saying that every nation advancing toward socialism "will add something specific to any existing form of democracy, to any existing form of a dictatorship of the proletariat, to any concrete pace of socialist transformation of the various aspects of social life." (Lenin's Works, CS edition 1957, page 71.)

While the tasks and the form of the dictatorship of the proletariat established by the proletariat in the October Socialist Revolution corresponded to the actual historical situation in Russia and to the contemporary relationship of internal and international class forces, the tasks and the form of the dictatorship of the proletariat in people's democratic Czechoslovakia correspond to the actual historical situation in Czechoslovakia. This form of the dictatorship of the proletariat differs by a number of points from the form adopted by the October Socialist Revolution:

*By the existence of the National Front as a political expression of unity between the workers' class and the working peasantry and the other working people;*

*By the existence of more political parties within the framework of the National Front. These non-Communist political parties are, in their substance, petty-bourgeois parties, fully recognizing, however, and subordinating themselves to, the leadership of the CPCS and serving the building of socialism and the common fight of the people for peace;*

By the recognition of former bourgeois parliamentary institutions, such as the parliament, president, etc., which have, however, adopted a new, socialist purpose:

By not depriving the bourgeoisie of the right to vote, having adopted the principle of universal, secret and direct ballot. Our way has supplied a definite proof that Marxism-Leninism has nothing in common with a "cult of violence" and has shaken very seriously the lying propaganda of reformism, attempting to persuade the working masses that the basic difference between the revolutionary workers' movement and reformism lies in the question of a "non-bloody" way to socialism. The violence employed by the Great Socialist October Revolution was forced upon the proletariat of Russia by Russian and international bourgeoisie. This violence of the Great Socialist October Revolution was, therefore, only a necessary, specific aspect corresponding to the historical situation, and not a generally valid rule of a socialist revolution.

In 1919, in the midst of a grave civil war in Russia and in the days of the foundation of the Hungarian Soviet Republic, V. I. Lenin proclaimed:

"In a state in which the bourgeoisie do not offer such furious resistance, the situation for Soviet power will be easier; it will be able to work there without this violence, without the bloody way forced upon us by Messrs. Kerensky and the imperialists. . . . Other countries arrive at the same goal, Soviet power, by another, more human way. . . . The example given by Russia alone was not fully understandable to the workers everywhere in the world. They knew that there were Soviets in Russia; they all were for the Soviets, but they were frightened by the horrors of the bloody fight. The example of Hungary will be decisive for the proletarian masses, for the European proletariat and for the working peasants." (V. I. Lenin: "Works," vol. 29, CS edition, 1955, page 264, 265.)

Also a "cult of violence" cannot be followed by the workers' class, because a violent armed fight is not at all advantageous to it from the point of view of its aim—the achievement of a complete socialist revolution. This aim combines two inseparable tasks: to oust the power of the bourgeoisie and to organize a new, higher method of social production, to organize and build socialism. The latter task is more serious and more difficult, for it is the greatest source of strength for the definite victory over the bourgeoisie, a source of firmness and steadfastness of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

It is just this more difficult and serious, more decisive task that the workers' class can fulfill much faster with the help of peace production forces, without a civil war—which is unthinkable—without disorganization of the country, destruction of production forces, without the sacrifice of the best cadres of the workers' class which, instead of following the slogan, "All for the fastest socialist transformation of the country," must execute the slogan, "All for the victory on the civil war front."

When V. I. Lenin evaluated the reasons for the imperialist intervention in the Great Socialist October Revolution and its consequences, he pointed to the following fact:

"The West European capitalist powers did everything possible, partly on purpose, partly spontaneously, to throw us back and to use the civil war in Russia for the greatest possible devastation of the country. It was just this outcome of the imperialist war which had considerable advantages for them: if the revolutionary order in Russia could not be extirpated, then, at least, the progress toward socialism could be retarded. This was the way in which these powers were thinking, and from their point of view they could have hardly thought differently. In actual fact, they reached the aim half way. They did not destroy the new order brought about by the revolution, but they did prevent it from making such progress that would confirm the correctness of socialist predictions, enabling the socialists to expand rapidly the production forces and to develop all those possibilities which form the basis of socialism, to prove to the whole world clearly what enormous forces are hidden in socialism and that humanity was now entering a new stage of development with extraordinary and splendid opportunities." (V. I. Lenin: "Works," vol. 23, CS edition, 1955, p. 498.)

The Czechoslovak example is evidence that an apparently slower progress of socialist revolution (by gradual transition of national and democratic revolution into a socialist revolution) was actually the faster way, because the two-in-one task of the socialist revolution began to be fulfilled simultaneously. While fast removal of the consequences of war, efforts to renew quickly production forces, economic progress of the country, a new working discipline, advance of education and culture, were at first aimed at the total political defeat of the bourgeoisie, all these efforts, in their consequences, created simultaneously the main conditions of a faster and more definite securing of power in the hands of the workers' class. In February 1948, i.e., at the time when the workers' class had already achieved all political power and when the people's democracy was realized as a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat,

a) the state apparatus was already in existence in principle and the working class could use it in its fight for socialism;

b) the first important successes had already been achieved in creating a new working discipline and a new relationship to work;

c) the working masses had already gained experience in state, organizational and educational work;

d) new forms of organization of working people were in existence, as was required for leading the broad popular masses in socialist building; these new forms represented an important part of the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat, following a complete assumption of power by the workers' class;

e) the economy of the country, disrupted by the war, was already rehabilitated in principle.

All this is created and achieved by the proletariat only after its victory, if violent attainment of socialism through civil war must be chosen. This is truly convincing evidence that a "cult of violence" is absolutely unacceptable for Marxist-Leninist parties because it is in conflict with their fundamental needs and aims. The confirmation of

this principle by the actual course of our revolution has greatly enhanced the attraction of socialism.

In appraising our experiences and our contribution to the international workers' movement, this must not be forgotten. *The possibility of a peaceful progress of socialist revolution making revolutionary use of the parliament, as pointed out by the 20th Congress of the Soviet C.P., is a product of new class conditions created by far-reaching objective and subjective changes in the world.* It is a product of class consequences resulting from the existence of the world socialist system and its political, economic and ideological strength. People's democratic Czechoslovakia, as one of the most highly industrialized states in the world, is a very important part of this system. The fast industrial expansion and the growing standard of living in people's democratic Czechoslovakia take a direct part, through their consequences, in the changes in objective and subjective processes in the world, processes weakening capitalism and strengthening socialism. They take an active part in the creation of conditions in which the possibility of peaceful advancement of socialist revolution exists and in which it can be materialized. The working people of Czechoslovakia, like the working masses in all countries of the world socialist system, have the good fortune that their building and their systematic raising of the living standard also promote the concrete purpose of their proletarian internationalism. Through their successes, they prepare the ground for the Communist parties, for the workers' classes and for the broad masses in the capitalist countries and countries dependent upon them for a peaceful transition to socialism with the help of the parliament. (The example of Hungary demonstrates how every success, and every failure, exerts a direct and deep influence on the formation of the fundamental force for this transition — on the formation of a broad united popular front for the winning over of new allies for the workers' class.)

Such is and must be our contribution, an unusually valuable and instructive contribution, to the international workers' movement, a contribution to the creation of conditions favorable to an accelerated march of the world proletarian revolution.

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