
 RFE EVALUATION AND ANALYSIS DEPARTMENT

 Background Report
 Czechoslovak Unit

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY 1944-1960Table of Contents

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

NA	National Assembly
SNK	Slovak National Council
LNK	Local National Committee
DNK	District National Committee
RNK	Regional National Committee
CPKS	CS Communist Party
CPSL	Slovak Communist Party
DC	District Committee
RC	Regional Committee
CSKP	CS Socialist Party
CSPP	CS Popular (or People's) Party
PSL	Party of Slovak Revival
UDK	UDK
NE	National Enterprise
CSMF	CS Youth Federation
NSA	Provisional National Assembly
FC	Factory Council

The constitution law of 9 April 1960 No. 35 provides that the term of office of the National Assembly and of the Slovak National Council elected on 25 November 1954 is to end on June 10 this year.

In accordance with the government decision of 11 April 1960, elections to the new SA, the highest organ of legislative power, will take place on June 12 this year simultaneously with elections to local, town, district, area and regional national committees. The Board of Commissioners fixed the same date for elections to the SNK. In the following we want to summarize the most important facts about the SA, whose term of office is now coming to end. (1) In this connection attention is drawn to Item No. 5411/54 headed "List of Members of the Czechoslovak National Assembly" containing information on deputies to the SA in the years 1948 through 1954, as well as on the representation of the CPCB in pre-war parliaments and on elections to the SA after the liberation of the SNK. Item No. 3352/54 described the organizational structure of the secretariat of the SA.

Election Laws From the Year 1954

Details of the stipulations of the election law to the SA and its execution were established in the constitutional law No. 36 of 26 May 1954 "on election to the National Assembly and to the Slovak National Council" and by the law No. 27 of 26 May 1954 "on elections to the National Assembly." As regards elections to the SNK constitutional law No. 36/1954 was amended by constitutional law No. 11/1954 on Slovak national organs.

The term of office of the SA (and the SNK) is fixed to be six years. The principle has been preserved of:

- (1) No special background report on national committees has been issued. Their activities in the years 1954-1957 was described in detail in Background Report of 9 May 1957. Their structure as well as their shortcomings remained on the whole unchanged in the election period 1957-1960. A further background report on national committees is contemplated after the territorial reorganization and especially when the practical results of the new tasks of the national committees as defined in the recent Party and government decisions are known. — So far it has not been possible to issue a study on Slovak national organs due to lack of material, especially older material, which is now in the process of being put together.

"The universal, equal and direct right to vote; voting is secret. All citizens who have reached 18 years of age may vote, citizens may be elected who have reached 21 years of age." (1)

Excluded from the right to vote may be only those persons lawfully sentenced to loss of civil rights and persons totally or partially disqualified due to mental disequilibrium. (2) Secrecy of elections was guaranteed by Law No. 27/1954; in its paragraph II we read:

"In the election rooms a special separate space is reserved for arranging the voting tickets so that secrecy of voting be guaranteed. In this space no one, apart from the voter, must be present, including members of the election commission."

Of course as in all the elections organized by the CPCS, whether in the elections to the SA in May 1948 and November 1954 or to the national committees in May 1954 and 1957, the regime was not displeased with citizens who relinquished their right to vote in secrecy. "Nova Svoboda", organ of the Party regional organization in the industrial region of Ostrava, stated with satisfaction on 29 November 1954 about the voters in the election to the new SA:

"Not a few of them passed smilingly over the caution of the election commission as to their right to use the space behind the partition enabling them to vote secretly as guaranteed by the constitution and placed ostentatiously and with pride their ticket into the ballot box."

We know about quite a lot of these "manifestative" voters from official sources. They can be divided roughly into three categories: In the first are people devoted to the regime and closely connected with it; in the second, which is probably the most numerous, are people living in one home or block of houses marching to the polling room together in a group organized by especially active agitators. As far as can be judged most of the cases of these "manifestative"

(1) Constitutional Law No. 26/1954, para 1, point 2.

(2) As in 1946, only Czechoslovak citizens of Czech, Slovak or other Slav nationality were allowed to vote in 1948; also excluded were "collaborators" and "traitors to the nation". For details see law No. 75/1946 and No. 28/1946, paragraphs 3, 22, 23 and 55 on elections to the SA.

ness voting took place in new housing estates. Finally the third category of voters voluntarily relinquishing the right to vote secretly is composed of citizens who have various motives for their attitude -- from a wish to provide for themselves some kind of alibi to the conviction that "nothing can be changed anyway."

While paragraph 14 of the election bill 75/1954 makes voting a duty [1] the election laws of 1954 do not know such a duty. The percentage of election participation becomes part of the propaganda material; the reason was it to prove the degree of interest of the citizens in "common" plans and aims."

The election laws Nos. 24 and 27/1954 brought two important changes. The first of them concerns a rule already valid in the pre-war republic namely that the NA (chamber of deputies) has 100 members (Deputies). For the elections to the NA (and the SNR) on 28 November 1954 so many constituencies were created as to give every 35,000 inhabitants one deputy; 188 members of the NA (64 members of the SNR). As a matter of interest let us recall how this new measure was explained at that time; we quote from a declaration made by Dr. Karel Hala in the NA in May 1954 (2):

"The constitution of May 5 establishes a fixed number of 100 deputies of the NA and 100 deputies of the SNR. Thus it establishes an election system of large constituencies to elect several deputies in accordance with lists of candidates of one or more election groups. This made it more difficult for citizens to get in touch and to control the work of the deputy and did not facilitate to an adequate degree the exertion of the voters' influence as to the selection of a deputy. The... (new) provision assures fully a direct contact with and control of a deputy by the people in his constituency. This new election system is built upon the principles of Stalinist

- (1) Released were only persons over 70 years of age, sick people and persons with physical incapacity, further electors prevented due to official duties or persons prevented, e.g., by traffic accident.
- (2) According to "Mlada Fronta" of 27.5.54.

nationality policy... guarantees on the broadest basis the rights of all citizens, regardless of nationality..."(1)

The second change which we consider as the most important altogether was introduced by paragraph 21, law No. 27/1954, which stipulates that:

"candidates for election to the National Assembly are candidates of the National Front..."

The old election law (2) permitted submission of lists of candidates by "election groups" -- formally all that was necessary were 1,000 electors' signatures in one of the 26 constituencies at that time (1948). Of course, in practice the electors were presented with one unified list of candidates proposed by the Central Council of Trade Unions headed by Antonin Sapotocky, later premier and president of the republic. Actually "election groups" were not constituted anywhere. "Mikova Demokracie" announced on 13 May 1948 that "in all the regions only a list of candidates of parties of the National Front was submitted," a list in which the Communists together with Fierlinger's wing of the then still independent social democratic party made sure of 79 per cent of all the mandates (3).

The above paragraph of the law No. 27/1954 legalized the (at that time already current, but compared with the post-February (1948) period very different) definition of the National Front which ceased to be an "association of [political] parties":

"The National Front -- a battle bloc of the Communist Party, the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement, CS Youth Federation, CS Socialist Party, CS People's Party, Party

(1) On 3 April 1948 -- see details in the concluding chapter of this report -- the National Assembly passed the government draft bills amending the election laws of 1954. The institution of constituencies is preserved but a constant number of members of the NA is fixed at 100. "Increase of population would cause a constantly rising number of deputies which would be, naturally, in contrast to our conditions" explained the commentator of Radio Prague on 3 April 1960.

(2) Law No. 75/1948, para. 19.

(3) See appendix for details of election results and distribution of seats in post-war parliaments.

of Slovak Revival, Freedom Party and other organizations of the working people -- nominated as candidates the best workers, members of agricultural cooperatives, small and medium peasants and members of the working intelligentsia."

The regime press, bringing (usually only superficial and incomplete) portraits of the NA candidates, omitted in most cases the information on their party allegiances; most space was devoted to the description of their "progressiveness" and their "building" work. Representation of non-Communist political parties has further declined, as we shall see later. For the first time non-party "trade unionists", "youth workers", etc., were delegated to the NA.

Thus we may say in conclusion that the election laws of 1954 prepared the ground for the OS parliament to approach its model, the Supreme Soviet.

Deputies of the NA 1954-1960

On 20 November 1954 the 308 proposed candidates became NA deputies. As far as we know in no case had the elections to be repeated, all the candidates having received the required absolute majority. At the first sitting attended by them the new deputies took the following oath of allegiance:

"I promise to be faithful to the Czechoslovak Republic and its people's democratic order. I shall observe its laws and shall carry out my mandate to the best of my knowledge and conscience for the good of the people and state." (1)

The refusal to take this oath bound upon conditions resulted in losing the mandate. No such case is known to have happened.

On 16 December 1954 "Sude Pravo" declared that "the function of a deputy is a honorary one. Even during the execution of their function the deputies remain in their present posts and their earnings from their employment continues to be the basis of their income. The execution of a deputy's duties is connected with many expenses and the law permits compensation of these expenses."

(1) See Detailed Regulations of the Constitution, para. 43 of 3 May 1948.

This declaration of the CPSC central organ was only partly true. "Zvez Pravo" gave no details of this "compensation of expenses," details which were kept secret by the regime during the whole term of office of the parliament with the exception of periodicals destined for abroad (e.g. "Czechoslovak Life", March 1959.)

The bill on compensation payable to deputies of the NA No. 63 of 16 December 1954 was one of the first to be approved by the new parliament; it was made effective 1 December 1954. As from that day the chairman of the NA (during the whole period 1954 through 1960 it was Klement Piarlingner, member of the CPSC Politburo) received "salary of office" of 3,000 Kcs monthly. The deputy chairmen had 2,500 monthly. "For expenses in connection with the performance of a deputy's duties" members of the NA received "compensation" of 1,200 Kcs monthly. They also received 100 Kcs per diem for participation in sittings of the NA or its committees and other organs, including the time necessary for travel. Deputies in a salaried position received apart from the per diem a compensation corresponding to their average earning during the last three months. Those who were not in such a position, for instance members of JIDs and individual peasants, received "an adequate compensation for lost income." Apart from this the deputies could use free of charge public means of transportation for their trips to and from the sittings of the NA or its organs, including airplanes. (1)

On 16 December 1954 "Zvez Pravo" published a number of reports from the first sitting of the newly elected NA, among them the report submitted by the mandate commission. Some of the details may be of interest to us.

Of the deputies elected on 28 November 1954: 95 were workers;

70 were peasants (23 JID chairmen, two directors of state estates, members of JIDs, tractor drivers, and 19 individual peasants);

21 were soldiers and

132 members of the "working intelligentsia".

(1) We recall details on allowances of members of the CPC: chairman received 4,000 Kcs monthly, deputy chairman 2,500 Kcs; members of the CPC received "compensation" of 500 Kcs monthly plus 100 Kcs per diem and compensation of lost earnings. Law No. 2 of the CPC, dated 16 December 1954.

By closer examination of the list of elected deputies (1) we find that among the "workers" must be counted as well trade union officials, (most of them salaried) "worker" directors of enterprises, etc., if we are to arrive at the figure 95.

As to peasants it is necessary to draw attention to the disproportion between the number of peasants in cooperative farming and individual peasants. According to the Statistical Annual, 1948, there were in the CSR on 1 January 1948, 1,797,000 persons working full time in agriculture and of this total 1,340,000 were in the private sector while only 400,000 were in JEDs.

The percentage of the "working intelligentsia" is high; there are, however, in its ranks also members of the Party and state apparatus.

Radislav Hruval mentioned in "Trace" of 7 June 1950 the social structure of the SA members; he noted that among the deputies -- soldiers and members of the working intelligentsia a large proportion are of "workers" class background." Thus he confirms our own observations. It must be mentioned that in his information dated 1948 Hruval used figures from December 1944: 95 workers, 70 peasants, etc., although in the meantime great many changes had occurred. We want to draw attention to the lack of reliability of official reporting; this must be kept in mind when these and other statistics are read.

According to the quoted report of the mandate committee, of the 300 deputies 63 were women, of whom 24 were "workers", 14 agricultural workers, 25 members of the working intelligentsia.

By nationalities the parliament elected in 1954 looked as follows:

253 Czechs
76 Slovaks
9 Hungarians
3 Ukrainians
2 Poles
3 Germans

As to the Hungarians and Germans it can certainly

(1) The list was published for instance by "Rude Pravo" of 2 December 1954. Details on deputies are in the files of the OS evaluation section.

not be said that their representation corresponded to the numbers of these minorities if one considers that there was one Deputy for every 20,000 inhabitants. The Germans and Hungarians were represented for the first time in a post-war parliament.

56 of the newly elected members of the SA were at the time of their election between the ages of 21 and 30, 136 were 31 to 40 years old, 111 were 41 to 50, 49 members were 51 to 60 and 14 were over 60 years of age.

The report of the mandate committee which we quoted above did not state the party allegiance of the new deputies. As was already said these deputies were "candidates of the National Front" and by characterizing them in this way the regime obviously felt that it dispensed itself from any duty to offer any other information as to their political affiliations. To find out these affiliations is an extremely difficult task because, for example, from the satellite political parties, apart from old fellow-travelers also as far unknown "Party-men" who "distinguished" themselves by their positive attitude to the socialization of the village, to the shock workers' movement, etc., entered the parliament.

In our report on the "Czechoslovak Socialist Party" (1) we named deputies who were identified as members of this party through information obtained from the material on file. Their number was 19. It is most probable that the "Czechoslovak People's Party" had an equal number of deputies in the SA. We estimate the number of deputies of the "Slovak Party of Revival" as 10 and that of the "Freedom Party" as three at the most. Apart from these were also elected to the SA "non-party" people, as we mentioned above. According to "Traces" of 24 August 1956 they numbered "several scores." Even if they did actually number several scores we come to the conclusion that over 70 per cent of all the seats in the new parliament were occupied by organized Communists. The "leading role" of the Communist Party was thus securely assured in the SA as well.

Altogether 63 members of the old parliament entered the new SA elected in November 1954, i.e. 46 Communists, nine "CE Socialists", six members of the "People's Party", three members of the Slovak Party of Revival and one Deputy for the Freedom Party.

(1) "The Czechoslovak Socialist Party", Background Report dated 19.10.57.

During the term of office of the MA in the years 1954-1960 there were naturally certain changes in its structure. Before we begin to occupy ourselves with the Details let us recall what the law or the constitution says about loss of the mandate. The constitutional law No. 26/1954 rules in paragraphs three and four:

"A deputy to the MA may be recalled if the electors so decide... The manner of a recall of a deputy is settled by the law."

Law No. 27/1954 governing elections to the MA rules in paragraph 43:

"A deputy to the MA who lost the right to be elected loses his mandate. The law of mandate will be decided by the MA upon recommendation of its mandate committee."

The law does not explain when and why a deputy "loses the right to be elected," neither does it state in what way the mandate committee decides²¹ a proposal to deprive a member of the MA of his mandate. This paragraph was obviously to give the regime "a free hand" in the cases of less effective representatives of the people.

Finally paragraph 51 rules that:

"Every deputy to the MA may be recalled at any time if so decided by the electorate in his constituency."

In the period 1954-1960 not a single case is known to us of a deputy having been recalled by the decision of the electorate and we know only about one case (that of Marie Seiglava) when a member of the MA was discharged from his function "because he failed to follow his duties in the MA." (1) Most of the deputies who left the parliament "resigned" without any reasons being given to the electorate with only a single exception (Jaroslava Glasarova). These deputies made use of their "right" (or were made to do so) under paragraph 43 of the Detailed Regulations of the Constitution of May 9 which says that:

"The deputies perform their mandate personally. They may relinquish it whenever they so desire."

(1) "Sovetsk" 21.5.57.

In Item No. 8413/54, in which we attempted to present a statistical survey of the fluctuation in the NA in the years 1948-1954, we stated that during its term of office 91 new members were called upon to serve in the parliament which at that time had 300 members. This was during the time of the purges among the "bourgeois nationalists" in Slovakia, among the "Socialists", "Trotskyists" and other "hostile elements" in the Czech lands. In the period 1954-1960 the NA lived a quieter life. We registered 28 cases of leaving parliamentary offices:

- 7 deputies died,
- 1 was "released" from his office,
- 1 mandate, that of Antonin Novotny, became extinct due to his election to the office of President,
- 1 deputy resigned for reasons of health,
- 16 deputies "resigned" for reasons not stated.

Of these 28 members of the NA 13 were men, five were women; 17 Czechs, 10 Slovaks and one Hungarian; 12 Communists, two CS Socialists, one member of the Freedom Party; the political allegiance of the remaining 13 is not known to us.

Of the 27 newly registered deputies of the NA 21 are men, four women, 14 Czechs, 10 Slovaks, one Hungarian; 13 are members of the CP, one is member of the CS Socialist Party, one of the Freedom Party, one without Party allegiance; party allegiance of the remaining nine is not known to us.

The difference of one (28 departures, 27 new arrivals) can be explained by the circumstance that the seat of Dr. Emanuel Hlebocka who died in March 1960 has not been so far and probably will not be occupied before the end of this parliament.

As to the nationality structure the parliament did not change, also the proportion of men and women has been more or less preserved. Of more interest is a comparison drawn between the occupations of the departing and the new deputies (1) —

[1] We give a more detailed analysis of the occupations than the report of the mandate commission in December 1954 (see above). Among "political workers" we include workers of the apparatus of state, the Party and trade unions.

Former deputies

9 political workers
 7 workers
 5 enterprise directors
 2 individual peasants
 2 JED chairmen
 1 State Tractor Station worker
 1 writer
 1 actor

28

Newly elected deputies

12 political workers
 1 worker
 6 leading enterprise workers
 -
 4 JED workers
 1 forestry administration worker
 1 writer
 1 school teacher
 1 (occupation unknown)

27

The social structure of the parliament elected in 1954 changed not only due to the above circumstances but also, to give one example, because some deputies changed their occupations during the years 1954-1960 (exact number cannot be ascertained from existing sources.) Thus Josef Krouzovsky and Josef Ilia were elected in 1954 as individually farming peasants; they are now JED officials. Edemek Kalas, a "stonebreaker in the Jachymov mines," became JED chairman in 1959. Frantisek Valis was in 1954 director of a state estate in Tabery; in April 1959 he was elected first secretary of the CPMS regional committee in Ceske Budejovice. Edemek Vavra entered the RA as director of "Krasicka Telesarny" iron works in Prostějov; according to latest lists he is now chairman of the district national committee in Prostějov. "Locksmith" Vaclav Iyica is today chairman of the trade union works committee in Vichovice iron works, i.e. a salaried official. Many other examples could be given.

On the whole it may be said that the social structure of the parliament has changed during its term of office to the advantage of the "apparatchiki", workers of the Party apparatus, or of other organs of power in the state. We shall see more details in the following list of former deputies and their successors.

Former deputies

Newly elected members of the SA

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| <p>1. Jiri HREBEK
 Constit.No.120,Kojentín-
 Prostějov; Czech, party
 allegiance not known.
 November 1954: Individually
 farming peasant in Moravia
 (Moravia);
 December 1954 elected chairman
 JED in Moravia;
 November 1954-April 1958:
 member of the presidium of the
 SA;
 August 1958: "resigned".</p> | <p>1. Jan BOVČEK
 Czech, member of the CPSC;
 for a long time chairman JED
 Klenovice (Moravia)</p> |
| <p>2. Bohumil HREBEK
 Constit.No.40, Nová Strávnice-
 Slany; Czech, CPSC member.
 Former miner, since 1942
 chairman JED Slany.
 April 1958: "resigned".</p> | <p>2. František JUREK
 Czech, party allegiance unknown,
 (probably CPSC). April 1958:
 head of Forestry administration
 in Lany.</p> |
| <p>3. Marek ČULIK
 Constit.No.303, State Moravia;
 Slovak, member CPSC, founding
 member CPSC in Slovakia, before
 the war worker in the Party
 apparatus. After the war member
 of the CPSC SO. From 1949 member
 of CPSC SO, in 1951-1953
 commissioner for agriculture.
 Died 26.12.1957.</p> | <p>3. Michal GRUBER
 Slovak, member CPSC;
 1948-49 commissioner for food;
 1949-55 chairman regional
 national committee Koice;
 1948-54 Deputy to SNO;
 1955-56 first deputy to chairman
 of the Board of Commissioners and
 commissioner for agriculture;
 1956- commissioner for agri-
 culture, Member of the Politburo
 of the CPSC SO, member CPSC SO.</p> |
| <p>4. Jaroslava ŠTĚPÁNKOVÁ
 Constit.No.26, Trávek-Braník;
 Czech, party allegiance unknown
 (probably Communist);
 born 7.9.1901 in Hruška Skala;
 1945 member and national com-
 mittee Prague, 1946 cultural
 attaché at CE embassy in USSR;
 writer, bearer State Prize 1951,
 since 1953 "national artist"
 September 1956: resigned from
 the SA for reasons of health.</p> | <p>4. Alena HERNÁSKOVÁ
 Czech, party allegiance unknown,
 (probably Communist). Born 22.9.20
 in Prague. Studied theatrical
 science, later languages, piano,
 after the war medicine. Writer,
 bearer of State Prize 1951 for
 her novel on "Stalin Works"
 entitled "The Way is Free".</p> |
| <p>5. Jiri HLAVATÝ
 Constit.No.131, Bezděčín; Czech,
 party allegiance unknown
 (probably CPSC)
 November 1954: director of
 cotton works in Bezděčín.
 September 1958: "resigned".</p> | <p>5. Oldřich FAVLOVSKÝ
 Czech, member CPSC. From a Com-
 munist family. Worked before the
 war in the Association for Prole-
 tarian Education and in the Youth
 Association.
 1945-51 Party functionary in Elia</p> |

- region, last first secretary CPGB
town committee in Gottwaldov
1951-55 secretary CPGB regional
committee in Gottwaldov;
1955-58 secretary CPGB regional
committee and member of regional
national committee in Karlovy
Vary;
1958-60 first secretary CPGB
regional committee and member
regional national committee,
Liberec.
March 1960: elected first secretary
CPGB region South Bohemia
(Ceske Budejovice).
6. Dr. Václav KULISKEI
Commit. No. 92 Kolín-Podě-
brady; Czech, member CS
Socialist Party. After
February 1948 director of
"Melantrich" publishing house
in Prague, member of the
party's presidium, official
of the Association of CS
Writers. 1951-54 deputy to SA.
November 1954 elected again
to SA. September 1959:
"resigned".
7. Josef JANTOSIK
Commit. No. 335 Kyzoucké N.
Hrádko, Československ, party
allegiance unknown. November
1954: worker at "Kyzoucké Pily"
saw mill at Brodsko.
May 1958: "resigned".
8. Alois MALISE
Commit. No. 199 Nystřice a.
P., Doubovice; Czech, member
CPGB.
Founding member of the Party,
1928-48 lived in USSR. After-
wards worked in the GDR in
leading positions in textile
industry, last in 1951-54 as
foreman in light industry.
December 1958: died.
9. Josef MALISE
Commit. No. 397 Hove Haný-
Kovarský; Slovak, member CPGB.
Peasant in Prievidza.
1948-54 member of SA;
4. Josef KULICKA
Czech, member CS Socialist Party
October 1959: Foreman CS State
Railroads in Kolín.
7. Stefan CASO
Slovak, party allegiance unknown.
May 1958: foreman, precision
engineering works at Kyzoucké
Hrádko.
8. Josef TATOSIK
Czech, member CPGB
1948-52 Deputy chairman Joint
Board of Union CS Peasants
1952- 7 Head of central adminis-
tration of state estates at the
Ministry of Agriculture.
February 1959: Member JED in
Troszovka.
9. Tiber BOHAROVSKY
Slovak, member CPGB
1951-53 first secretary regional
committee CPGB Československ;
1955 first secretary regional committee

1950-52 director regional purchasing-delivery center in Nitra; chairman of regional committee of the "Defenders of Peace"; IPR worker of town committee CPKS Nitra; 1959 May: died.

CPKS Nitra, 1955-58 first deputy regional committee CPKS Nitra; 1958 deputy to Minister of Agriculture Member CPKS CC, candidate for CC of the CPKS.

10. Ladvik HITEK
 Council No. 737 Vestina; Czech, member CPKS; former chairman district committee CPKS in Vestina and director (of an enterprise not known to us), July 1958: died.

10. Vladimir HOUNEK
 Czech, party allegiance unknown (probably CPKS); 1958: leader of the gang "In Vestin".

11. Anna KUCYAKOVA
 Council No. 113, Usti n/L, Litomerice; Czech, party allegiance unknown; 1954: worker "Earth Bohemia Margarine Works" Usti n/L. April 1957: "resigned".

11. Evastaslava KRIVKOVA
 Czech, party allegiance unknown, born 1918, from 1954 member regional national committee Usti n/L. May 1957: school teacher, Higher Agricultural School, Usti n/L.

12. Vaclav HONEK
 Council No. 41, Slapy; Czech, member CPKS. Member of the "Sextwald group" from 1937; during the war in London, after the war 1947-53 Minister of the Interior, later Minister of Labor. Died July 1958.

12. Josef KROUNY
 Czech, member CPKS 1939: engine driver at "SONP" in Elshau. 1957: died (see 17 below).

11. Josef NOVAK
 Council No. 161, Hlimok; Czech, party allegiance unknown; November 1958: individual peasant, Vojtechov, July 1958: "resigned".

13. Frenzel NOVOTNY
 Czech, "non-party", from a peasant family, father a JED chairman. 1948: worked in the purchase-delivery center, Hlimok.

14. Antonia NOVOTNY
 Council No. 14, Prague-Troosky; Czech, member CPKS; First deputy CPKS CC, November 1957: mandate deleted on his election as President of the Republic.

14. Antonia KACHE
 Czech, member CPKS 1944-57 first deputy reg. com. CPKS Usti n/L. 1957 still now first deputy CPKS town committee Prague, 1960 also chairman town committee of the NF, Prague; since June 1958 member of the CC CPKS and member of its secretariat.

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| <p>15. Miroslav ČERNÝ
 Constit. No. 146, Levoča-Spis
 Nová Ves; Slovak, member CPKS
 1948; chairman district com.
 CPKS Koclov, later chairman
 CPKS regional com., Koclov,
 1948-54 deputy to SA;
 March 1954: "resigned".</p> | <p>15. Jozef HUIK
 Slovak, member CPKS
 1948; chairman JED Hujacovec;
 1960; chairman JED Spáns-
 Petrance;
 member CC CPKS.</p> |
| <p>16. Marie PRŮHOVA
 Constit. No. 110, Teplice;
 Czech, party allegiance
 unknown;
 1934; operative "Karda" ant.
 corp. at Dalm. Hlyn, holder of
 Order of Work.
 April 1957: "resigned".</p> | <p>16. L. VACLAVIKOVA
 Czech, party allegiance unknown.</p> |
| <p>17. Josef POKORNY
 Constit. No. 41, Slany
 Czech, member CPKS;
 September 1955; engine
 driver at "DCTI" Kladno,
 elected to SA to replace
 late V. Štepek (see 12)
 April 1957: died.</p> | <p>17. František KRÍŽEK
 Czech, member CPKS
 Professions worker;
 1951-53 first secy district
 committee CPKS Nová Strávnice;
 1953 - "Sverma" works, Slany;
 1957; chairman all-works com.
 CPKS at "Sverma" works.</p> |
| <p>18. Vincent PŘOBNÝ
 Constit. No. 286 Šumperk-Sereď;
 Slovak, member "Freedom Party".
 Before the war teacher at
 minority schools.
 1948-54 deputy to SA;
 1950 general secy "Freedom
 Party", responsible edit. of
 weekly "Hlohada";
 1952-55 chairman "Freedom
 Party", member CC of Slovak KP.
 March 1956: "resigned".</p> | <p>18. František ŠTEFANIK
 Slovak, member "Freedom Party";
 1956; first secy "Freedom
 Party", responsible edit.
 "Hlohada".</p> |
| <p>19. Emanuel BOHANEK
 Constit. No. 187, Martin-Bural;
 Slovak, party allegiance
 unknown.
 1954; actor at the Army
 Theater in Martin, member
 of the BCC. April 1957:
 "resigned".</p> | <p>19. Alexander PAULOVIC
 Slovak, member of CPKS.
 1950-52 chairman BCC Martin;
 1951-54 member SA;
 1952-58 chairman BCC Zilina;
 1958 state control commissioner
 member CC of CPKS.</p> |
| <p>20. František KYJAR
 Constit. No. 207, Jeseník;
 Czech, party allegiance
 unknown.
 November 1954; forestry
 worker in Domanov.
 August 1958: "resigned".</p> | <p>20. Melichar POHANEK
 Czech, member CPKS.
 Occupation joiner; member CC of
 CPKS in Jeseník.
 1954; vice-chairman BCC Jeseník;
 1957; chairman BCC Jeseník.</p> |

21. Jalta SIMEKDOVA
 Constit. No. 137, Nemeštova-
 Prstena; Slovak; party
 allegiance unknown.
 November 1954: individual
 farmer, member NSC Nemeštova;
 May 1957: "resigned".
21. Josef SILLAS
 Slovak, member CPSEL.
 1952-55 secretary NS of CPSEL in
 Biliava;
 1955-59 principal secretary of
 above. Member of CC of CPSEL,
 substitute member of CC of CPSEL.
22. Dr. Karel KAMMEL SICHMIL
 Constit. No. 18, Prague-Biskov-
 Vart; Czech, member CSKP.
 1948-1950 chairman CSKP; member
 of government -- Minister of
 Building and later minister-
 chairman of State Committee for
 Construction.
 March 1960: Died. (Allegedly
 suicide.)
22. Seat vacant
23. Alexander SMANTALA
 Constit. No. 772 Bratislava-
 Kural'-vlnick; Slovak, party
 allegiance unknown (probably
 CPSEL).
 1954: stoker
 July 1957: "resigned".
23. Stefan VESECKO
 Slovak, member CPSEL;
 1949 graduate of Political School
 of CPSEL; 1950-57 worker of appar.
 of CC of CPSEL, last as head of
 agitation and propaganda sections;
 1958 principal secretary NS of
 CPSEL Bratislava;
 1959 chairman NSD Bratislava.
24. Marek SMITA
 Constit. No. 113, Evalec;
 Slovak, member CPSEL. Occup.
 wood-worker, member of CPSEL
 since 1929, during the war
 imprisoned for two years, then
 member of Partisans' staff;
 Lenin Order, 2nd class, 1951
 director-general of OS forests;
 1951-58 minister of forestry
 and timber industry,
 1954-55 minister of agriculture,
 last, minister of state
 estates. Up to May 1958
 member CC of CPSEL, to June
 1958 member of central control
 commission of CPSEL
 June 1958: "resigned".
25. Pavel TONKLAUSCH
 Slovak, member of CPSEL.
 1950-52 head of control department
 of Slovak Trade Union Council;
 1952-55 worker at TROU;
 1955-59 principal secretary NS of
 CPSEL Kamzák Nyrtrica.
 Member of CC of CPSEL, substitute
 member of CC of CPSEL.
25. Ladislav SOKUP
 Constit. No. 78, Slovica-
 Boranovice; Czech, party
 allegiance unknown. Born
 1926. 1954 cabinet-maker at
 Kupačskova zabrikarny S.S.
 in Spaleny Peric.
 April 1958: "resigned".
24. Josef TRHLIK
 Czech, party allegiance unknown.
 April 1958 carpenter, store-
 keeper at JED Jabranka.

24. Josef SUJKA
 Commit. No. 12, Peirkra-
 Haverice; Czech, party
 allegiance unknown, (prob. CPSC).
 1934: director of Krovchati in
 Pribraz;
 February 1959: "resigned".
25. Josef GRNY
 Czech, party allegiance unknown.
 March 1959: "Mechanic".
 (Eval. Remarks: prob. identical with
 J.C., substitute member CC of CPSC)
27. Maria SUJCOVA-VIENKEROVA
 Commit. No. 296, Sasoric-Ban.
 Sirenia; of Hungarian
 nationality, party allegiance
 unknown. Originally servant,
 then agric. worker in the
 "Budin skladov",
 "puzar". 1953 honored "for
 services in building"; 1954
 awarded "CC Peace Prize";
 1954-57 member of KSC Bratislava,
 agronomist at state estate
 Strahok on the Ostrov River;
 1958-57 member of CC GRNY
 (in December 1957 recalled for
 "non-fulfillment of duties");
 May 1957: "Mandate withdrawn,
 since she did not discharge her
 duties in SA".
26. Idzeka FUREROVA
 Hungarian nationality, member of
 CPSC. Born about 1904.
 1957: member of JED Sasoric, then
 worker at Committee of Women and
 Comrades;
 1957... member of penal commission
 of KSC Bratislava.
28. Karel PRASKE
 Commit. No. 129, Ilava
 Slovak (?), member CPSC.
 1948-54 member KSC;
 1949-54 member CC of CPSC;
 1947-52 locksmith, chairman PC
 of Skoda works Dubnice, chairman
 DO of CPSC;
 1950-53 substitute member CC of
 CPSC; 1953-? member etc.
 1953-55) director of K.J.
 Vozobilov Works (formerly
 Skoda) in Dubnice on the Vah
 River;
 March 1954: "resigned".
29. Eng. Herbert FURKOVIC
 Slovak, party allegiance not
 known (prob. CPSC).

In November 1954 also elected to the SA were, e.g. Dr.
 Alois Cepicka, who became the only prominent victim of the de-
 Stalinization in the CSH and who is said to have died in 1959
 -- further Stefan Sebestan who was recalled from his post of Deputy
 premier of the Board of Commissioners in January 1958 and who dis-
 appeared from the central council of the CPSC in the same year.
 Nothing further is known to this department about the outcomes
 regarding their seats.

The Organizational Structure of the National Assembly

On 14 December 1954 the NA passed a law No. 61 "on the articles of procedure in the NA", Paragraph seven enumerates a list of organs of the NA in the following order:

1. Presidium of the NA
2. Inner presidium of the NA
3. Chairman of the NA
4. Committees
5. Secretaries

During the 1954-60 term the NA-member presidium was elected always for one year, usually at the February or March sessions. It was composed of the chairman, five deputy-chairmen and 18 members.

The inner presidium was constituted by the chairman and deputy-chairmen. In its composition no changes occurred during 1954-60. The following are the names of the members of this organ of the NA with their party membership in parentheses:

Chairman : Stanek Fierlinger (member of Politburo of CC of CPKS)

Deputy-chairmen : Josef Valc (member of Politburo of CC of CPKS)
Euzeka Hottanova-Spurna (member of CC of CPKS)
Stjepan Prilecky (presidium member of CSOP)
Antonia Viala (presidium member of CSOP)
Andrej Rak (presidium member of FREL)

The regime sources are treating warily regarding the names of the 18 other members of the presidium, i.e. they are not disclosed to the public and this happened also on the occasion of the last elections (of the presidium; Tr) held on February 18 of this year. Members of the presidium were, for instance, Vincent Pokorny and Jiri Janes who "resigned" during the term. Antonia Novotny, the present president of the republic, also used to be a member of this organ of the NAs in December 1957 Frantisek Krutina was elected in his place, a secretary of the CC of the CPKS. Of other known members can be named the Communist Ludmila Elaskova-Desserova, secretary of the CC of the National Front, further the former minister of national defense, General Ladislav Svoboda, the Trade Union chairman Frantisek Rypka, the chairman of the central control commission of the CC of the CPKS, Josef Svobda, the chairman of the Commission for Party Control, Jan Huran.

The old parliament (1948-54) used to have nine permanent committees; the law on the articles of procedure in the NA of December 1954 (para. 13) provided that only four permanent committees were constituted: the constitutional-legal, the budget and economic, the foreign, the constituency committees and "additional permanent committees, as need may arise". For dealing with certain questions

the NA was entitled to set up temporary committees; such a temporary committee of 25 members was set up, for instance, for deliberating the proposal of the law on the articles of procedure of the NA and on substitute NA members.

Finally seven permanent committees were elected on December 13 and 14 (1) the chairmen of which remained in office, with one exception, throughout the period of 1954-60:

- Constituency committee: Jan Vodička (CPCB)
- Cultural : Jan Deda (CPCB)
- Budget and economic : Josef Steha (CPCB)
- Constitutional-legal : Dr. Jaroslav Křofka (CPCB)
- Foreign : Dr. Jaroslav Berák (CSPF)
- Health : Dr. Karel Kral (CSPF)
- Agricultural : up to December 1955 Vratislav Eratim (CPCB); thereafter Josef Boruska (CPCB).

Eight recorders were elected.

In the NA elected in November 1954 lobbies of members of the individual parties no longer existed. As reasons for their abolition it was stated that a candidate no longer stood "for this or that party"; all those elected were candidates of the National Front — "belonging to various political parties or politically not organized at all".

It was stated there was "no justification for the existence of these lobbies any longer"(2).

The duties formerly carried out by the members' lobbies were taken over by the so-called Council of NA Members composed of members of the inner NA presidium and the representatives (one each) of the regional associations of NA members. Officially the Council of NA Members was an "auxiliary organ" of the inner presidium charged with the duty of coordinating and controlling the work of the NA members. Only annual reports were given about its activities; the minutes, of which there were usually six in a year (3) were presided over by the chairman of the NA, Jozef Píestinger. Secretary of the Council was (in 1956) Otáček Mandáček(4).

The Regional Associations of NA members, mentioned above,

- (1) Not revised were the committees for economic planning and its control, further the defense and security committee which existed in the old 1948-54 NA.
- (2) "Press", 24.8.56.
- (3) In the period of December 1954 to June 1955 four times, i.e. roughly every two months.
- (4) According to "Světový" No.9/1957 "head of the political-organizational section of the NA.

were also newly set up in 1954. In these associations, as explained in article 44 of the Law No. 61/1954.

"in the interest of the best discharge of their duties... the NA members elected in the constituencies in the territory of the same regional (central) national committee...."

again without distinction of party allegiance. In Slovakia members of these associations were also SNO deputies. These associations, about the activity of which also very little has been written, elected from among their members a chairman, a vice-chairman and a secretary. To this department only some of the officials of the Regional Associations are known so, e.g. in Prague the chairman was NA member Jan Simunek, security technician (or safety technician? Dr.) of the CS Car-repair Works in Prague-Vrsovice; chairman of the regional association of NA members in Pilsen was Dr. Jaroslav Krocfa, in Brno Frantisek Tyms. Marcel Kubes was secretary of the association in Brno-Kralove, Jaroslav Kopal in Ostrava etc.

ONE

An auxiliary organ and of its provision is the office of the NA under the immediate direction of the chairman of parliament and controlled by the inner provision. The head of the office (Dr. Josef Kovacik) and his deputy are in charge. The office "renders general technical assistance also to the committees and individual NA members in the discharge of their duties".

(1).

In conjunction with the NA "friendship groups" with various people were formed in the course of its term. In July 1957 the "Group of CS-French Friendship" constituted itself, headed by Dr. Jaroslav Berek (member of the CHPP), a year later the parliamentary "Group of CS-British Friendship" headed by the Communist NA member Helena Leflerova(?). In July 1959 the "Group of CS-Belgian Friendship" was founded which is headed by the Slovak scientist Dr. Slozka Woskovic.

(1) Law No. 61/1954, para. 50

(2) One of the women who survived the destruction of Lidice in 1942.

The Activity of the NA and of Its Members

According to para. 49 of the Detailed Provisions of the Constitution of May 7, the sessions of the NA were called, adjourned and declared closed by the president of the republic (who had also the right of dissolving it). The same paragraph obliged him

"to call the NA to two regular sessions a year: the spring and autumn sessions. The spring session must commence in March, the autumn session in October."

Like many other provisions of the Constitution this one was not adhered to either. The spring session 1960, for instance, commenced on February 17. (1) To call meetings of the NA belonged to the competence of the chairman of Parliament. (2) Up to May 1960 a total of 10 plenary sessions (meetings) of the NA took place.

In an article "The Importance and Mission of the National Assembly" subtitled "The National Assembly — The Organ of Complete Sovereignty of the People" this was said in "Trade Press" of 21 October 1954:

"The sessions of the NA are strictly of a working nature and there is no need for extending them indefinitely. By this the NA members are enabled to remain longer in their several employment as well."

Had it not been for the period of the "thaw" we would never have obtained confirmation from official sources of the fact applicable in general to parliaments controlled by Communists: the public looks upon them as a body of yes-men. Sometimes the NA members themselves are dissatisfied with their lot.

It was said in an article in "Trade" of 27 April 1956 "For greater authority of our elected organs":

Our NA members have not yet accustomed to making full use of those great privileges afforded them by the Constitution and by the Articles of Procedure of the NA. For the National Assembly to be able to fulfill its function in actual fact and not only formally, it too will have to carry a new spirit into its work. It would be regrettable, in order to enhance the importance of the NA, if that old right given to members by the Constitution would revive... In a variety of sectors of our life there are shortcomings spoken about by everybody. Our NA members usually deal with such matters internally and they often receive only formal and unsatisfactory replies to their questions, answers which would not stand up if pronounced in public... The busy atmosphere, the current of constraint-

(1) ONK 13 February 1960.

(2) TAN No. 51/1954, Para. 11.

ive criticism is not communicated from committee to plenum. There it has become the custom that speakers appointed beforehand make their speeches in a certain order, representing most variegated sections. It has become, so to speak, unimaginable that someone should ask to be heard apart from this fixed program and to react to the proposals pronounced there."

On 18 May 1956 the same paper, the organ of the trade unions, carried an article titled "Let Us Give Life to the Principles of Our Democracy"; its subject was the relations between citizens and the National Assembly:

"They have not looked upon it as the supreme organ of legislative power, but more as a representative body that congregates from time to time for the purpose of giving formal approval to government proposals."

In June 1956 the national conference of the CPKS was in session and Ildesik Fierlinger, the chairman of the NA, spoke about, apart from other things, the work of Parliament and about the complaints of its members. This is a quotation from "This Pravda" of 14 June 1956:

"Many members of the NA experience a feeling of dissatisfaction, they are under the impression they do not sufficiently contribute to the building of socialism by the exercise of their mandate as NA members, to the correction of existing shortcomings... We must self-critically admit that the work of the NA and of individual members still does suffer from many shortcomings... It is exigent that the deliberations of plenary meetings should be more lively and variegated and their subjects more topical... Frequent complaints on the part of the NA members concern the lack of authority and scope of their work in the constituencies.

It will be necessary that at future elections and even now at by-elections candidates are put forward as members of the NA who can look back on extended public activities".

This last requirement was met, as we have shown in the chapter about the changes in the composition of Parliament: the "resigning" members were mostly replaced by men from the regime apparatus. Otherwise we can state, however, — talking in the language of the above referred to quotations — "that the new spirit" did not permeate the work of the National Assembly. After the time of "their" criticism of the work of the NA and the self-criticism by its members, one can assert without qualms of conscience that the CS Parliament continued to discharge its duties in a "formal way", "the established custom" of speaking

In an order arranged beforehand and in the style of editorials and articles of the ruling Party remained as nearly proved by the official reports about the meetings of the SA. The discussions in plenary meetings did not become more lively and varied. The members were not allowed or able to exercise their rights. And this department strongly doubts that the citizens have changed their views: seen through their eyes Parliament has remained a "representative body gathering from time to time for the purpose of giving formal approval to government proposals".

On 14 March 1954 SA member Dr. Jaroslav Krocik spoke in Radio Pilsen about the so-called SA Member's Days -- talks between the SA members and the voters:

"We are transferring more and more of these to the works. The examination of all recommendations, complaints and remarks there is compulsory. Mostly the questions put are combined with requests to take up matters of a personal or local nature. They concern housing, in villages mostly milk-bearing, which are evidence of the by no means negligible difficulties in these matters".

This experience of SA members, interpreted by Dr. Krocik, is not isolated and it can be ranged among other evidence as to how the citizen-voter looks upon the SA members a prospective champion for personal affairs rather than a legislator.

Notes on the Coming Elections

The term of the SA elected in 1954 was to run until November of this year. As late as on 23 September 1959 (1) Antonin Novotny addressed "leading workers of the Party" as follows:

"We have given consideration to the question whether it would be convenient to postpone the elections until the beginning of 1961 since we shall fulfill a number of important tasks affecting the whole of the state in 1960".

In conclusion he declared, however, that this plan had been abandoned and that the elections for the SA, the SSC and the national committees "would be prepared" for the autumn of 1960. -- Finally at the January 1960 meeting of the CC of the CPCE Novotny announced that

"after a new evaluation of all the circumstances [the CC of the CPCE] recommends that the elections should be held in June 1960".

(1) Text published in "Rede Press" of 1) November 1959.

This striking speed compels one to ponder the reasons leading to it. Views have been voiced that Novotny, by his career and style of work a typical apparatus-man and, therefore a man in a hurry to fulfill all the paragraphs of a prescribed task as well and as soon as possible wishes to "reach to peak of socialism" as first of the satellites; the first task of the newly elected NA is to approve the new "socialist" Constitution.

Not unlikely is the further assumption that the CS regime wishes to manifest that it belongs to the Soviet bloc unreservedly at the time of the summit conference. Quite apart from the fact that speeded-up materialization of measures such as the territorial re-organization, the elections, the new Constitution would make it a priori impossible or at least most difficult to bring about an eventual Session of the Conference to create, for instance, a neutral zone in Central Europe, etc.

Finally also the following interpretation is feasible: the institution of checks on the membership in the form of self-criticism before a plenum and of purges ending frequently before court tribunals did not prove their worth and, moreover, they usually evoked an unpleasant response abroad. But — and this is shown particularly by the experience during the times of the "Five" — the regime simply cannot do without strictness and checks, i.e. without creating an atmosphere of anxiety and fear. The membership cadres shudder, the feeling of safety engenders self-confidence and self-assertion — and the fertile ground is ready for deviations and revisionists to raise their heads.

We can observe, roughly from the time of Novotny's installation as president of the republic at the end of 1957, that the old system of single checks and purges was replaced by a kind of chain of actions leading to the same end. The Communist press does not at all deny that the so-called re-organization of industry and of the building trade in 1958, the wage reform and also some reforms in the field of culture and, at present times, the territorial changes carried out and the transfer of officials to the countryside are justified, to a substantial degree, not only with a check on the qualities of the workers in this or that sphere, but also with a check on their loyalty to the "cross".

It appears that likely that the development of the international situation (the policy of "peaceful co-existence" etc.) has had its effect on the political thinking of citizens and Party cadres in a direction not agreed to by the CPKS. The support of tanks by the Party members and officials must engage in during these weeks — of the propaganda campaign on the anniversary of the liberation, on the eve of the elections, at the time of the Spartakiade, "discussions about the Constitution", on the eve of the national conference of the CPKS — provides the leadership with the opportunity of employing and directing the membership of the Party and to influence

the rest of the public more intensively than ever before.

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In the conclusion of this report attention is drawn to some new features in the law on the SA elections which were passed by Parliament at the beginning of April 1960.

By the Constitutional Law No. 33/1960 of 9 April 1960 some provisions were abrogated of the constitutional laws Nos. 26/1954 and 31/1956 on the elections to the SA and the Slovak national organs respectively. The constituencies for every 35,000 inhabitants are abolished and 100 constituencies are created for the elections to the SA which are identical in Slovakia with the election districts for the elections to the NSO (which will have 17 members for the coming four years). Furthermore, it is apparent from Article 7) of the draft proposal for the new Constitution that the number of NSO members may be changed in future.

By Law No. 37/1960 some provisions are abrogated of the Law No. 37/1954 on the elections to the SA. SA Member Jiri Klodanek, the reporter for the new law, stated in this connection:

"In view of the changes in our social life it has been urgent to formulate anew the provisions about who is elected a SA member and the corresponding provisions about the nomination of candidates." (1)

We draw special attention to the changes carried out in Paragraphs 1 and 21. Because of its interesting features the old and new text of paragraph 1 are quoted hereunder, side by side.

(Old Text):

The working people elect to the SA its best representatives who are worthy of bearing SA members and who present a guarantee that they will properly discharge their duties.

(New Text):

The working people elect as SA members its best representatives, leading builders of socialism who are proven organizers of the creative endeavor of the working people toward the economic and cultural building of the state.

This is apparently an abolition of the practice first introduced in 1954 when "factus" shop workers and workers in production (lit.: workers; tr.) — probably in unimportant numbers — were sent to Parliament who had no experience in public life. Our list of newly elected members (vid. page 14/15) indicates who is considered a "proven organizer". As emerges from the official news

(1) "State Press", 10 April 1960.

about the nomination of candidates for the NA, its members will be not only all members of the politburo of the Party but also all secretaries of the CC of the CPSC; new candidates are, for instance, Oldrich Cernik, Vladimir Kocicky and Bruno Kochler (one of the founders of the German section of the CPSC in the twenties).

The old text of paragraph 21 of the Law on the Elections to the NA has been quoted above (vid. page 15/2a). In the new version the National Front which nominates all candidates is defined as:

"the association of workers, peasants and the working intelligentsia... binding together the social organizations of the working people under the leadership of the CPSC."

References have disappeared to the political parties whose names had been expressly stated before. The other changes are merely of a technical nature.

It remains to mention the Election Commission for the NA elections. It has 20 members and its chairman is the Deputy Prime Minister, Minister of the Interior and member of the politburo of the CC of the CPSC ("Stovetny's right-hand man") Rudolf Barak. The secretary of the CC of the CPSC, Oldrich Cernik, is his deputy. secretary to the Commission is Jiri Balon, for many years a worker of the apparatus of the CC of the CPSC and chairman of the Election Commission for the 1954 election. Otherwise all political parties and mass organizations (trade unions, youth) are represented in the Commission by their leading exponents and also the collective countryside.

The first act of the National Assembly emerging from the elections on 12 June 1960 will be the passing of the "socialist Constitution" in the version which will be submitted to it by the national conference of the CPSC convened for 7 July 1960.

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As far as the role and competence of the future National Assembly is concerned, reference is made to the material elaborated in this department's Background Report of 10 April 1960 "Remarks on the Proposal for a New Constitution" — and on Pavel Levit, vice-rector of the Charles University in Prague and his article in "Wide Front" of 10 April 1960 "The Supreme State Organs of the Socialist Republic" (CS Press Survey No. 878 (SIT), dated 11 April 1960).

The following older sources deal with the National Assembly and CPSC respectively:

"Parliamentary Elections in Czechoslovakia" by F.L., published by NCFE in New York in 1952;

Farel Korbai: "Stavy povaleckeho parlamentu v CSR" (The Fate of the Post-War Parliament in CSR), vid. Ceskoslovensky prehled, August 1955;

Farel Korbai: "Slovenske narodni organy pred pacem a po nem" (The Slovak National Organs Before the Peace and After), vid. Ceskoslovensky prehled, March and April 1954;

Farel Korbai: "Nesireni pravomoci na Slovensku" (Wider Powers in Slovakia) vid. Ceskoslovensky prehled, July-August 1954.

The material referred to can be inspected at CE Evaluation
tion.

Supplements on following pages.

Appendix I

The Provisional National Assembly

Elections August-October 1945

It was laid down in the Constitutional Decree of the President of the Republic No. 47 of 29 August 1945 that the PNA would have 100 members. Details about the electoral law, eligibility and the elections to the PNA were laid down by Government Decree No. 40/1945 of the same date.

The procedure was this:

The local national committees or local administrative commissions (both organs consisting of members nominated by the political parties) elected at public meetings, on the basis of lists of candidates submitted by the political parties, one elector per 200 inhabitants of Slovak nationality.

On 30 September 1945 district conventions of electors elected delegates for the land meeting of electors (at the same time election of members of district national councils were held).

On 14 October 1945, 200 members of the PNA were elected at land conventions of electors in Prague and Brno; 100 Slovak members had been elected before, in August 1945. At these conventions also the members of the land national committees in Prague and Brno were elected.

A "standing agreement" was negotiated between the parties, ... "that joint (lit. united; tr.) lists of candidates should be submitted everywhere with all parties equally represented" and that in addition "the representatives of the national common-interest groups should also be delegated". (1)

The political allegiance of the electors (in the Czech lands) looked like this: 574 Communists, 545 Social Democrats, 563 Popular Party Members, 788 National Socialists; 337 electors were elected for the "common interest organizations". (2)

(1) S. Slansky in "Trade Review" of 9 September 1945. -- For a more detailed study of the role of the national committees in these elections P.N.'s monograph "Narodni vjstavy" (National Committees), issued by NCTE in New York in April 1951, is recommended.

(2) Klesing's "Archie dar Gegenwart" (Archives of the Present) vol. 1945.

The Distribution of Seats in the FSA (1):

Communist Party of Czechoslovakia	40
CS Popular Party	40
CS National Socialist Party	40
CS Social Democratic Party	40
Representatives of the national common interest organizations	32
[of these:	
Central Council of Trade Unions	10
Unified Association of Czech Farmers	8
Central Association of Commerce	2
Central Association of Tradesmen	3
Central Council of Cooperatives	4
Central National Physical Education Committee	3
Czech Youth Federation	11
Other Important Sections of Public Life	8
Communist Party of Slovakia	40
Democratic Party	40
For "Common Interest Organizations"	20
[of which:	
Central Organization of Slovak Trade Union Associations	4
Unified Association of Slovak Farmers	4
Slovak Youth Federation	2
Association of Slovak Women	2

(1) Quoted from the publication "Organizace na statisticko prislousi"
(Organization of the CS State Order) issued in Prague in 1940.

Cultural and Scientific Workers	2
Co-Party Representatives	1
Members of Ukrainian Nationality	5)

After this distribution the CPKS Members' Lobby had 51 members and the lobby of the members of the Slovak CP 47 members.

The first meeting of the FPA was held on 26 October 1945.

Supplement II

The Elections for the Constituent National Assembly (26 May 1946)

The following parties submitted lists of candidates:

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (KPOZ)		
The CS National Socialist Party (NSNS)		in the Czech lands
The CS Popular Party (KSPF)		
The CS Social Democratic Party (KSSS)		
The Communist Party of Slovakia (KPSL)		
The Democratic Party (DP)		in Slovakia
The Freedom Party (FP)		
The Labor Party (LP)		

Apart from this it was permitted to pass white lists instead of the lists of candidates.

Registered Voters:	7,363,784
Votes:	7,013,396

These figures are quoted from "Spise Brno" of 5.6.1946. The Soviet agency TASS (according to Einstein's Archiv der Gegenwart, vol. 1946) announced that a total of 7,119,360 votes were handed in.

Distribution of votes and seats:

KPOZ	2,103,633	(2,217,711)	93	seats
NSNS	1,298,360	(1,334,450)	59	"
KSPF	1,111,330	(1,196,777)	46	"
DP	999,537	(893,000)	43	"
KSSS	855,843	(862,434)	37	"
KPSL	489,539	(485,000)	21	"
FP	60,200	(60,000)	3	"
LP	30,214	(30,000)	2	"

The figures quoted by TASS are shown in parentheses; the other figures were taken from the report of the Central Election Commission as published in "Pravo Lidu" of 4 June 1948.

According to "Nude Pravo" of 1.6.48 a total of 30,309 white voting slips were cast, of which 12,625 in Slovakia.

Supplement III

Elections to the NA on 30 May 1948

Again only a single list of candidates of the "Revived" National Front was submitted to the voters. This is what the official announcement issued by the Ministry of the Interior and published in "Lidova Demokracie" of 4.5.1948, said about the result of the elections:

Registered voters	7,998,035
"Disqualified persons"	65,796 (0.8 %)
Persons entitled to vote	7,932,239
Persons who did not vote	512,906 (6.5 %)
Votes cast	7,419,333
Of which invalid	220,467 (3.0 %)
Valid votes	7,198,866
Of which for the National Front candidates	6,424,734 (89.2%)
Blank voting slips	774,032 (10.8%)

Seats were distributed as follows (quoted from "Lidova Demokracie" of 11 June 1948):

CPKS	160
CPML	54
Social Democrats	23 (Attn.: In June 1948 the party merged with the CPKS!)
CS Socialist Party	23 (Attn.: The former CS National Socialist Party)
CHST	23
Party of Slovak Revival	12 (Attn.: The former Democratic Party)
Freedom Party	3

By nationalities there were 229 Czechs, 67 Slovaks, three Ukrainians and one Pole in the RA.

Exhibit II

Elections to the RA Held on 28 November 1954

Again only a single list of candidates was submitted to the voters, the National Front list of candidates. The details of these elections, the composition of this RA by social and nationality aspects are the subject of this report. Therefore only a summary is given for reference purposes of the election results quoted from "Rude Prava" of 1 December 1954.

Registered voters	8,783,818	
Participants	8,711,718	(99.18 per cent)
Invalid voting slips	34,000	(0.39 " ")
Valid votes	8,677,030	(99.61 " ")
Against the list of candidates	180,928	(2.11 " ")
For the list of candidates	8,496,102	(97.89 " ")

End