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# THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA

October 1960

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THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA  
KOMUNISTICKA STRANA CESKOSLOVENSKA (KSC)

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FOREWORD

The theme of the 11th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, held in June 1958, was the "completion of the building of socialism in Czechoslovakia." Since that time the Party has pressed steadfastly forward toward that goal, seeking to be the first of the satellites to arrive. The year 1960 is currently being utilized by the Czechoslovak Communists as a banner year to demonstrate to the world that Czechoslovakia has indeed reached a new prominence in political, social and cultural development, and is thus entitled to recognition as second only to the Soviet Union in socialist development and stature. The climax of the year's activities will be the adoption of a new constitution that will supposedly reflect the present state of achievement of socialism in Czechoslovakia, and establish the prerequisites for future advancement. The new constitution will emphasize the increasingly important role played by the Communist Party in organizing and leading the country further along the road of socialist development. The Party, which in fact already dominates all aspects of public life, will be formally recognized as the leader of state and society in Czechoslovakia. This study is presented in the light of these developments

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It is by no means intended to be a comprehensive study, but is rather presented as a brief orientation and ready reference manual on the history and organization of the Czechoslovak Communist Party.

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PART I

A SHORT HISTORY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF  
CZECHOSLOVAKIA

INTRODUCTION

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (Komunistická strana Československa -- KSC) was founded in 1921 and, like most other political parties, has had its ups and downs over the course of years. Springing from a Social Democratic background, the KSC grew to maturity amidst inner-Party strife and under the careful tutelage of its teacher and model, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. There are three characteristics of the KSC that make it stand out from other Communist parties in Eastern Europe. First, the KSC began as a legal political party and, with the exception of the Nazi occupation of Czechoslovakia during the period of late 1938 to early 1945, it has remained a legal party ever since. Second, the KSC is a mass party. Although the Party had a relatively small membership during its initial years and has undergone periodic purges or "screenings" during the course of its history, the fact remains that the KSC has always, in comparison with other Communist parties, maintained a relatively large membership. At its peak strength in August 1948, Party membership amounted to approximately nineteen per cent of the population of Czechoslovakia. Third, although it wavered somewhat during its first eight years, since 1929 the KSC has been consistently "Stalinist" in its policies. Even during the "thaws" that followed Stalin's death and the now famous 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the KSC maintained its hard line, wavering only slightly off course. The Party has gone through several phases of development and growth, but it stands out as a legal, mass party that has clung fast to the Moscow hard line.

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Origin of the Party, 1864 - 1921

The geneological lines of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia extend back as far as 1864 when Ferdinand La Salle established a branch of the General Workers' Society in Western Bohemia. This organization was suppressed shortly thereafter by the Austrian authorities. In 1872, Czech Social Democrats who had joined the Austrian Social Democratic Party began publishing their own Czech paper, Delnicke Listy. A few years later, during a secret congress held in Prague/Brevnov on 7 April 1878, the Czechs founded the Czechoslav Social Democratic Labor Party as a section of the Austrian Social Democratic Party. The new party was persecuted by the Austrian government and suffered from internal strife between anarchists and moderates. In 1888, the moderates won control during the Austrian Social Democratic Party Congress at Hainfeld, and adopted the Congress' Marxist program. Because the parent Austrian party denied the Czechoslavs the right to send delegations abroad, the section broke away in 1893. By 1897, the Czech Social Democrats had succeeded in obtaining representation in the Austrian Reichstag (five deputies), and in the same year founded their own newspaper, Pravo Lidu.

With the outbreak of World War I, many Czechoslovak soldiers subsequently found themselves in the Czech Legion in Russia at the time of the Russian revolution. Many of these soldiers developed Communist sympathies, so that later it was possible to establish a Union of Communist Legionaries of some 15,000 men. Among this group were such men as Jan Harus and Cenek Hruska, who are members of the KSC Central Committee today. From these Communist Legionaries and from Czech prisoners of war in Russia, a Czechoslovak Communist Party in Russia, with professional revolutionary Alois Muna at its head, was formed during a constituent congress on 25-29 May 1918 in Moscow. A conference of Czechoslovak Social Democrats living in Russia

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had preceded this congress on 25-27 November 1917. After the war, the Party disbanded and its members returned to the new Czechoslovak Republic where they proceeded to infiltrate the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party.

Meanwhile, a "left-wing" led by Bohumir Smeral had developed in the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party after the founding of the Czechoslovak Republic. Smeral was a Leninist who rejected Social Democratic participation in the "bourgeois" government, placing social reform before national reform, and who, on this platform, was to lead the secession of the left-wing from the Social Democratic Party. The "left" began to form from many sources: Smeral's left-wing Social Democrats, Muna's Czechoslovak Communists, a group of "anarcho-syndicalist" intellectuals such as S. K. Neuman, H. Sonnenschein and E. Vajtaufer, and left-wing intellectuals from the former "Realist Club" led by Zdenek Nejedly. In February 1919, a body called the "Marxist Left" founded a Communist weekly named the Socialni Demokrat. A Czech delegate named Handlir attended the 1st Congress of the Comintern in Moscow in 1919, and seven delegates from the "Marxist Left" were sent to the 2nd Congress in 1920.

On 5 October 1919, the left-wing of the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party came into the open with its opposition to Social Democratic coalition politics in a declaration stating that "our goal is a Socialist Republic, and this goal can only be reached through an unflinching advance in the class struggle against the bourgeoisie".<sup>1</sup> On 7 December 1919, it held a separate conference of its own in Prague. However, the left-wing still hesitated to break the unity of the Social Democratic Party, and sought to achieve its aims through parliamentary tactics within the Party rather than through revolutionary tactics.

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<sup>1</sup> Paul Reimann, *Geschichte der Kommunistischen Partei der Tschechoslowakei*, pp 90-91.

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During the year of 1920, relations between the left-wing and the "right" reached the breaking point. There were two separate Social Democratic parties in Czechoslovakia: the German Social Democratic Party and the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party. Each Party had its left-wing. On 9 May 1920 in Reichenberg, the left-wing of the German Social Democrats met and issued a declaration stating its desire to join the 3rd International, and calling for a dictatorship of the proletariat. Tension mounted during the following months. A campaign was begun by the Czechoslovak Social Democratic left-wing to unseat the leadership at the forthcoming 13th Party Congress in September, but the right-wing countered by postponing the congress. However, the left was not to be put off. On 25 September 1920, the 13th Congress of the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party took place under the leadership of the left-wing in defiance of the Party leadership. The rupture was completed, with approximately one-half of the membership of the Party breaking away. The leaders of the left were then expelled, and bitter fighting broke out between the two factions. Using force, the left seized the editorial offices of the Party paper, Pravo Lidu, and occupied the Lidovy Dum, Party headquarters in Prague. For a time they ran their own newspaper, but by 9 December 1920 they had been expelled by government authorities and the properties returned to the Party. The left then organized strikes in various industrial centers, and set up revolutionary committees in some places. Again they were defeated when government armed forces intervened and suppressed the strikes.

The year 1921 was a decisive one during which the efforts of the Marxist left culminated in the establishment of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. Its formation began in Slovakia at the Lubochna congress of the Slovak Marxist left on 15-16 January 1921. The Communist movement in Slovakia had begun in December 1918 under the influence of propaganda from the Hungarian Communist Party. The Hungarian Soviet Republic, under Bela Kun, gave the Slovaks a brief period of

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Soviet rule in south, middle and east Slovakia during the spring of 1919, and after the collapse of the Bela Kun government in the summer of 1919, many Slovak and Hungarian Bolsheviks fled to Slovakia where they nourished the Slovak Communist movement and helped build a communist party. Organized by Marek Culen, Frantisek Kubac and Ludovit Benada, the Lubochna Congress voted to accept all of the 21 conditions of the Communist International except the 17th condition, which stipulated that the Party designate itself the Communist Party. Acceptance of this condition was left up to the all-party congress of the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party (Left) which was scheduled for May 1921. The Lubochna Congress succeeded in uniting Slovak, Hungarian and Rutheno-Ukrainian Communists in Czechoslovakia.

On 27 February 1921, the Czech, German and Slovak unions of youth joined into one Union of Communist Youth in Czechoslovakia which then became a section of the Communist Youth International. Shortly thereafter, on 12 March 1921, the German Social Democratic left held a congress in Liberec at which they accepted the 21 conditions of the Communist International and formed the German section of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia under the leadership of Karel Kreibich.

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia was officially established during a congress of Social Democrat leftists held in the Communal House in Prague/Karlin on 14-16 May 1921. There were 569 delegates present, 483 voting delegates and 86 non-voting. Together they represented nearly half a million members. The congress voted to accept the 21 conditions of the Communist International and to unite Czech, Slovak, Hungarian and Rutheno-Ukrainian Communists into one common Czechoslovak Communist Party. Bohumir Smeral was chosen to be the first leader of the Party, and his lieutenants and co-founders were Antonin Zapotocky and Josef Haken. The Communist International, however, was reluctant to accept the KSC into its ranks since there were still many Communist elements in Czechoslovakia that had not been included in the new party. During the 3rd Congress of the Communist International which met in Moscow on 22 June to 12

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July 1921, Lenin himself advocated a union of all Communists in Czechoslovakia, and the congress decided to accept the KSC into the International provided a unified, all-state KSC be created within three months.

With this incentive, consolidation of the Party was not long in coming. In June, the left of the Polish Social Democrats in Czechoslovakia accepted the 21 conditions of the Communist International, and named itself the Polish section of the KSC. Members of various Communist groups began attaching themselves to the KSC, and a common conference of Communist organizations was held in August 1921. The Communist women in Czechoslovakia joined into an international unification of Communist women in October, and from 30 October to 4 November 1921, the Merger Congress of the KSC took place in the Narodni Dum in Prague/Smichov. The congress was attended by 245 delegates, 169 voting and 76 non-voting delegates, with representatives of the Communist International and of the Communist Party of Germany also present. With the help of the Executive of the Communist International, the Party's organizational rules were worked over to conform with Bolshevik principles of organization, and were approved by the congress. A state-wide Party composed of all Communist elements in the country now existed in Czechoslovakia, and the KSC became a bona fide member of the Communist International.

#### The Period of Inner Party Strife, 1921-1929

"In its first years, the KSC had many traditional social democratic traits in its appearance and character. Its activity was expressed mostly in general political agitation, and only a little in active struggles." <sup>2</sup> What "active struggles" the Party did engage in appear primarily to have been struggles within the Party between a left-wing and a right-wing rather than against the "bourgeois" foe.

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<sup>2</sup> Vaclav Kopecky, Tricet let KSC; vzpominky na zalozeni KSC a hlavni udalosti jejeho vyvoje, p 36.

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Shortly after the foundation of the KSC a group of ultra-leftists, later dubbed "anarcho-syndicalists", sprang up in opposition to the Smeral leadership of the Party. The Jilek group, as the anarcho-syndicalists came to be known, was composed of such men as Bohumir Jilek, Bolen, Dr. Houser, Vajtauer and Sturc. Dissatisfied with the slow pace at which the Party was progressing toward establishment of a dictatorship of the proletariat, they sought an immediate reform of capitalist society by doing away with capitalist competition. This was opposed to the policy of the 4th Congress of the Communist International which advocated that first the majority of the working class be won to communism through use of the tactics of the United Front, using at the same time the slogan of a "Workers' and Peasants' Government" in the struggle of the proletariat for power. The difference appears to have been mainly a question of how fast the Communists should progress toward establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the ultra-leftists favoring a more urgent course than that being followed by the KSC.

On the other hand, by 1923 the Smeral "right-wing" of the Party had drifted toward a position of "opportunism" favoring collaboration with the bourgeois government of the Czechoslovak Republic. The Smeral leadership regarded the Workers' and Peasants' Government as a transitory stage of the movement toward a dictatorship of the proletariat, a means to be used within the framework of the bourgeois democracy for furthering worker politics. The ultra-leftists wanted to pursue a headlong course toward the dictatorship of the proletariat, whereas the "opportunists" wanted to bring about the dictatorship solely through parliamentary tactics within the framework of the existing democratic republic. The Comintern position lay somewhere in between.

In the midst of this conflict, the 1st Congress of the KSC took place on 2-5 February 1923 in Domovina Hall in Prague/Holesovice. It was attended by 184 delegates, 125 voting and 59 non-voting delegates. Also present were Vasil Kolarov, a representative of the Third International, and a representative

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of the Communist Party of Italy. The attitude of the Smeral group, that the proletariat could acquire political power only through "bourgeois" institutions, prevailed and was confirmed as the Party line. Smeral was re-elected as chairman of the Party, and Antonin Zapotocky became secretary. The Jilek group was expelled from the Party.

"In 1924, the internal ideological conflict led to a crisis. It was the first serious crisis experienced by the Party in the course of its regeneration to a Bolshevik party."<sup>3</sup> A new left had arisen to replace the ousted Jilek-left. The new left-wing, composed of such persons as Bubenicek, Gottwald, Haken, Harus, Hodinova, Hruska, Kolsky, Kopecky, Krosnar, Slansky, Svoboda, Tuma, Vetiska and Vodicka, supported the program of the 5th Congress of the Comintern (17 June to 8 July 1924) which advocated the revolutionary overthrow of the bourgeois by leading the majority of the working class in the establishment of a dictatorship of the proletariat. The 5th Comintern Congress also established the principle of organizing factory cells rather than local organizations as the basic organizational unit of the Communist Party. The right-wing, led by Smeral, Zapotocky and the Jilek group, which had apparently radically altered its attitude and had been readmitted to the Party, persisted in its program of a gradual approach to the dictatorship of the proletariat within the established state structure. The right wing was also against abandoning local organizations in favor of plant organizations.

This was the situation within the Party when the 2nd Congress of the KSC took place from 31 October to 4 November 1924 in Domovina Hall in Prague/Holesovice. The 2nd Congress is regarded by the KSC today as one of the milestones of the Party along its road to Bolshevization. There were 209 delegates at the congress, 145 voting delegates and 64 non-voting. Among the foreign representatives present were: D. Manulisky from the Communist International, and representatives of the Communist Parties of Austria, France and Germany. The left, which had the support of the Communist International behind it, was just able to capture control of the Congress. The left received 18 seats on the Central Committee and the right

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<sup>3</sup> Kopecky, ibid., p.40 8

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received 14 seats, but the right wing was able to retain control of the Control Commission and thus ultimately retain effective control of the Party. Josef Haken headed the leftist group on the Central Committee. A resolution was passed which for the first time clearly established the conditions for membership in the Party as (1) the regular payment of dues, (2) active work in one of the Party organizations, and (3) submission to all resolutions of the Communist International.<sup>4</sup> The 2nd Congress also approved the 5th Comintern Congress resolution for a reorganization of the Party according to the principle of factory cells. The left had won the day, but not the battle.

The "Bolshevization crisis" in the Party continued into 1925. In February, the right-winger Bubnik and his group of "opportunists, liquidators, and renegades"<sup>5</sup> attacked the leftist leadership of the Party. The left was backed in its fight against the Bubnik group by the March 1925 session of the enlarged 5th Executive of the Communist International in Moscow, and by Stalin himself who attacked the rightists in his article, "On the Rightist Danger Within the Czechoslovak Communist Party". Bubnik was subsequently expelled from the Party, but the Smeralist right-wingers or "opportunists" also took advantage of this opportunity to expel some of the leftists leaders under the slogan of "Cleaning the Party" of corrupt elements.

The 3rd Congress took place on 26-28 September 1925 in the Narodni Dum in Prague/Smichov. Josef Haken was elected chairman of the Central Committee and Bohumir Jilek became secretary-general. Smeral was sent to China by the Comintern. The congress approved the acceptance of the former Independent Socialist Party into the KSC, and elected Klement Gottwald to

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<sup>4</sup>"History of the Congresses of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia," Zivot Strany, p. 636.

<sup>5</sup> Kopecky, op. cit., p 43

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the Central Committee and Politburo of the Party as a representative of the Slovaks. Gottwald also became head of the agit-prop department of the Central Secretariat. The Bolsheviks were victorious at the congress, but were unable to eliminate their rightist opposition. The Party was gradually reorganizing from local to factory cells.

During 1926 and 1927, the left eased off somewhat in its fight against the right-wing "opportunists" to give battle to a new "ism"-- Trotskyism. Trotskyism, the sin of believing that socialism could not be built successfully in one country alone and that the peasantry was an opponent of socialism, was represented in Czechoslovakia by two groups: a group of Prague intellectuals under Professor Pollak, and a group led by Neurath concerned with the German speaking areas of Czechoslovakia.

The right-wing, however, did not stand still during this period, and the Jilek-Bolen group was able to capture the leadership of the Party at the 4th Congress of the KSC which was held on 25-28 March 1927 in the Narodni Dum in Prague/Smichov. Of the 273 delegates present at the congress, 130 were voting delegates and 143 non-voting. Jiri Dimitrov from the Communist International, and representatives of the Communist Parties of Austria, Germany and Yugoslavia were also present. "The 4th Congress took place in an atmosphere of reinvigorated opportunism in the KSC,"<sup>6</sup> and the Party line formulated at the congress was in later years repudiated by the Party as entirely erroneous. The right still clung to its belief that communist ends could be achieved through the already existing machinery of state, while the left, following the Comintern line, wanted to break with the "bourgeois" government and policies. The 4th Congress is regarded by the KSC as the "Zenith of the Jilek Leadership" which lasted from 1926 to 1928. Jilek and Bolen headed the right-wing Party leadership, and Gottwald assumed control of the left-wing.

During 1928 the struggle between the left-wing and the right-wing of the KSC was intensified, and the left began to emerge as

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<sup>6</sup> Zivot Strany, op. cit., p 637

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the ultimate victor. The storm centered around "Red Day", 6 July 1928. The red workers' gymnastic organizations in Czechoslovakia had organized a Red Spartakiade to be held on that date in Prague. The event was banned by the government, and in protest the KSC jumped into the fray by declaring that a protest demonstration would be held on July 6th whether the government prohibited it or not. After much bickering within the Party, accompanied by super-secret preparations which apparently left many participants unsure as to their role in the demonstrations, the protest activities got off to a rather shaky start on the morning of the 6th. The police quickly and easily broke up the demonstration before it had a chance to get well under way. The fiasco was a clear defeat for the KSC, and evoked a storm of accusations and recriminations within the Party. The left scored the Jilek-Bolen leadership as opportunistic agent-provocateurs that had isolated the party from the masses and had connived with the bourgeois government to bring about the defeat of the working classes. The right-wing blamed the passivity of the masses for the Party's defeat. This incident served to crystallize the leftist Bolshevik opposition led by Gottwald, Slansky and Fried, and to firm up the left's position as representative of the basic position of the Comintern. Confirmation of this position was obtained during the 6th Congress of the Communist International (15 July to 1 September 1928) at which Gottwald was elected to the Comintern Executive and given the leadership of the KSC. At the same time, the KSC, more specifically the right-wing of the KSC, was condemned for "isolating the Party from the masses".<sup>7</sup>

With the weight of Comintern support behind him, Gottwald went to the 5th Congress of the KSC as the conquering hero. The 5th Party Congress of the KSC was, after the 2nd Party Congress which introduced the Bolshevization of the Party, the second significant turning point in the development of the Party."<sup>8</sup> To quote the words of Rudolf Slansky:

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<sup>7</sup> "Czechoslovakia: Short History of the Communist Party," News From Behind the Iron Curtain, August 1956, p 8

<sup>8</sup> Reimann, op. cit., p 358

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"The 5th Party Congress closed the initial period of our Party's history, that period in which wavering opportunist and even openly defeatist elements within the Party were able to act, when it was still necessary to fight within the Party to ensure the application of Bolshevik principles in the political leadership of the Party and to carry out an independent revolutionary policy of the working class.

The 5th Congress marked the close of a bitter and successful struggle against opportunist and defeatist elements like Jilek and Bolen, and their removal from the Party leadership. The Bolshevik wing, led by Comrade Gottwald, emerged victorious. Only after the 5th Congress, after the election of the Gottwald leadership, a resolute campaign was set afoot to remove the remnants of reformism in the Party.

Only the new leadership was able to free the Party of all manner of bourgeois ideology, to wipe out right and left-wing opportunism, to apply Marxist-Leninist tactics and the strategy of the class struggle, and to reform the Party on new, Leninist-Stalinist lines."<sup>9</sup>

The congress took place on 18-23 February 1929 at various places in Prague, meeting on the third day in the Communal House in Prague/Karlin. A total of 176 delegates attended, 124 voting and 52 non-voting. Of the voting delegates, 112 were workers, 11 were intellectuals, and one was a small tradesman. Representatives of the Communist International and of the Communist Party of Western Ukraine were also present. Following the Comintern line, the 5th Congress called for a united front of all working classes against imperialist wars and for the protection of the Soviet Union, the first socialist state. The Party was called upon to fight

"for the winning of the majority of the working class and the wide strata of the poor peasants, for the expropriation of the capitalists, for the expropriation of the large estates without compensation, for the realization of the right of self-determination of the people even to separation from

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<sup>9</sup> Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, Czechoslovakia on the Road to Socialism, p 20.

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the Czechoslovak state. The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia declares openly that its goal can only be reached through the forceful overthrow of the capitalist society, through an armed uprising and through the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat." <sup>10</sup>

The Jilek-Bolen leadership was purged from the Party (for a second time), and Gottwald was elected Secretary-General of the Party. A new Central Committee of 52 members was elected along with a Political Secretariat headed by Antonin Zapotocky and consisting of the following members:

Klement Gottwald	Jan Sverma	Melzer	Stuhlik
Rudolf Slansky	Evzen Fried	Rejman	Synek
Josef Haken	Guttman	Hruby	Cenek Hruska

The final struggle was a bitter and costly one. Although Gottwald was elected as a deputy to the National Assembly in the elections that followed in October, the Party as a whole was reduced to 30 out of 300 seats in the Chamber of Deputies, and 15 seats out of 150 in the Senate (in November 1925 the KSC obtained 41 of the 300 chamber of Deputies seats and 20 of the 150 Senate seats). The Party lost influence and membership, but it once and for all acquired the distinctive "MADE IN MOSCOW" stamp that it has carried to the present day.

#### The United Front Against Capitalism, 1929-1938

The years between the Bolshevization of the KSC in 1929 and its dissolution in 1938 were years characterized by the Party's attempts to foment class struggle in Czechoslovakia. The re-organization from local to factory cells, started by the 2nd Congress of the KSC in 1924, was completed. Following the line of the 5th KSC Congress, Gottwald, in his first speech to the Chamber of Deputies on 21 December 1929, proclaimed a "merciless fight against the bourgeoisie until its leadership is swept away." <sup>11</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Reimann, op. cit., p 358

<sup>11</sup> Behind the Iron Curtain, op. cit., p 8

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At the 6th Party Congress which was held on 7-11 March 1931 in Prague, the theme of a united front of the working classes against capitalism was reiterated. As its battle cry during this period, the Party adopted the slogan "For a Proletarian Solution to the Crisis". There were 214 delegates at the congress, 97 with votes and 117 in an advisory capacity. A representative of the Communist Party of Germany and a representative of the Berlin organization of the Communist Party of Germany were also present. In contrast to previous congresses of the KSC, the 6th Congress was marked by its unity and Bolshevik solidarity.

The early thirties were years of economic depression in Czechoslovakia, and the KSC used the times to stir up class struggle. This struggle culminated with the Great Miners' Strike in the Most brown coal region in March 1932. During 1933 and 1934 the Party's fortunes reached a low ebb. Legislation was passed in 1933 enabling the government to dissolve any party hostile to the state, and the KSC was harassed by arrests of Party functionaries and the breaking up of some of its meetings. An attempt by the KSC to create a "socialist union" of the Communists and socialists against the "reactionary bourgeois" was rejected by the socialists. In 1934 the KSC began preparing to go underground and secretly elected a new Central Committee headed by Klement Gottwald. However, with the rise of the Nazi threat from Germany, the Party, which took an early stand against Hitler, began to enjoy renewed influence in Czechoslovakia. In the elections in May 1935, the last free elections in Czechoslovakia prior to World War II, the KSC won 30 seats in the Chamber of Deputies and 16 in the Senate.

At the 7th Party Congress which convened on 11-14 April 1936 in the Narodni Dum in Prague/Smichov, the KSC pressed its advantage by formulating as its main mission the battle against fascism and Hitler's aggression. Some 559 delegates, of which 495 were voting delegates and 64 were non-voting delegates, took part in working out a detailed program for a People's Front of all working people to defend the Republic. Foreign

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guests at this congress included representatives of the Communist Parties of Austria, Greece and Great Britain.

During this period there was one minor skirmish within the Party ranks brought about apparently by the signing of the Czechoslovak-Soviet Pact. At a special meeting of the Central Committee in February 1936, the editor of Rude Pravo, Budin, was expelled from the Party for carrying on "anti-Communist propaganda", and Sverma and Slansky were expelled from the Secretariat because they had wrongly interpreted the pact as justifying cooperation of the KSC with the "bourgeois" coalition government.

The United Front of the working people remained the Party line until the fall of 1938. On 21 October 1938, the Czechoslovak government prohibited KSC activity; on 27 December 1938, the KSC was dissolved along with other political parties in Czechoslovakia as a result of the Munich Agreement.

#### The War Years, 1938-1945

Shortly after the Party was dissolved, its leadership went into exile in Moscow to direct the Party's underground activities from there. Gottwald, Appelt, Koehler, Kopecky, Korb, Krosnar, Siroky, Slansky, Smeral and Sverma went to Moscow. Dolansky, Kliment, Kopriva and Zapotocky were arrested on 15 March 1939 trying to cross the border into the USSR, and were sent into concentration camps. Siroky was also caught later and spent the war in prison. Urx, Klima, and Otto and Viktor Synek assumed leadership of the KSC at home, while Julius Duris led the Party in Slovakia. A few, Clementis, London, et al., went to London where they refused to join in the "imperialist" war until the German attack on the Soviet Union on 21 June 1941 took place. Party members threw themselves into the fight against the Nazi occupation and for the moment became patriots. Four illegal Central Committees were formed during the war, but each was successively eliminated by the Gestapo except the fourth. The Communists claim that the Nazis killed

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25,000 members and functionaries of the Party during the war.

By war's end the Party ranks were very thin, but the Party was by no means weak or disorganized. The fact is that the Party was stronger than ever. The Slovak section of the KSC merged with a section of the Slovak Social Democrats on 17 September 1944 to create the Communist Party of Slovakia. In Moscow, the Party leaders laid plans for gaining control of the machinery of local government at the end of the war. Local, district and regional National Committees were to be organized under the control of the Minister of Interior who was to be a Communist. Discussions held between President Benes and Czechoslovak Communist leaders in Moscow in December 1943 and March 1945 firmed up in part the post-war political structure of Czechoslovakia and created the National Front in which the Communists later played the dominant role.

#### The Rise to Power, 1945-1948

As the war drew to a close in the spring of 1945, the KSC went into action. In areas liberated by the Red Army, the Communists set up their National Committees which functioned as the local government in those areas. The Red Army refused to cooperate with any other governmental bodies, and thus the stature of the National Committees was increased. On 4 April 1945, a new national cabinet was appointed at Kosice in Slovakia. The cabinet was headed by Social Democrat Zdenek Fierlinger who had cooperated closely with the Communists in Moscow during the war. In addition, the Communists had two Deputy Prime Ministers in the six-member Presidium of the government, Klement Gottwald representing the KSC, and Viliam Siroky representing the Communist Party of Slovakia (KSS). Of the ministries, the Communists obtained those of Interior, Agriculture, Social Welfare, Information, and Education. General Ludvik Svoboda, pro-Communist head of the Czechoslovak Forces in the USSR during the war, was made the Minister of National Defense, and Vladimir Clementis, a Communist who had been in London during the war, became State Secretary of

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the Ministry of Foreign Affairs where, due to Minister Jan Masaryk's frequent absences to attend various conferences, he held a large degree of the real political and administrative power of that ministry.

According to the agreement reached in Moscow in March 1945 between the Communists and the Benes leadership, a National Front was established in Czechoslovakia immediately after the war. The National Front was composed of the KSC, the Social Democrats, the National Socialist Party, the catholic People's Party, and two Slovak parties: the KSS and the Democratic Party. These were the only six political parties allowed, and each had equal representation in the Provisional National Assembly (i. e., each party obtained 40 seats with an additional 20 seats going to representatives of "all-national special interest groups", most of which were Communist dominated; of the remaining 20 seats, 12 went to Slovak special interest organizations, 3 to Slovak cultural and scientific workers, and 5 to represent the Ukrainian population). The KSC and the KSS remained separate political parties since in that way the Communists were able to control more seats in the Assembly. Seats in that body were allocated to the various parties on 28 October 1945 by the Revolutionary National Committees (Communist dominated), and out of 300 seats in the Provisional National Assembly, the Czech and Slovak Communists acquired 98 seats (51 Czech and 47 Slovak). From the very beginning, therefore, the Communists were able to obtain an advantageous position in the post-war government of Czechoslovakia. Their political fortunes had indeed improved from those of the pre-war years.

Concurrently with its drive for power in the government, the KSC sought to increase its influence among the masses. In May 1945, the Party threw open its ranks to a mass membership influx. Gottwald, who had returned to the Czechoslovak Republic to participate in the Kosice Government, became Party Chairman, while Slansky became Central Secretary. In Slovakia, Siroky became head of the Slovak Party and was assisted by Julius Duris.

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The first post-war congress of the KSC, the 8th Congress, was held on 28-31 March 1946 in Prague. Indicative of the Party's increased membership (estimated by Party organizational secretary Marie Svermova at 1.1 million) were the 1166 delegates, of whom 1038 were voting delegates and 128 in an advisory capacity. Of the voting delegates, 294 were members of factory organizations and 744 were members of local organizations; 876 were men and 162 were women. Viliam Siroky led a delegation from the KSS, and delegations were also present from the following Communist Parties:

- The Bulgarian Workers' Party (Communists)
- The Communist Party of Belgium
- The Communist Party of Denmark
- The Communist Party of France
- The Communist Party of Great Britain
- The Communist Party of Greece
- The Communist Party of Holland
- The Communist Party of Spain
- The Communist Party of Sweden
- The Communist Party of Yugoslavia
- The Polish Workers' Party
- The Swiss Party of Labor

The tenor of the 8th Congress was nationalistic. The speakers praised the Party as the main enemy of the Germans and the main resistance force during the war. They assured everybody that they did not intend to collectivize the countryside or to liquidate the small private businesses. The general line of the congress, however, was "not to allow power to return to the hands of the bourgeoisie, but on the contrary to broaden and strengthen the power of the working class until its victory over the bourgeoisie." <sup>12</sup> The 8th Congress was called the "Congress of Builders".

Due to their dominating position in government and their ability to offer their partisans posts in government and in the economic machinery of the state, and to allocate to them confiscated lands and enterprises, the Communists enjoyed a large scale influx of Party members.<sup>13</sup> In the national elections of 26 May 1946,

<sup>12</sup>Zivot Strany, op. cit., 639

<sup>13</sup>Behind the Iron Curtain, op. cit., p 10

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the Communists obtained over 40 per cent of the vote in Bohemia and about 30 per cent in Slovakia, or roughly 38 per cent of all the votes cast in Czechoslovakia. Gottwald became Prime Minister and Fierlinger a Deputy Prime Minister. The Communists not only retained control of the ministries that they already had, but also added the Ministry of Finance to their control, in addition to gaining 114 seats out of the 300 in the Constituent Assembly. On 8 July 1946, Gottwald presented his "Program of Action" to the new Assembly, calling for a new constitution and a two-year plan for reconstruction and economic recovery for 1947-1948. This was followed on 22 January 1947 by a session of the Central Committee at which Gottwald called for a "struggle against reactionary forces."<sup>14</sup> This was the signal for a general membership drive in the KSC aimed at gaining the majority of the nation in the coming elections in the spring of 1948.

The Communists next strengthened their hand in Slovakia by accusing the Slovak Democratic Party, their major competitor in Slovakia, of conspiring against the unity and integrity of the Republic. This brought about a shake-up in the Slovak Board of Commissioners, the Slovak equivalent of the Czech ministries, which resulted in greater control for the Communists. By now, however, Communist tactics had alienated many voters in Czechoslovakia so that as the 1948 election year loomed on the horizon, the total vote for the Communists threatened to diminish from that of the 1946 elections rather than increase as formerly expected. Perhaps with this in mind, and seeing how easily their "little coup" in Slovakia had gone, the Communists provoked a cabinet crisis in early 1948 by refusing to comply with a majority resolution directing the Communist Minister of Interior to revoke the removal of eight senior police officers in the Prague region who had been replaced by Communists.<sup>15</sup> Twelve of the non-

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Czechoslovakia on the Road to Socialism, op. cit. pp 50-51

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Behind the Iron Curtain, op. cit., p 11

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Communist ministers resigned in protest. The Communists arranged street demonstrations and called out the pro-Communist workers' militia; Gottwald threatened President Benes with civil war unless he accepted the resignations of the 12 ministers. Meanwhile, Communist police raided the offices of the non-Communist parties, and Communist action committees were set up which began to purge non-Communists from the National Assembly as well as from offices, schools and businesses. These action committees later became the local organs of government. On 25 February 1948, the Communist coup d'etat was completed with the appointment of a new cabinet of Communists and fellow-travellers. A Communist-dominated National Assembly was elected on 30 May 1948, and Gottwald was elected President at the elections that took place on 14 June 1948 following Benes' resignation on 7 June 1958 after refusing to ratify a new Soviet-type constitution. Zapotocky became Prime Minister. The Communists now had complete control of the government.

The Consolidation of Power, 1948-1953

Immediately after the February 1948 coup, the ranks of the KSC began to swell rapidly. Many members of non-Communist parties applied voluntarily for KSC membership in order to "save their skins". Others were put under great pressure by the Party to join. All were accepted without any special screening. Membership rolls were further increased when the Social Democrats, led by pro-Communist Zdenek Fierlinger, joined the KSC en masse on 26 June 1948. By August 1948, total Party membership, including the Slovak Communist Party which merged with the KSC on 28 September 1948 and became a regional unit of the KSC, was nearly two and a half million. This mass influx of members into the Party, however, was terminated by a resolution of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the KSC passed on 15 August 1948. In conformity with this resolution, a screening, the Party's first, of all Party members and candidates for membership took place between 1 October 1948 and 31 January 1949. During this period, 2,418,199 members were screened, 76,638 were struck off the membership lists, 30,495

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were expelled and 522,683 were demoted to the status of candidates for membership. A ban was placed on the admission of new members to the Party in November 1948 which remained in effect until the 9th Party Congress in May 1949 when Stakhanovites were allowed to enter.

After the Party had completed its seizure of the reins of government and was able to turn its attention fully to the task of governing, the KSC drew up the first Five Year Plan for Czechoslovakia, announcing it on 28 October 1948. At a session of the Central Committee the following November, Gottwald announced as the Party's major tasks the limitation and repression of capitalist elements in the country and support of the cooperative movement in agriculture. The general line of the 9th Congress of the KSC, which took place in the Industrial Palace in Prague on 25-29 May 1949, was the "building of socialism in Czechoslovakia". The Party was assigned the primary task of mobilizing all forces in the country to fulfill the first Five Year Plan which sought the large scale industrialization of Czechoslovakia. As a secondary task, the Party was instructed to socialize the villages and agriculture by collectivizing the farms. Other points stressed at the 9th Congress were the education of a working class intelligentsia, the National Front as the correct way to unite the working people of city and country, and close relations with the Soviet Union as a requisite to the building of socialism in Czechoslovakia. A record number of delegates attended the congress, 2346 in all, including 2068 voting delegates and 273 non-voting delegates. An indication of the extent to which the reorganization from local cells to factory cells had progressed is given by the fact that of the voting delegates, 1366 were members of factory cells and 702 were members of local cells. There were 1766 men and 302 women. In addition, 31 delegates attended from the following foreign parties:

The Albanian Party of Labor  
The Communist Party of Argentina

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The Communist Party of Austria  
The Communist Party of Bulgaria  
The Communist Party of Catalonia  
The Communist Party of Chile  
The Communist Party of Denmark  
The Communist Party of England  
The Communist Party of Finland  
The Communist Party of France  
The Communist Party of Greece  
The Communist Party of Holland  
The Communist Party of Italy  
The Communist Party of Luxembourg  
The Communist Party of Spain  
The Communist Party of Sweden  
The Communist Party of the Soviet Union  
The Communist Party of Trieste  
The Communist Party of Venezuela  
The Hungarian Workers' Party  
The Progressive Workers' Party of Canada  
The Rumanian Workers' Party  
The Socialist Party of Cuba  
The Swiss Party of Labor  
The United Socialist Party of Germany  
The United Socialist Party of Iceland

Klement Gottwald, the President of the Republic of Czechoslovakia, was re-elected Chairman of the KSC, and Rudolf Slansky was chosen as General-Secretary.

As the Party went forward in its consolidation of political power, the effects of the consolidation began to be felt within the Party itself. The first "screening" of the Party membership which lasted from 1 October 1948 to 31 January 1949 has already been mentioned. In the spring of 1949, the screening began to assume the first aspects of a purge of individual leading Communists when Evzen Klinger, Chief of the Press Division of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and Dr. Oskar Kosta, Deputy Chief of the Press Division of the Ministry of

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Information and Enlightenment, were arrested. Both had spent World War II in England and were of Jewish ancestry. They were later referred to as "cosmopolitans", whose crime consisted of an alleged lack of patriotic feeling. Closely on the heels of this development came the ousting of Vilem Novy, Editor-in-Chief of Rude Pravo and Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the National Assembly, in November 1949. He was accompanied by Evzen Loebel, Deputy Minister of Foreign Trade, and Ing. Milan Reiman, Head of the Office of the Government Presidium. On 25 February 1950, Party Cadre Department head Ladislav Kopriva delivered a report to a session of the Central Committee in which he charged those who had been purged with being "espionage agents for the Western imperialists and bourgeois nationalist elements".<sup>16</sup> He also denounced Bohdan Benda, a member of the Central Committee concerned with defense questions, and a group of foreign trade officials who favored more trade with the West as "Tito agents".

Developments became somewhat more spectacular when Dr. Vladimir Clementis, Minister of Foreign Affairs, resigned on 14 March 1950. Dr. Gustav Husak, Chairman of the Slovak Board of Commissioners, and Laco Novomesky, Slovak Commissioner of Education, Sciences and Arts, were recalled from their positions in early May. During the 9th Congress of the Slovak Communist Party, Viliam Siroky accused those who had been purged of being guilty of bourgeois nationalism. Clementis was condemned for having criticized the Nazi-Soviet Pact and was charged with believing that socialism could be built without a relentless class struggle against the bourgeoisie. Karol Smidke, Chairman of the Slovak National Council, was also indicted at this time for failing to convey wartime instructions from Moscow.

Other Party members and leaders were yet to follow as the purge gained momentum. A Central Committee resolution of 26 June 1950 provided for a new screening of all members and candidates of the Party to be conducted in connection with the

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<sup>16</sup> P. Korbela and V. Vagassky, Purges in the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, pp 12-13

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issuance of new membership cards, existing ones having expired on 31 December 1950. The second screening was instigated to "examine and evaluate each member and candidate of the Party on the basis of his work for the Party and the Republic. It was designed to help purge the Party of dishonest people, of people with a bad record for their past, of careerists and of all those who did not fit into the Party." <sup>17</sup> In November 1950, Otto Sling, Chief Regional Secretary of the KSC in Brno, was arrested and charged with sabotage and spying for Anglo-American imperialists. Others implicated with Sling were:

Ruzena Dubova, Head of the Organizational Department of the Regional Secretariat of the KSC in Brno.

Dr. Vitezslav Fuchs, Regional Secretary of the KSC in Ostrava.

fnu Landa, Regional Secretary of the KSC in Usti nad Labem.

Hanus Lomsky, Chief Regional Secretary of the KSC in Plzen.

Ervin Polak, Deputy Minister of Interior.

Marie Svermova, Deputy Central Secretary of the KSC.

An indictment against these persons was delivered at a session of the Central Committee on 21-24 February 1951 by Vaclav Kopecky, Chairman of a three-man investigation commission appointed by the Presidium of the Central Committee. In addition to Kopecky, the commission included Gustav Bares and Bruno Koehler. Sling and "company" were linked with Clementis and "company", and were accused of having been against an intensification of class war and in favor of Czechoslovakia taking its own road to socialism. Svermova was singled out for special criticism and accused of surreptitiously criticizing conditions in the USSR, opposing the Soviet Union's annexation of Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia, objecting to the Cominform's 1948 resolution on Yugoslavia, and setting up her own operational unit in the Central Secretariat. The outcome was that Svermova, Clementis, Husak, Novomesky and Smidke were expelled from the Party and deprived of their seats as members

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<sup>17</sup>Ibid., p 8

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of the Constituent Assembly. Sling had already lost these privileges at the time of his arrest.

Army General Alexej Cepicka, Minister of National Defense, announced on 9 March 1951 that the "conspiracy, to which the enemy had assigned in Czechoslovakia such an important task, could not disregard the army".<sup>18</sup> Major General Bedrich Reicin, Deputy Minister of National Defense, and Lt. Col. Kopold, Marie Svermova's son-in-law, were implicated in the Sling, Svermova, Clementis conspiracy. By this time many others had been purged from the civil administration, too, including:

Dr. Rudolf Bystricky, Ambassador in Great Britain.  
Dr. Otto Fischel, Ambassador and head of the diplomatic mission in the German Democratic Republic.  
Dr. Eduard Goldstuecker, Minister in Israel.  
Dr. Vavro Hajdu, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs.  
Dr. Adolf Hoffmeister, Ambassador in France.  
Dr. Ivan Holy, Deputy Minister of Light Industry.  
Ladislav Holdos, Slovak Commissioner.  
Dr. Ivan Horvath, Minister in Hungary.  
Dr. Alexander Kunosi, Minister in Argentina.  
Josef Kyonka, Deputy Minister of Labor and Social Welfare.  
Arthur London, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs.  
Dr. Daniel Okalyi, Slovak Commissioner.  
Dr. Vladimir Outrata, Ambassador in the United States.  
Josef Pavel, Deputy Minister of National Security and General of the National Security Corps (SNB).  
Josef Smrkovsky, Director General of the State Farms and State Forests.

Little realizing what was in store for him, Party Secretary-General Rudolf Slansky violently denounced the Sling, Svermova, Clementis group as traitors during April and May of 1951. On the occasion of his 50th birthday on 31 July 1951, Slansky received the Order of Socialism, the highest decoration to be awarded for meritorious actions undertaken toward the achievement of the

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<sup>18</sup> Ibid., pp 24-25

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victory of socialism in Czechoslovakia. Then, at an unannounced Central Committee session on 6 September 1951, Gottwald announced a reorganization of the Party. Slansky was relieved of his post as Secretary-General and assigned as Director of a new economic division. The reorganization also affected Julius Duris, who was recalled as Minister of Agriculture because of inefficiency. Evzen Erban, also recalled because of inefficiency from his post as Minister of Labor and Social Welfare, and Army General Ludvik Svoboda, Deputy Prime Minister, also felt the effect of the reorganization. Although Slansky performed the required act of contrition in which he publicly admitted his error in failing to uncover Svermova, Sling and Fuchs as saboteurs and spies, he was not spared from arrest for anti-state activities on 28 November 1951. Gottwald announced on 6 December 1951 that Slansky had been proved guilty of a "direct, active and . . . leading role in the anti-Party and anti-State conspiracy whose discovery and gradual liquidation began in 1950 with the arrest of the spy and traitor Sling".<sup>19</sup> Purged with Slansky were Ludvik Frejka, Economic Advisor to Klement Gottwald and Chief of the Economic Department of the Office of the President of the Republic; Bedrich Geminder, Editor-in-Chief of the Cominform paper For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy (Geminder was of Jewish descent); and Dr. Rudolf Margolius, Deputy Minister of Foreign Trade. On 24 January 1952, Ladislav Kopriva was reported as relieved of his position as Minister of National Security. In March and April of the same year, Central Committee secretaries Josef Frank, Gustav Bares, Jiri Hendrych, and Stefan Bastovansky were replaced. At the end of February 1952, Army General Jaroslav Prochazka was replaced as Chief of Staff by Vaclav Kratochvil.

The climax of the purge was reached on 20-27 November 1952 with the trial of Rudolf Slansky and 13 of his "accomplices".

Vladimir Clementis, former Minister of Foreign Affairs,  
a Slovak,

Otto Fischl, former Deputy Minister of Finance, of Jewish  
origin.

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<sup>19</sup>Behind the Iron Curtain, op. cit., p 12

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Josef Frank, former Deputy Secretary-General of the Central Committee  
Ludvik Frejka, former Head of the Economic Department of the Presidents Chancellery  
Bedrich Geminder, former Head of the International Department of the Central Committee, of Jewish origin.  
Vavro Hajdu, former Deputy Foreign Minister, of Jewish origin.  
Evzen Loebel, former Deputy Minister of Foreign Trade, of Jewish origin.  
Arthur London, former Deputy Foreign Minister, of Jewish origin.  
Rudolf Margolius, former Deputy Minister of Foreign Trade, of Jewish origin.  
Bedrich Reicin, former Deputy Minister of National Defense, of Jewish origin.  
Andre Simone, former Editor of Rude Pravo, of Jewish origin.  
Otto Sling, former Secretary of the Regional Committee in Brno, of Jewish origin.  
Karel Svab, former Deputy Minister of National Security.

Rudolf Slansky was also of Jewish origin and, in addition to being former Secretary-General of the KSC, was a Deputy Prime Minister before his arrest. Victims of the purge were accused of a multitude of various charges, among the main list of which are the following.

1. Titoism and terroristic-Titoistic treason.
2. Activity as agents for Western imperialists, espionage for the West, cooperation with the French secret police.
3. Bourgeois nationalism aimed at the secession of Slovakia from Czechoslovakia.
4. Insulting or expressing an unfavorable opinion toward the USSR.
5. Violation of internal Party democracy.
6. Poor cadre work and favoritism in filling Party and State offices.
7. Failure to apply the Marxist-Leninist general line.
8. Western orientation of foreign trade.
9. Bribery and corruption.



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10. Interference in the state administration.
11. In individual cases: German origin, subservience to bourgeois emigration led by Dr. Benes, lack of vigilance and leniency toward errors and shortcomings, slipshod methods of work, and sabotage methods in general.<sup>20</sup>

Terms such as "cosmopolitans", "Titoists", "Zionists", "Trotskyists" and "bourgeois nationalists" were frequently used in referring to the purgees. In all, more than one-fourth of the Central Committee elected at the 9th Party Congress in May 1949 was purged to a lesser or greater degree, in addition to the many others purged who were not members of the Central Committee. A special all-state conference of the Party was convened from 16-18 December 1952 to discuss the Slansky trial and to approve a new Party Organization Statute that eliminated the position of Secretary-General from the Party. The general tenor of the conference was one of fear and confusion, but Antonin Novotny was praised for his role in ferreting out the Slansky conspirators.

In retrospect, there are two aspects of the purge that stand out rather sharply. First, the purge in Czechoslovakia appears to have been but one of a series of purges initiated in the Satellites at Soviet instigation as a reaction to Titoism and as a means of cleaning the Satellite party ranks of all those who failed to meet the high degree of subservience to Moscow demanded by the Soviets. The first of these purges took place in Hungary. Recent evidence has shown that the Hungarian trials were staged at Moscow's bidding, and were in fact even supervised by the Soviets. The Czechoslovak purge appears as an extension of the actions in Hungary. The Slansky trial marked the high point of the Czech purges and left Gottwald, who from the very beginning had been a Moscow loyalist, in undisputed control of the Party. The second aspect of the purge in Czechoslovakia that stands out

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<sup>20</sup> Korbél, op. cit., pp 49-50

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is its anti-semitic character. Of the thirteen individuals involved in the Slansky trial in November 1952, ten were of Jewish descent, including Slansky himself.

After the Slansky proceedings the trials continued, but on a lesser scale. The trials of Husak, Holdos, Horvath, Novomesky and Okali in April 1954 marked the end of the purges. However, Gottwald's death on 14 March 1953, preceded only a week earlier by Stalin's death, brought to a close the era of Party consolidation and opened a new period of limited de-Stalinization during which the "cult of personality" was partially rejected in favor of "collective leadership".

#### The Rise of a New Generation, 1953-1960

The Great Purge of 1949-1953 eliminated many of the old Party ideologists and left a vacuum among the Party elite which has been filled by a new type of Czechoslovak Communist, the administrator or "apparatchik". The apparatchiks are not generally men of colorful backgrounds or men with formal education. On the contrary, most of them have received their training within the Party in their respective fields. Their main qualification appears to be an ability to work faithfully within the Party apparatus and to adapt themselves skillfully to any course proclaimed by Moscow. A few of the Gottwald "old guard" such as Siroky, Dolansky and Bacilek still occupy prominent positions in the Party hierarchy, but it is the new generation of Communists such as Novotny, Barak, Koucky, Krutina, Simunek and others that is the generating force in the Party today. One by one the old ideologists are dropping by the wayside to be replaced by the new administrators.

When Gottwald died in March 1953, the position of President of the Republic was filled by Antonin Zapotocky, one of Gottwald's old guard who had up to that time been Prime Minister. In September 1953, however, the important post of First Secretary of the Party was given to Antonin

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Novotny, a man whose main source of strength has been his loyalty to Moscow. The smoothness with which Novotny took over the leadership of the Party is an indication of the relative strength that the new generation already had compared to the waning strength of the old guard which had been severely shaken during the preceding years of purge. Under Novotny the fundamental tenets of the Party became democratic centralism and the struggle against revisionism, the main danger. Democratic centralism means that the decisions and orders of the "duly elected" leadership of the Party are unconditionally binding upon all echelons of the Party. The term "revisionism" covers any trend toward liberalization or a weakening of the absolute authority of the Party. Thus the rule of the new generation has been one characterized by an unprecedented consolidation of the power and authority of the KSC leadership.

After the death of Stalin, the Soviet Union entered into a brief period of liberalization known as the Malenkov Era or the "New Course". The Communist leaders in Czechoslovakia, however, were cautious about adopting this policy of "right wing deviationism", and feared that even a slight relaxation of their rigid controls might cause them serious difficulties. Failure to accept the Malenkov line enhanced their position with Moscow later when Khrushchev rose to power and put an end to the "New Course".

At the 10th Congress of the KSC which was held in the Industrial Palace in Prague from 11-15 June 1954, the Czechoslovak Communist leaders were still hesitant about going overboard on liberalizing trends coming out of Moscow. Although the principle of "collective leadership" was propagated, rejection of the "cult of personality" was done in rather mild terms. The need to fight against "unfriendly ideologies" such as social democracy, Masarykism and bourgeois nationalism was stressed, and in the economic sector the Party was urged to help overcome the gap between agricultural and industrial development. The congress approved the statute adopted by the Party Conference on 18 December 1952 with amendments replacing the Presidium,

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Political Secretariat and Organizational Secretariat of the Central Committee with a Political Bureau (Politburo) and a Secretariat. Party Secretary Novotny reported that since the 9th Congress in May 1949, membership of the Party had decreased from 2, 311, 066 members and candidates to 1, 489, 234. This was reflected by the decreased number of delegates at the 10th Congress. There were only 1510 delegates attending (compared to 2068 at the 9th Congress), 1393 voting and 117 non-voting. Nikita Khrushchev led a visiting delegation from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Other foreign Parties represented at the Congress were:

- The Albanian Party of Labor
- The Communist Party of Argentina
- The Communist Party of Australia
- The Communist Party of Belgium
- The Communist Party of Brazil
- The Communist Party of Bulgaria
- The Communist Party of Chile
- The Communist Party of China
- The Communist Party of Denmark
- The Communist Party of England
- The Communist Party of Finland
- The Communist Party of France
- The Communist Party of Germany
- The Communist Party of Greece
- The Communist Party of Holland
- The Communist Party of Indonesia
- The Communist Party of Israel
- The Communist Party of Italy
- The Communist Party of Luxembourg
- The Communist Party of Norway
- The Communist Party of Spain
- The Communist Party of Sweden
- The Communist Party of Tunisia
- The Hungarian Workers' Party
- The Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party

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The Polish United Workers' Party  
The Progressive Workers' Party of Canada  
The Rumanian Workers' Party  
The Swiss Party of Labor  
The United Socialist Party of Germany

Between 1953 and 1954 there was intellectual ferment against Party suppression of ideological freedom, but this had largely been contained by the end of 1955. Khrushchev's wooing of Tito in the spring of 1955 also caused the Czechoslovak Communists some concern, but no major changes in the Party's attitude were brought about. However, the 20th Congress of the CPSU in February 1956 did shake the complacency of the Party leadership, and caused a brief period of ideological turmoil in Czechoslovakia. Czechoslovak writers held a demonstrative congress in April against Stalinist restriction of intellectual freedom, followed in May by a student demonstration in Prague. Despite these outbursts, however, the liberalization in Czechoslovakia did not reach the crescendo it did in other satellites, notably Hungary and Poland, nor did it last long. The all-state Party Congress that was held on 11-15 June 1956 was primarily intended to halt or reverse the growth of the "revisionistic" attitudes that were spreading among the Czechoslovak intelligentsia. Delegates to the conference were instructed to "oppose anarchistic tendencies in the attitude toward the state apparatus".<sup>21</sup> A swing back toward Stalinism, or at least a modified form of Stalinism, set in and was strengthened by developments in Poland and Hungary in the autumn of 1956. Seeing that the initial phases of the Polish and Hungarian revolts were led by disgruntled Communists who were allowed to go too far with their criticism and liberalism, the Czechoslovak Communist leaders made "national communism", another name for "revisionism", their main opponent, and partially vindicated Stalinism.

Democratic centralism and anti-revisionism continued as the hard line of the new generation of the Czechoslovak Communist leadership after 1956. President Zapotocky's death in November

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., pp 103-104

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1957 occasioned no major disturbances within the Party since Novotny already had firm control of the leadership. He strengthened this control when he was elected President of the Republic on 19 November 1957, thus becoming head of both the Party and the state. The 11th Party Congress held in Prague on 18-21 June 1958 endorsed the Novotny hard line, and propagated as its main theme the slogan "Complete the Building of Socialism in Czechoslovakia". A record number of foreign delegations attended the congress including:

- The Albanian Party of Labor
- The Communist Party of Algeria
- The Communist Party of Argentina
- The Communist Party of Australia
- The Communist Party of Austria
- The Communist Party of Belgium
- The Communist Party of Bolivia
- The Communist Party of Brazil
- The Communist Party of Bulgaria
- The Communist Party of Ceylon
- The Communist Party of Chile
- The Communist Party of China
- The Communist Party of Columbia
- The Communist Party of Denmark
- The Communist Party of Ecuador
- The Communist Party of Finland
- The Communist Party of France
- The Communist Party of Germany
- The Communist Party of Great Britain
- The Communist Party of Greece
- The Communist Party of Holland
- The Communist Party of India
- The Communist Party of Indonesia
- The Communist Party of Iraq
- The Communist Party of Israel
- The Communist Party of Italy
- The Communist Party of Jordan
- The Communist Party of Luxembourg
- The Communist Party of Mexico

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The Communist Party of Norway  
The Communist Party of Paraguay  
The Communist Party of Portugal  
The Communist Party of Salvador  
The Communist Party of Spain  
The Communist Party of Syria and Lebanon  
The Communist Party of the Soviet Union  
The Communist Party of the Sudan  
The Communist Party of Tunisia  
The Communist Party of Uruguay  
The Communist Party of Venezuela  
The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party  
The Korean Party of Labor  
The Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party  
The Party of the People's Vanguard of Costa Rica  
The People's Party of Iran - Tudeh  
The People's Socialist Party of Cuba  
The Polish United Workers' Party  
The Progressive Workers' Party of Canada  
The Rumanian Workers' Party  
The Swiss Party of Labor  
The United Socialist Party of Germany  
The United Socialist Party of Iceland  
The Viet Nam Party of Workers

Since the 11th Congress the apparatchiks have grown stronger and the trend toward more efficient central control has continued. Gradually but surely the old ideologists are giving way to the new administrators who represent the new socialist intelligentsia. Whereas in the past the rise to political prominence was accomplished primarily through governmental and other public offices, since the 10th Congress the Party administration and industrial jobs have become channels to political ascendancy. The old type Communists were trained especially in the field of ideology; the new Communists are trained specifically for work in specialized positions, and have fewer interlocking jobs than the old leaders normally held. This has enabled the Party to gain wider control of all state organs and organizations.

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At a plenary session of the Central Committee on 23 September 1959, First Party Secretary Novotny announced a reorganization program which will further consolidate the Party's control of state organs and the Party leadership's control of the Party. He stated, "It will... be necessary further to expand the jurisdiction and responsibilities of the district and local authorities for the administration and management of public affairs on the basis of democratic centralism and in integration with central management."<sup>22</sup> Novotny then called for a complete territorial reorganization that would affect both state and Party organs. He stipulated, however, that "the principle of democratic centralism must continue to be the basis and the main factor, the axis, of the new territorial adjustment... Central management will remain the main economic principle."<sup>23</sup> From these statements it can readily be seen that the Party leadership is still relying on the concept of democratic centralism as the guiding principle in its management of the Party.

During 1960, the Party plans to complete its reorganization and to draw up a new constitution for the Republic of Czechoslovakia that will probably reflect the Party's increased stature in government. Collectivization of agriculture is being pushed toward completion on an accelerated schedule, and an all-out effort is being waged to raise agricultural production. An all-state Party Conference of the KSC has been called for 5 July 1960 to endorse the new constitution and the Third Five Year Plan. By the time the Party Conference convenes, the reorganization of Party and government will have been largely completed. Under the guise of increasing local authority in order to bring "organization and management... closer to production", the Party leadership will have consolidated its power even more efficiently by reducing the number of regional and district organizations in both the Party and the government. The reorganization will also have given the Party leadership a chance to subtly purge the Party ranks

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22

Rude Pravo, 13 November 1959

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Ibid.

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of those whose loyalty is questionable or who have not exhibited the administrative skills desired by the Party.

As a climax to the events of 1960, it appears very likely that the Party may announce the achievement of socialism in Czechoslovakia. Such an accomplishment, only 12 years after the assumption of governmental control, will undoubtedly give the KSC increased prestige within the Communist world. Although only the second state to reach socialism, Czechoslovakia will be able to claim that it was the first state to achieve socialism after starting from an industrially advanced capitalist base.

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PART II

THE ORGANIZATION AND STRUCTURE OF THE COMMUNIST  
PARTY OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Organizational Principle

The leading principle in the organizational structure of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia is democratic centralism. Democratic centralism means:

- (1) All leading Party organs are elected from the bottom to the top.
- (2) The elected organs regularly make account of their activity to those organizations which elected them.
- (3) Strict Party discipline and the accession of the minority to the majority.
- (4) The resolutions of the higher organs shall be unconditionally binding for the lower organs.

The Party Congress

The Party Congress is theoretically the highest Party organ. It is elected by the Party regional conferences, and is supposed to meet at least once every four years. The Party Congress:

- (1) Adopts and approves the report of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the Central Auditing Commission, and, when necessary, of other central organs.
- (2) Sets the basic line for the policies and tactics of the Party and approves the program and statutes of the Party.

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- (3) Elects the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the Central Auditing Commission.

The Party Congress thus acquaints the masses with important changes, new objectives and personnel changes in the upper Party echelons.

#### The Party Conference

In the period between Party congresses the Central Committee convenes nationwide conferences to discuss urgent questions of Party policy. The delegates to these conferences are chosen at meetings of the regional committees. Conferences deal with special problems or objectives that cannot wait until the next regularly scheduled congress or which the Party wishes to emphasize. A nationwide conference has the right to change the statutes of the Party and to replace a portion of the members of the Central Committee. It has the right to recall individual Central Committee members who cannot guarantee that they will properly fulfill the duties of the members of the Central Committee, and to replace them with others to a limit of one-fifth of the members of the Central Committee as chosen by the Party congress.

#### The Central Committee

The Central Committee is theoretically the ruling body between congresses. It is elected by the congress and meets at least once every six months (usually 3 or 4 times a year). The Central Committee:

- (1) Directs all the work of the Party.
- (2) Represents the Party in liaison with other parties, organizations, and offices.
- (3) Organizes and directs various Party institutions.

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- (4) Approves representatives of the Party or the government for the Slovak Board of Commissioners, for the National Assembly, and for the Slovak National Council.
- (5) Appoints leading officials of the central organs working under its control.
- (6) Approves the leading secretaries of the regional organizations.
- (7) Assigns manpower and funds from the Party.
- (8) Establishes the amounts of membership dues.
- (9) Administers the central Party treasury.
- (10) Elects a Political Bureau, a Secretariat and a Central Commission.

#### The Political Bureau

The Political Bureau meets frequently between sessions of the Central Committee to make policy decisions in all spheres of Party and government activity. It is the real seat of political power in the Party and state.

#### The Secretariat

The Secretariat is responsible for implementing the policies of the Political Bureau and for carrying out its decisions. It is the administrative arm of the Party and is concerned with the daily management and supervision of the Party's activities in all fields of Party and public life. In order to carry out its numerous and varied tasks, the Secretariat is organized into working groups called departments or sections. Although the exact number, organization and membership of these groups are not known, the following list of those which have been partially or fully identified gives an idea of the scope of their activities.

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DEPARTMENT	HEAD
Agriculture	Jan HAVELKA
Cadre	Bruno KOEHLER (?)
Education, Science & Art (Dept IV)	Zdenek URBAN
Finance & Planning	Alois INDRA
Fuel and Power	Josef TRESOHLAVY
Heavy Industry (?)	Jan PILLER
High Party School	Rudolf VETISKA
Historical Institute of the KSC	Jindrich VESELY
Institute of Social Sciences	Ladislav STOLL
International Affairs (contacts with foreign CP's)	Gustav SOUCEK
Mass Organizations (trade unions, women, students, youth, etc)	Frantisek HAVLIN
Metallurgy (Foundries)	Bohumil BELOVSKY
Party Organs (Dept I)	Miroslav PASTYRIK
Press (may be a section of the Agitprop Dept)	M. SULEK
Propaganda & Agitation (Agitprop)	Vaclav SLAVIK
State Executive & Administration	Kvetoslav INNEMANN
Transport & Communications (?)	Antonin HRUSKA

There are probably also departments or sections for consumer goods, finance, foreign trade, military and security matters (including intelligence), physical training, reports, etc.

#### The Party Control Commission

Elected by the Central Committee, the Control Commission examines the appeals of members and candidates of the Party which they have submitted to the Central Committee against the decisions of the Lower Party organs in assigning Party punishments. It also conducts disciplinary investigations and proceedings in all cases referred to it by the Central Committee.

#### The Central Auditing Commission

The Central Auditing Commission is elected by the Central Committee and is directly responsible to it. Its function is to audit the finances of all Party enterprises, and to exercise control over all Party organizations in economic and financial matters.

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### The Regional Conference

The regional conference is theoretically the supreme organ of the regional organization. It is convened at least once every two years by the regional committee, although an extraordinary regional conference may be convened if more than one-third of the membership of the primary organizations of the region demand it. Extraordinary conferences may also be called, for urgent reasons, by the regional committee, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia or, in Slovakia, by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Slovakia. Delegates to the regional conference are elected at district conferences held before the regional conference. The regional conferences:

- (1) Hear and approve the report of the regional committee and the regional auditing commission.
- (2) Discuss the tasks of the regional organization, the questions of Party work, and the work of the Communists in the national committees, in production in farming, in the mass organizations, etc.
- (3) Elect the regional committee composed of 33 to 43 members and one-third alternates.
- (4) Elect the regional auditing commission and the delegates to the Party congress.

### The Regional Committee

The regional committee is elected by the regional conference, and has as its functions:

- (1) Provision for the fulfillment of the directives of the Party, for the development of criticism and self-criticism and the training of Communists in the spirit of an irreconcilable attitude toward their shortcomings, direction of the study of Marxism-Leninism by members and candidates of the Party, and organization of the Communist training of the workers.

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- (2) Direction and control of the work of the district and city Party organizations and confirmation of the leading secretaries of the district and city committees.
- (3) Direction of the regional Party schools.
- (4) Appointment of the editor-in-chief of the regional periodical, and proposal of candidates for the regional National Committees and the National Assembly, and for the Slovak National Council in Slovakia.
- (5) Direction, through the Party groups, of the work of the regional National Committee and of the regional organs of the mass organizations.
- (6) Within the limits of the region, assignment of Party manpower and funds and the administration of the regional treasury and the Party's economic policies.
- (7) Keeping the Central Committee of the Party systematically informed and, within established time periods, reporting to the Central Committee on its activity.
- (8) Election of a bureau composed of 9 to 11 members, and of a leading secretary and 2 or 3 other secretaries of the regional committee.

#### The Regional Bureau

The bureau of the regional committee meets at least once a week, executes the resolutions of the regional committee, and, in the period between meetings of the regional committee, does all the work of the regional organization.

#### The Regional Secretariat

The regional secretariat is created by the regional bureau to discuss everyday questions, to execute control of the fulfillment of resolutions, and to direct the apparatus of the regional committee.

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### The District and City Conferences

Within the district all of the primary organizations of the Party form the district organization. In district cities all the primary organizations form the city organizations. In large district cities the city Party organizations, with the approval of the Central Committee, may be divided into borough organizations which are on the same level as the district organization. The supreme organ of the district and city organizations is in theory the district and city conference which is convened at least once a year by the district or city committee. Extraordinary conferences may be called when an urgent need arises by the higher Party organs or by a request of more than one-third of the members of the primary organizations. Delegates to the district and city conferences are elected at membership meetings of the primary organizations. The district and city conference:

- (1) Hears and approves the report on the activity of the district or city committee and of the district or city auditing commission.
- (2) Discusses the tasks of the Party in the district or in the city.
- (3) Elects the district or city committee, the auditing commission and the delegates to the regional conference.

### The District or City Committee

The district or city committee meets at least once a month, and:

- (1) Provides for the fulfillment of the directives of the Party, for the development of criticism and self-criticism, for the training of communists in the spirit of an irreconcilable attitude toward their own

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shortcomings, organizes the study of Marxism-Leninism by Party members and candidates, and directs the Communist training of the workers.

- (2) Organizes, confirms, controls, and directs the primary organizations, conducts the registration of members and Party candidates.
- (3) Proposes the candidates for the city National Committee, the district National Committee, approves candidates to the local National Committee, and through the Party groups directs the work in these organs.
- (4) Reports on its activity to the regional committee.
- (5) Elects a bureau of 7 to 9 members, a leading secretary and one to three other secretaries.

#### The District or City Bureau

The district or city bureau meets at least once a week to execute the resolutions of the district or city committee, to discuss the daily goals of the Party, and to direct the apparatus of the district or city committee.

#### The District or City Commissions

The Commissions are probably appointed by the bureau and are headed by members of the district or city committee. The number of commissions varies. They are composed of laborers, innovators, leading economic workers, technicians, functionaries of the borough National Committee, representatives of mass organizations, teachers, scientific workers and artists. Commissions deal with a variety of problems such as the growth and structure of the Party, economic and technical problems in industry, the dissemination of argumentative material to Party activists, press questions, propaganda and agitation, etc.

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### The Regional, District and City Control Commissions

Control commissions at the regional and at the district and city level are elected by the respective regional, district or city conference. The functions of the control commissions at these levels are the same as for the Central Control Commission at the national level.

### The Local Committee

Local committees are formed in all cities, except regional cities, and in large communities which, by their industrial nature, the number of their population, and the number of Party members, have the character of a city. These committees are elected by a plenary meeting or conference of delegates from all the primary organizations within the area of jurisdiction of the committee being elected. The local committees are composed of from 11 to 15 members and are subject to the district Party committees. Each local committee elects a chairman, and appoints various commissions to deal with current problems. The commissions are political-economic in scope and are concerned with such items as cadre management, schooling, Party literature, economic problems, administration, Party organization, agitation and propaganda, etc.

In villages, where in addition to the local village organizations there are also factory organizations, a joint local committee is established composed of 3 to 5 members who are elected at a plenary meeting of all the primary organizations in the community. The joint local committee elects a chairman, directs the work of the Communists in the Local National Committees and in the mass organizations, and discusses various questions of joint procedure by the organizations in the locality.

### Primary Party Organizations

Primary organizations are organizations with individual membership. They are formed in factories, plants, workshops, commercial enterprises, state farms, formations of the armed forces, villages, offices, training institutes and establishments,

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etc., where there are at least 3 Party members. Where there are fewer than 3 members a candidate group is formed. The supreme organ of a primary organization is the membership meeting which is held at least once a month. The membership meeting discusses the tasks falling on the primary organization and outlines the method by which they will be carried out. The primary organization elects a committee composed of from 3 to 11 members depending upon the size of the primary organization. Those having 5 or less members elect a confidant. The committee in turn elects a chairman, and both committee and chairman serve for a one year period. The duties of a primary organization are:

- (1) Agitation and organizational work within the masses to carry out Party slogans and resolutions and to provide for the management of the local press, such as factory periodicals, wall newspapers, etc.
- (2) To recruit new members into the Party and to provide for political training of all members and candidates.
- (3) To organize the political training of members and candidates of the Party and to control their mastery of a minimum knowledge of Marxism-Leninism.
- (4) To mobilize the workers in the factories, offices, institutions, state farms, villages, etc., for the fulfillment of the plan, for the consolidation of labor and state discipline, for the development of socialist competition and the shockworkers' movement.
- (5) To maintain permanent liaison with the leadership of the factory, to feel responsible for the fulfillment of goals, and without replacing the factory leadership to point out shortcomings and help to eliminate them.
- (6) To struggle against disorder and uneconomical management of work in enterprises, offices, state farms, etc., and to provide daily care for improving the cultural and

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living conditions of the workers, the working farmers, the office workers, and the intelligentsia.

- (7) To develop criticism and self-criticism and to train the Communists in the spirit of an irreconcilable attitude toward their own shortcomings.
- (8) To help Party members and candidates who have been assigned public functions for work in non-Party organizations to fulfill their duties in an exemplary manner, and to see to it that they are responsible in their activity to the Party organs.
- (9) To participate actively in nationwide economic and political life.

#### Party Groups

At all meetings, councils, and in elected organs of the people's administration, in trade union, cooperative, and other mass organizations where there are at least 3 Party members, Party groups are to be formed whose job is to extend Party influence on all sides and to realize and carry out its policies among non-Party members, to consolidate Party and state discipline, to fight against bureaucracy, and to check on the fulfillment of the directives of the Party and the government. The Party groups are subject to the proper Party organs and are obliged to direct their operations strictly and unwaveringly by the directives of these organs.

#### The Communist Party of Slovakia

The regional organization of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia in Slovakia is the Communist Party of Slovakia which forms the units of the Party in Slovakia. In its activity the Communist Party of Slovakia is directed by the resolutions of the congress and of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

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The Slovak Party Congress: The supreme organ of the Communist Party of Slovakia is in theory the congress. In agreement with the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Slovakia calls a regular congress once every two years. The Slovak Party congresses:

- (1) Accept and approve reports of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Slovakia, of the Auditing Commission, and of other organs.
- (2) Discuss the tasks of the Party of Slovakia.
- (3) Elect the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Slovakia and the Auditing Commission.

The Slovak Central Committee: In the period between congresses, the Central Committee is the supreme organ of the Communist Party of Slovakia. It meets at least once every 4 months, and elects a Bureau to direct its political-organizational work and a Secretariat to carry out everyday work of an organizational-executive nature. The Slovak Central Committee:

- (1) Executes the resolutions of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.
- (2) Decides political and organizational questions concerning the Party in Slovakia in agreement with the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.
- (3) Directs and controls the work of the regional Party organizations in Slovakia.
- (4) Recommends to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia representatives for the Slovak Board of Commissioners and the Slovak National Council, and the higher Party and political offices.
- (5) Assigns manpower and funds for the Party in Slovakia, and administers the treasury of the Communist Party of Slovakia.

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- (6) Directs the work of the Slovak Board of Commissioners, the Slovak National Council, and of public organizations in Slovakia, the Party groups in those organs and organizations, and reports regularly to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia on its activities.

The Slovak Party Control Commission, which is elected by the Slovak Central Committee, and the Slovak Auditing Commission which is elected by the Slovak Congress, perform the same functions within the Slovak Communist Party that the all-Party Auditing Commission and Control Commission perform within the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

Regional, district and city, local, and primary Party organizations in Slovakia have the same structural form as their counterparts in Bohemia and Moravia.

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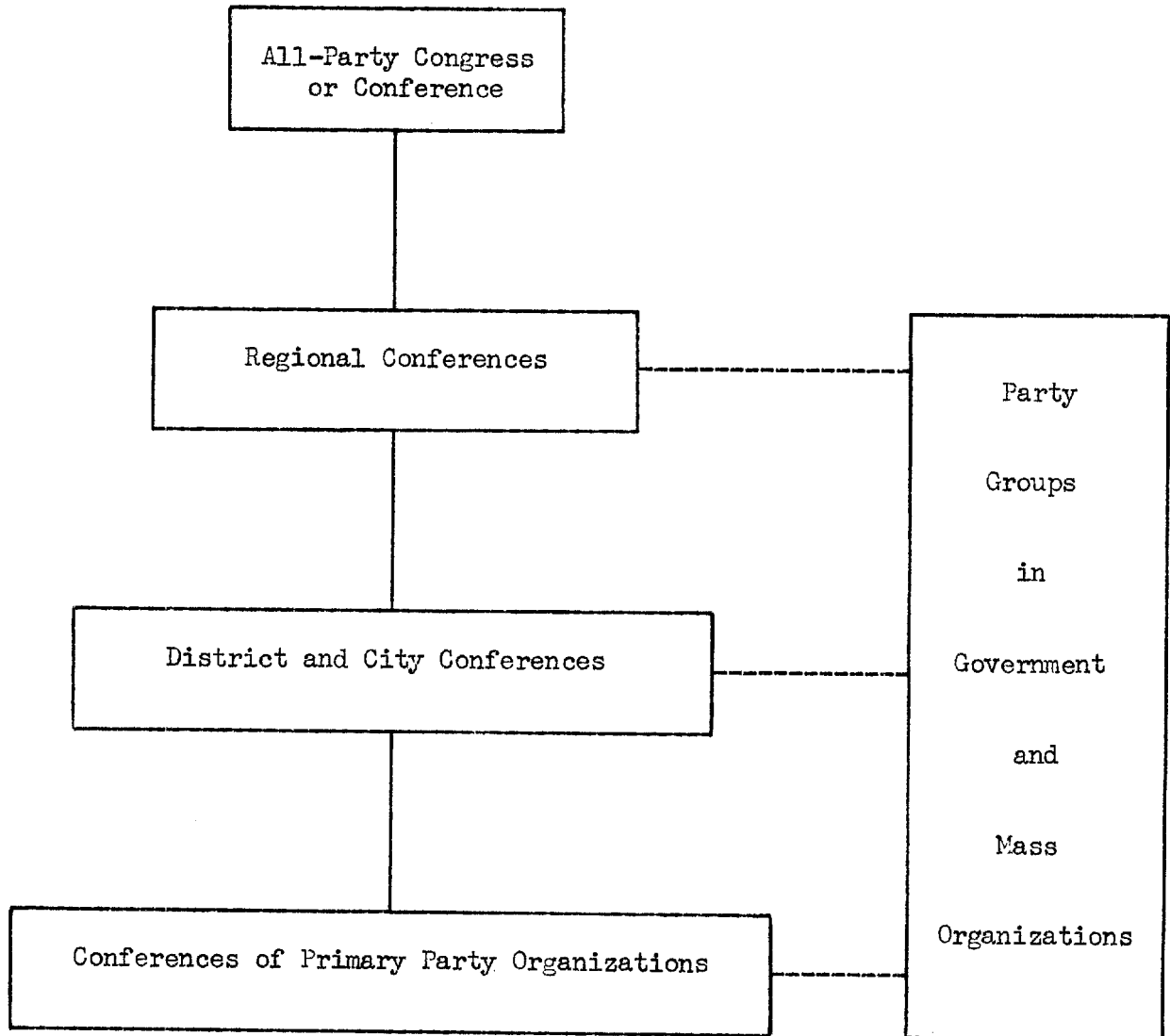
APPENDIX A

Structural Charts of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia

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ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA



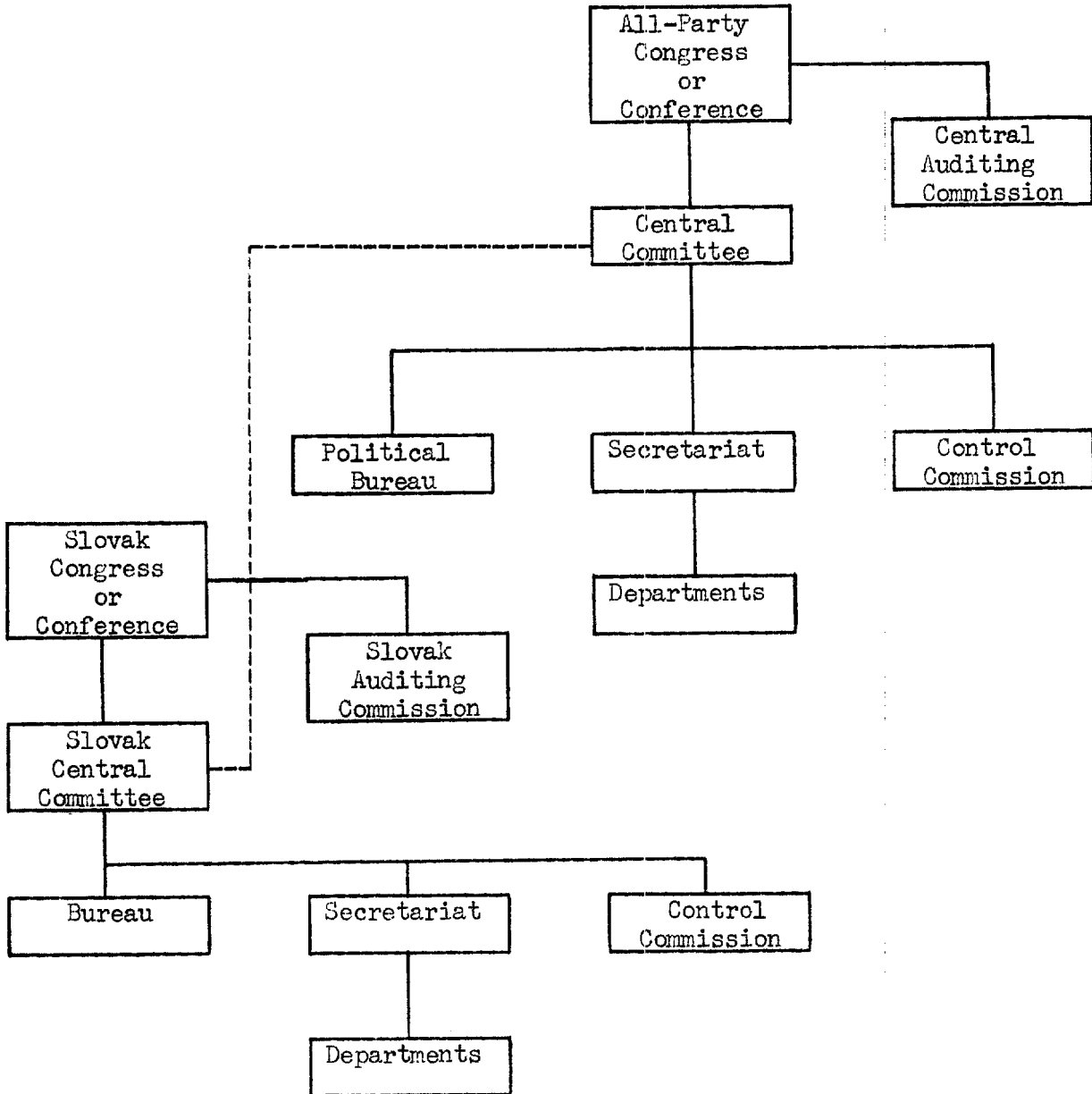
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STRUCTURE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA

NATIONAL LEVEL

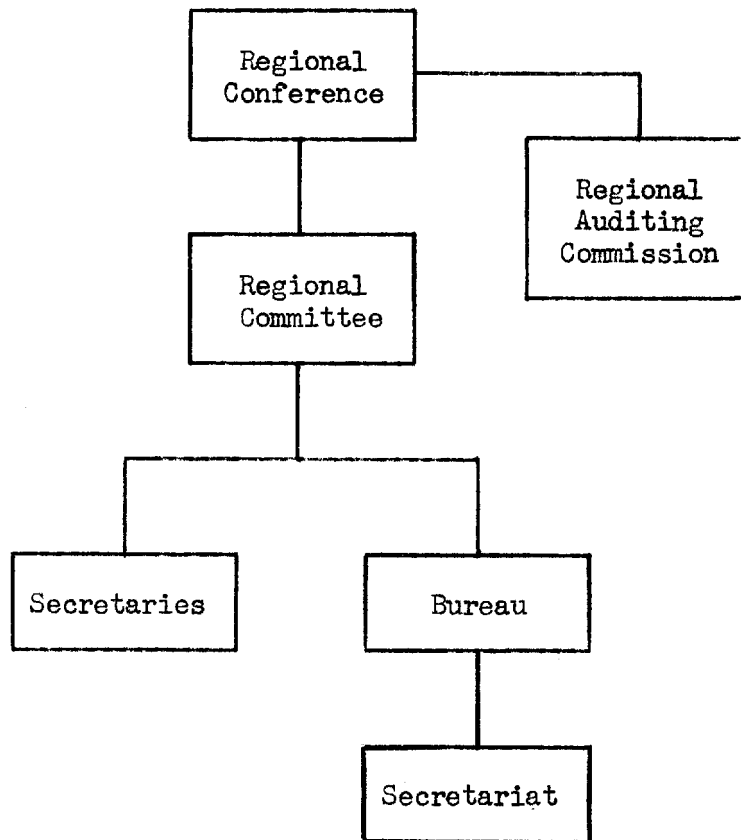


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STRUCTURE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA

REGIONAL LEVEL



REGIONS

Bohemia:	Central Bohemian Region	Prague
	North Bohemian Region	Usti nad Labem
	East Bohemian Region	Hradec Kralove
	South Bohemian Region	Ceske Budejovice
	West Bohemian Region	Pilsen
Moravia:	North Moravian Region	Ostrava
	South Moravian Region	Brno

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Slovakia:	West Slovakian Region	Bratislava
	Central Slovakian Region	Banska Bystrica
	East Slovakian Region	Kosice

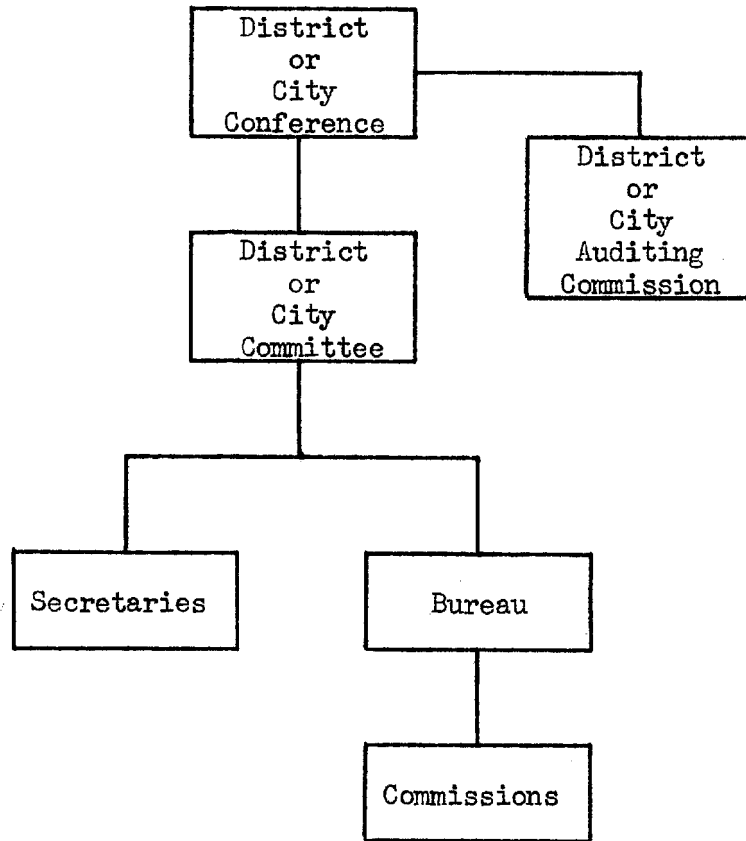
The Prague Municipal Party Organization has the status of a regional Party organization.

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STRUCTURE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA

DISTRICT AND CITY LEVEL



DISTRICTS AND CITIES

Central Bohemian Region: Benesov  
Beroun  
Kladno  
Kolin  
Kutna Hora  
Melnik  
Mlada Boleslav  
Nymburk  
Prague - East  
Prague - West

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Pribram  
Rakovnik

North Bohemian Region: . Ceska Lipa  
Chomutov  
Decin  
Jablonec nad Nisou (Gablonz)  
Liberec  
Litomerice  
Louny  
Most  
Teplice  
Usti nad Labem

East Bohemian Region: Chrudim  
Havlickuv Brod  
Hradec Kralove  
Jicin  
Nachod  
Pardubice  
Rychnov nad Kneznou  
Semily  
Svitavy  
Trutnov  
Usti nad Orlici

South Bohemian Region: Ceske Budejovice  
Gesky Krumlov  
Jindrichuv Hradec  
Pelhrimov  
Pisek  
Prachatice  
Strakonice  
Tabor

West Bohemian Region: Cheb  
Domazlice  
Karlovy Vary (Karlsbad)  
Klatovy  
Pilsen City  
Pilsen - South  
Pilsen - North  
Rokycany  
Sokolov  
Tachov

North Moravian Region: Bruntal  
Frydek-Mistek  
Karvina  
Novy Jicin  
Olomouc

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Opava  
Ostrava City  
Prerov  
Sumperk  
Vsetin

South Moravian Region:

Blansko  
Brno City  
Brno Outskirts  
Breclav  
Gottwaldov  
Hodonin  
Jihlava  
Kromeriz  
Prostejov  
Trebic  
Uherske Hradiste  
Vyskov  
Zdar nad Sazavou  
Znojmo

West Slovakian Region:

Bratislava City  
Bratislava Outskirts  
Dunajska Streda  
Galanta  
Komarno  
Levice  
Nitra  
Nove Zamky  
Senica  
Topolcany  
Trencin  
Trnava

Central Slovakian Region:

Banska Bystrica  
Cadca  
Dolny Kubin  
Liptovsky Mikulas  
Lucenec  
Martin  
Povazska Bystrica  
Prievidza  
Rimavska Sobota  
Ziar nad Hronom  
Zilina  
Zvolen

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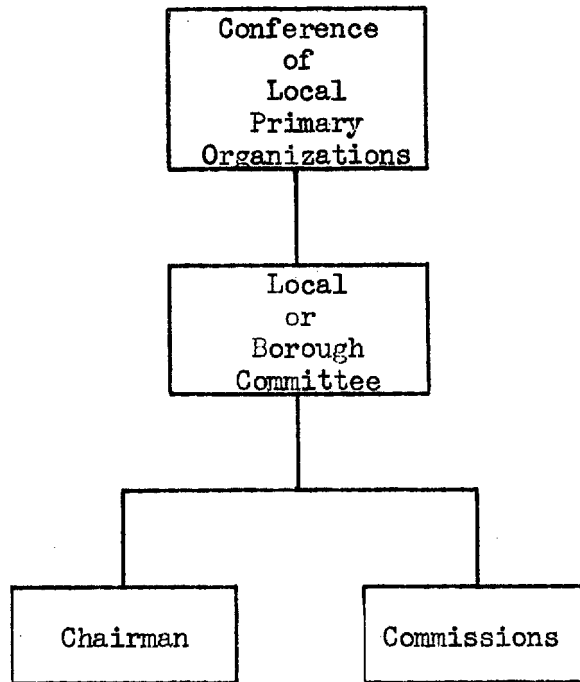
East Slovakian Region:	Bardejov
	Humenne
	Kosice
	Michalovce
	Poprad
	Presov
	Roznava
	Spisska Nova Ves
	Trebisov

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STRUCTURE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA

LOCAL LEVEL



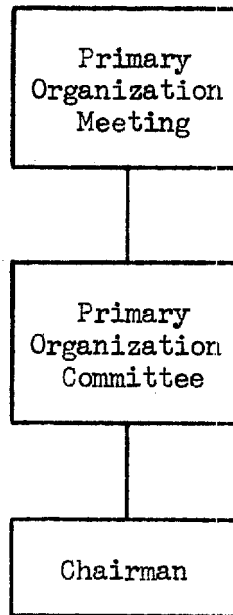
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STRUCTURE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA

PRIMARY PARTY ORGANIZATION (CELL)



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APPENDIX B

Membership of the Leading Organs of the KSC  
as Elected at the 11th Party Congress, 18-21 June 1958

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CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY  
OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA

FULL MEMBERS

- |     |                         |     |                                  |
|-----|-------------------------|-----|----------------------------------|
| 1.  | BACILEK, Karol          | 36. | KLADIVA, Jaroslav                |
| 2.  | BAKULA, Michal          | 37. | KLECKA, Antonin                  |
| 3.  | BARAK, Rudolf           | 38. | KLENHOVA-BESSEROVA,<br>Ladislava |
| 4.  | BENADA, Ludevit         | 39. | KOEHLER, Bruno                   |
| 5.  | BILAK, Vasil            | 40. | KOLAR, Vaclav                    |
| 6.  | BORUVKA, Josef          | 41. | KONDEL, Emil                     |
| 7.  | BROUCEK, Vojtech        | 42. | KOPECKY, Vaclav                  |
| 8.  | CERMAK, Josef           | 43. | KORCAK, Josef                    |
| 9.  | CERNIK, Oldrich         | 44. | KOUCKY, Vladimir                 |
| 10. | CHUDIK, Michal          | 45. | KOUTNY, Antonin                  |
| 11. | DAVID, Pavol            | 46. | KOZELKA, Bedrich                 |
| 12. | DAVID, Vaclav           | 47. | KRAJCIR, Frantisek               |
| 13. | DOBIAS, Vaclav          | 48. | KRCEK, Antonin                   |
| 14. | DOLANSKY, Jaromir       | 49. | KRIZ, Jozef                      |
| 15. | DRDA, Jan               | 50. | KROSNAR, Josef                   |
| 16. | DUBCEK, Alexander       | 51. | KRUTINA, Vratislav               |
| 17. | DURIS, Julius           | 52. | LEFLEROVA, Helena                |
| 18. | DVORSKY, Frantisek      | 53. | LENART, Jozef                    |
| 19. | FIERLINGER, Zdenek      | 54. | LITVAJOVA, Elena                 |
| 20. | FRANTIK, Alois          | 55. | LOERINCZ, Julius                 |
| 21. | HAJEK, Jiri             | 56. | LOMSKY, Bohumir                  |
| 22. | HARUS, Jan              | 57. | MACHACOVA-DOSTALOVA,<br>Bozena   |
| 23. | HAVELKA, Jan            | 58. | MAJLING, Pavol                   |
| 24. | HENDRYCH, Jiri          | 59. | MARKO, Jan                       |
| 25. | HLINA, Jan              | 60. | NEJEDLY, Zdenek                  |
| 26. | HODINOVA-SPURNA, Anezka | 61. | NEMEC, Josef                     |
| 27. | HONS, Frantisek         | 62. | NEPOMUCKY, Josef                 |
| 28. | HRON, Pavel             | 63. | NOVOTNY, Antonin                 |
| 29. | HRUSKA, Cenek           | 64. | PASEK, Vaclav                    |
| 30. | HUMENIK, Jan            | 65. | PASTYRIK, Miroslav               |
| 31. | INNEMANN, Kvetoslav     | 66. | PAUCO, Pavol                     |
| 32. | JANKOVCOVA, Ludmila     | 67. | PAVLOVSKY, Oldrich               |
| 33. | JELEN, Oskar            | 68. | PECHA, Frantisek                 |
| 34. | KANOV, Josef            |     |                                  |
| 35. | KAPEK, Antonin          |     |                                  |

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69.	PELNAR, Jan	84.	STOLL, Ladislav
70.	POLACEK, Karel	85.	STRECHAJ, Rudolf
71.	PRCHLIK, Vaclav	86.	STROUGAL, Lubomir
72.	PROHAZKOVA, Bozena	87.	SVACINA, Oldrich
73.	PROKOPOVA, Julie	88.	SVOBODA, Adolf
74.	RYMES, Frantisek	89.	TESLA, Josef
75.	SALGA, Jiri	90.	TYMES, Frantisek
76.	SEBIK, Jan	91.	UHER, Jindrich
77.	SIMUNEK, Otakar	92.	UHLIR, Vaclav
78.	SIROKY, Viliam	93.	VECKER, Miloslav
79.	SLAVIK, Vaclav	94.	VETISKA, Rudolf
80.	SMEHLIKOVA, Ludmila	95.	VODICKA, Jan
81.	SPINDLER, Matej	96.	VODSLON, Frantisek
82.	SRAIER, Karel	97.	ZUPKA, Frantisek
83.	STENCL, Jan		

CANDIDATE MEMBERS

1.	BALAZ, Jozef	22.	MARECKOVA, Bozena
2.	BERAN, Oldrich	23.	MAROSZ, Jan
3.	BOHDANOVSKY, Tibor	24.	MASEK, Vladislav
4.	CERNY, Josef	25.	MISKOVA, Jaroslava
5.	CHLEBEC, Emil	26.	MORAVCOVA, Marie
6.	DUBOVSKY, Pavol	27.	NOVOTNY, Jan
7.	DVORAK, Jaroslav	28.	PACLT, Jiri
8.	DVORAK, Richard	29.	PENC, Frantisek
9.	HAVELKA, Jaroslav	30.	PILLER, Jan
10.	HOMOLA, Oleg	31.	REITMAJER, Josef
11.	HRUSKOVIC, Miloslav	32.	SIK, Oto
12.	HULINSKY, Josef	33.	SIPKA, Jan
13.	INDRA, Alois	34.	SKODA, Vaclav
14.	JANHUBOVA, Anna	35.	SORM, Frantisek
15.	JONAS, Josef	36.	SOUCEK, Gustav
16.	KAHUDA, Frantisek	37.	STASTNA, Vera
17.	KODAJ, Samuel	38.	SVESTKA, Oldrich
18.	KOLDER, Drahomir	39.	SVOBODA, Miroslav
19.	KRETOVA, Anna	40.	TONHAUSER, Pavol
20.	KUBA, Frantisek	41.	UHLIR, Jaroslav
21.	LASTOVICKA, Bohuslav	42.	URBANCOK, Michal

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43. VACEK, Frantisek
44. VALEK, Josef
45. VALO, Jozef
46. VASKO, Michal
47. VLASAK, Frantisek
48. VLCEK, Stanislav
49. VOJTAS, Oldrich
50. VOLENIK, Oldrich

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POLITICAL BUREAU OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF  
COMMUNIST PARTY OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA

FULL MEMBERS

1. BACILEK, Karel
2. BARAK, Rudolf
3. DAVID, Pavol
4. DOLANSKY, Jaromir
5. FIERLINGER, Zdenek
6. HENDRYCH, Jiri
7. KOPECKY, Vaclav
8. NOVOTNY, Antonin
9. SIMUNEK, Otakar
10. SIROKY, Viliam

CANDIDATE MEMBERS

1. HLINA, Jan
2. JANKOVCOVA, Ludmila
3. STRECHAJ, Rudolf

SECRETARIAT OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE  
COMMUNIST PARTY OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA

SECRETARIES

1. CERNIK, Oldrich
2. HENDRYCH, Jiri
3. KOUCKY, Vladimir
4. KOEHLER, Bruno
5. KRUTINA, Vratislav
6. NOVOTNY, Antonin (First Secretary)

MEMBERS

1. KRCEK, Antonin
2. STROUGAL, Lubomir
3. ZUPKA, Frantisek

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CENTRAL AUDITING COMMISSION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF  
CZECHOSLOVAKIA

MEMBERS

- |                             |                     |
|-----------------------------|---------------------|
| 1. STETKA, Josef (Chairman) | 14. NEZBEDA, Vaclav |
| 2. DOHNAL, Jindrich         | 15. NOSEK, Jaroslav |
| 3. HOJC, Jozef              | 16. POETZL, Josef   |
| 4. JANULIK, Frantisek       | 17. POKORNY, Vaclav |
| 5. JURAN, Josef             | 18. PROCHAZKA, Jan  |
| 6. KABES, Jaroslav          | 19. REJMAN, Rudolf  |
| 7. KODES, Karel             | 20. SISKA, Antonin  |
| 8. KOLSKY, Josef            | 21. TONDL, Jan      |
| 9. KREPEL, Vaclav           | 22. VITEK, Josef    |
| 10. LEDL, Jaroslav          | 23. ZABOJNIK, Alois |
| 11. MACHACEK, Josef         | 24. ZAVADIL, Karel  |
| 12. MISEJE, Frantisek       | 25. ZERVAN, Jan     |
| 13. MLEJNEK, Stanislav      |                     |

CONTROL COMMISSION OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE  
COMMUNIST PARTY OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA

MEMBERS

1. HARUS, Jan (Chairman)
2. HASIK, Vilem
3. HROMEK, Emerich
4. JERMAN, Jaroslav
5. JURIK, Pavol
6. PALECEK, Josef
7. RUZICKA, Oldrich

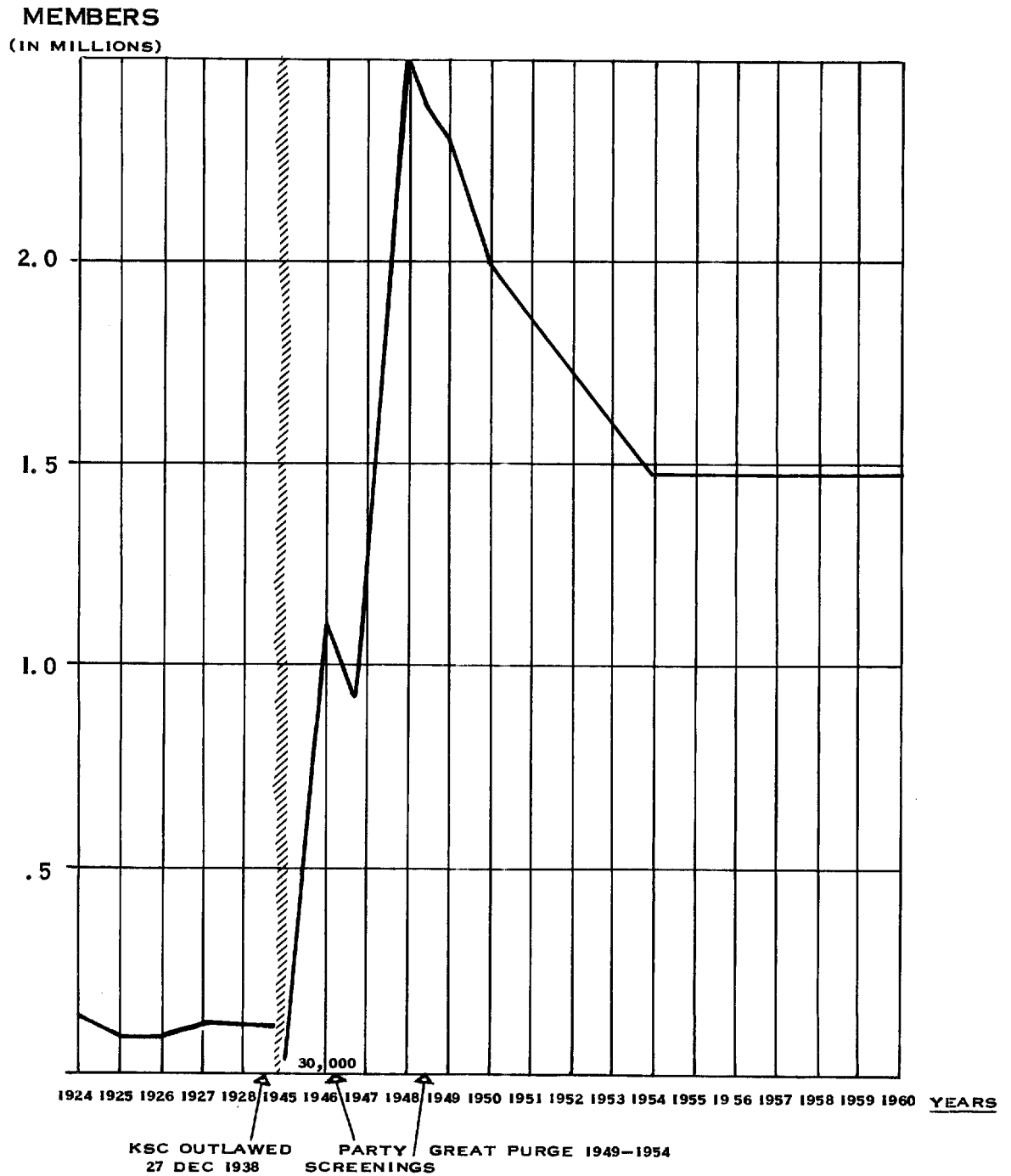
ALTERNATE MEMBERS

1. JONAS, Josef
2. SVOBODA, Josef

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APPENDIX C  
KSC MEMBERSHIP





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APPENDIX D

KSC CONGRESSES AND CONFERENCES

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<u>Meeting</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Place</u>
Slovak Constituent Congress	January 1921	Lubochna
German Constituent Congress	12 March 1921	Liberec
Czechoslovak Constituent Congress	14-16 May 1921	Prague
Conference of Communist Organizations	August 1921	Prague
Merger Congress	30 October - 4 November 1921	Prague
First Party Congress	2-5 February 1923	Prague
Second Party Congress	31 October - 4 November 1924	Prague
Third Party Congress	26-28 September 1925	Prague
Fourth Party Congress	25-28 March 1927	Prague
Fifth Party Congress	18-23 February 1929	Prague
Sixth Party Congress	7-11 March 1931	Prague
Seventh Party Congress	11-14 April 1936	Prague
Eighth Party Congress	28-31 March 1946	Prague
Ninth Party Congress	25-29 May 1949	Prague
All-State Party Congress	16-18 December 1952	Prague
Tenth Party Congress	11-15 June 1954	Prague
All-State Party Conference	11-15 June 1956	Prague
Eleventh Party Conference	18-21 June 1958	Prague

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