THE COMMUNIST ATTACK UPON PARLIAMENTARY GOVERNMENT

By Allen W. Dulles, Director of Central Intelligence

Allen Welsh Dulles, born in Watertown, N. Y., is the son of a Presbyterian minister. Before entering Princeton University, from which he received his master's degree, Mr. Dulles studied at the École Alsatienne in Paris. He also holds an LL. B. from George Washington University. Besides teaching in India, he served the State Department in Vienna, Berlin, Paris, Geneva, and Istanbul. During World War II he headed the Office of Strategic Services in Switzerland and, later, in Germany. In 1953 he became Director of the Central Intelligence Agency. Mr. Dulles is the author of several books, including Germany's Underground and a fictional narrative on the Boer War written when he was 8 years old.

I have always been impressed at our seeming reluctance to give credence to official statements which are made by political leaders in other countries when we disagree fervently with what they say or when their statements seem at the time to be bombastic or unrealistic.

For example, Hitler's Mein Kampf, written in 1924, had a wide circulation in Germany and left a deep impression on the German people. Over here it received comparatively little attention until after the outbreak of World War II. Yet in this book was the blueprint of the Hitlerian policy of the superiority of the Herrenvolk, of the manifest destiny of the German Reich, of the anti-Semitic campaigns, and of the whole trend of Hitlerism.

Similarly, I am afraid we Americans do not pay as much attention as we should to what Communist leaders tell us about the techniques they intend to adopt to undermine the structure of free government based on the rule of law.

A great deal can be learned from the pronouncements of the 20th Party Congress, held in Moscow in February 1956. This was an extraordinary affair. Over a period of 12 days the Soviet leaders poured out a cascade of verbiage—the length of the speeches corresponding roughly to their respective positions in the present Soviet hierarchy. From Khrushchev we had an 8-hour speech and roughly 56,000 words, from Bulganin 4 hours and 27,000 words, from Mikoyan 2 hours and 14,000 words, and so on. The total amounted to some 500,000–600,000 words which the patient party faithful had to endure.

The recent de-Stalinization program has rendered obsolete practically all of the history books and many standard textbooks used throughout the Soviet Union. Something had to replace these books and until the new historians can rewrite a proper Soviet history, the speeches of the party congress can serve as a textbook.

Possibly we should spend some time on what the Soviet leaders at the party congress have just been telling us. Tucked away in all
this oratory are the statements of the policy which we may expect to see the present Kremlin leaders follow for the immediate future. They have told us in no uncertain words what they propose to do to us. While we read in these speeches that war is no longer inevitable, and that some kind of coexistence is possible, it is clear that Soviet objectives remain basically unchanged, but, they say, can be achieved by new methods. For example, this is what Khrushchev said in his speech of February 14, 1956:

The right-wing bourgeois parties and their governments are suffering bankruptcy with increasing frequency. In these circumstances, the working class by rallying around itself the toiling peasantry, the intelligentsia, all patriotic by rallying around itself the toiling peasantry, the intelligentsia, all patriotic by rallying around itself the toiling peasantry, the intelligentsia, all patriotic by rallying around itself the toiling peasantry, the intelligentsia, all patriotic by rallying around itself the toiling peasantry, the intelligentsia, all patriotic by rallying around itself the toiling peasantry, the intelligentsia, all patriot...
and the Communists took over and ever since have maintained supreme control.

There are many lessons to be learned from this historical precedent. When the Communists obtain an effective minority position in any parliamentary body, it is a sign of danger. If, in addition to that, they have important places in the government and in particular control the ministries of defense and interior, then the danger is greatly augmented and the country in question is ripe for a Communist takeover.

The situation in Hungary as the war was coming to a close was, as I suggested above, dominated by the Soviet military occupation. Nonetheless, the Hungarian non-Communist political leaders bravely started out to form a free government and in the first postwar elections in November 1945, the anti-Communist parties had over 300 seats to about 70 for the Communists.

The problem started. The Soviet military authorities proceeded to arrest, to drive from the country or terrify and blackmail the leaders of these non-Communist parties so that in the next elections in 1947, the Communists substantially increased their representation and became the largest single party, although the opposition groups still had a majority. The latter, however, were badly divided and facing the pressure tactics of the Communists supported by the Soviet military, they were reduced to impotence and the Communists took over. By 1948 most of the anti-Communist leaders were dead, jailed, or had fled.

Rakosi, one of the Hungarian renegade artisans of all this terror, still maintains a very precarious hold over the Hungarian government as the stooge of Moscow. Today he is trembling in his boots since as you can well imagine he almost completely symbolized the Stalinist line and the Stalinist techniques, and sooner or later he will pay for his activities.

In February of 1952, a new Stalinist look may mean his downfall. In February of 1952, Rakosi was in a fine fettle and described with glee and in the utmost detail the entire history and techniques of the destruction of the free government of Hungary.

I recommend the study of his speech of February 29, 1952, by those who are interested in understanding what Khruschev and Mikoyan mean today when they tell us that one of their main weapons is to undermine our democratic institutions. Rakosi points out how the presence in the country of the Soviet Army prevented any attempt to defend with force the security of the anti-Communist government served to protect the Communists from "imperialist intervention.

Meanwhile the Soviet Union, he states, shielded the Communist plotters in Hungary from "diplomatic interference of the great Western Powers." Rakosi frankly admitted that Soviet interference in Hungary's internal affairs was both "quite frequent and of great help.

He then describes step by step the success of the Communist intrigue and points out that the Smallholders Party, the strongest anti-Communist party, was constantly compelled to expel or discard individuals discredited by Communist blackmail. This gradual day-by-day slicing off of hostile elements, i.e., non-Communist leaders, he described as "salam" techniques.

In other words, he boasted that democracy in Hungary was cut away, piece by piece, just as we slice up a sausage.

These two illustrative examples, Czechoslovakia and Hungary, could be further emphasized by tracing the Communist takeover in Poland, Rumania, and Bulgaria. But two examples serve the purpose. It is easy to have the ballads but there are situations, and the Soviet Union is adept in bringing them about, where bullets prevail.

So much for our past experience with Soviet project "takeover." Does the Kremlin now see fresh opportunities where the clearly announced program of Messrs. Khrushchev and Bulganin might now be put into operation?

First, a word on the element of force. There are few places in the world where a free country is so at the mercy of Soviet or Communist Chinese forces as the satellites stood in 1945-47. Thanks to NATO in Europe, to SEATO in the Far East, to the Baghdad Pact in the Middle East, and to individual commitments of the United States of America in other areas, the free world's umbrella of strength extends almost all the way around the periphery of the Sino-Soviet bloc. We sometimes think of this great effort, in which the United States has played the leading part, as designed only to meet force. But we must never overlook that it also has vital importance in meeting more subtle Communist tactics.

Of course, the blunting of the element or threat of force does not do the whole job. It does tend to channel Soviet activities into the struggle for power by other means.

In this struggle the Communists must see their greatest opportunities where they now have the strongest penetrations into the parliamentary machinery of free governments.

In several cases these penetrations are serious.

In the Italian Parliament of 550 members there are now 143 Communist members. To these must be added 75 Nenni fellow-traveling leftwing Socialists, or a total of 218 who consistently vote and act with the Communists. Together in the last elections in 1953, their total popular vote was 9.5 millions, or 35.5 percent of the total.

The French Chamber of Deputies presents another situation which the Kremlin may be studying. There are today about 150 Communist members in the Chamber cut out of a present total of about 600.

In Indonesia, the Communist Party received 6 million votes or 17 percent of the total electorate in the elections of September 1955 and they have a representation of 39 members or 16 percent of the total of the Indonesian Assembly.

In some 35 countries of the world, the Communist Party is illegal. Here their rank and file, though seriously large in several cases, must work through underground channels and the more obviously fellow-traveling front organizations, without direct political representation in parliamentary bodies. However, in such areas as Singapore, Communist-influenced parties have an important position and serve as effective vehicles for Communist activity.

Once established as a party to be reckoned with, the next crucial factor is the ability of Communist Parties to enter into alliances with other parties so as to increase their electoral strength and above all to

Committee note: For possible future developments in Italy, see this volume pp. 653-657.
participate in governments formed by the alliance. The prospects and
partners for such alliances—united fronts or “popular fronts”—vary
greatly between countries.

A few years ago I would have thought that Communist Parties in
Europe would have great difficulty ever again in obtaining allies among
ary non-Communist parties. Then the experience of 1939-41 was still
vivid when the Communists tried to sabotage the war effort against
Hitler up until Moscow itself became involved. Today, however, the
danger of parliamentary compromises with the Communists, even in
Europe, is not to be ignored.

In Asia, this threat is even greater because it is generally less well
understood. A recent Indonesian Government permitted Communist
influence to reach far into the Ministry of Defense. More than in
Europe, the Communist Parties have managed in many countries to
take advantage of the disintegration of “respectability” and of acceptance as
“just another political party.”

On the other hand, despite the relatively solid basis for action which
they have in many countries and the preparations for this campaign
which they have been making over the past 10 years or more, the Com-
munists face real obstacles.

First of all, they have alerted us to their program. While people
worldwide sometimes seem dangerously complacent and even skeptical,
it may yet be possible to arouse them to their dangers.

Secondly, the Communists do not have any acknowledged party
members in high government positions, of cabinet rank for example, in
any of the free countries even where they have large parlia-
mentary representation. In both France and Italy in the immediate post-
war period they did have such representation but were thrown out in
the early years following the war.

While undoubtedly in many free countries they have infiltrated
sensitive positions, this has been done on a clandestine basis and here
and there vigilant steps are being taken to ferret them out. In par-
cular today they do not have positions of control in the Army or in
the internal security services of any free country. Naturally they are
looking forward to any chance of improving this situation.

All in all, the Communists must, however, see some prospects of
success by their so-called “parliamentary means.” It is worthwhile
to note that the Communists have made some very sophisticated
studies of the government structure of free countries. They have
learned how to manipulate their parliamentary representation once
elected and also how to get elected. Further, they know quite well
what types of parliamentary systems are most vulnerable to their type of
subversive action.

They endeavor in every way possible to influence the constitutional
structure of free countries so as to eliminate a strong executive. They
themselves have collective or one-man dictatorships, reserving all
power in the hands of the few with their party congresses represented
by hand-picked impotent and powerless stooges. Presumably they
judge this to be the most secure form of government, the least subject
to outside attack. They consider that the governments which are most
vulnerable to their tactics are those at the other extreme, where all
power is given to elected representatives, with as little delegation as
possible to the executive.

In connection with the formulation of the French Constitution in
1945, the Communists made a strong attack on the idea of a powerful
executive. They fought to divide up the authority between various
elected bodies. In fact, the first draft of the postwar constitution went
so far in this direction that the French people repudiated it and a less
Communist-oriented constitution was then voted.

It Italy in 1946 they voted as a bloc to destroy the institution of
the monarchy.

When issues of this nature arise one always can tell where Commu-
nist influence will be thrown.

Then in far as the electoral procedures are concerned they abhor
anything in the nature of a two-party system and majority rule which
by and large has been a bulwark of free institutions. Their effort is
to favor a multiplicity of parties. This opens the door to intrigue
and helps to build up the minority and weaken the majority.

In general, they like the idea of the voting systems under which even
small minorities have a chance of gaining deputies in parliament.
In fact, they have often found that the proportional system of voting
could serve them as a secret weapon.

In certain free countries where the proportional system prevails,
the non-Communist parties have tried to introduce various means of
defeating this Communist maneuver. In France, for example, they
have the system of electoral alliances—apparements—and in Italy
somewhat the same system has prevailed. Under this system linked
tickets of several parties are presented. The French electoral law of
1951, which is still in effect, provides that if the linked parties gather
an absolute majority in a given constituency, they gather in all the
seats for that district. In the 1951 French election, this system worked
quite well and reduced the Communist representation from 164 seats
to 97, whereas under the pure proportional representation the Commu-
nist would have had 172. But these tactics do not always work. In
the 1956 French elections, fought out under the same system, the failure
of the non-Communist parties to join as they had done in 1951 re-
sulted in the Communists obtaining approximately the same propor-
tion of the seats as they would have had under the straight propor-
tional system.

The Communists do not restrict their activities to manipulating
electoral laws in their favor or to appealing to groups of minority
interests who, like the Communists, would get nowhere without the
proportional system. They also do not hesitate to take strong action
to frustrate the will of the voter after the ballot boxes have been closed.

An important case of this kind occurred in Italy in the 1953 elec-
tions. Here the non-Communist Italian parties tried to graft onto
their proportional system an element of the direct majority type
voting providing that any party or coalition of parties which achieved
more than 50 percent of the vote would automatically receive a bonus bringing
the total seats to at least 65 percent. The vote in this election was very close and in fact the affiliated anti-
Communist Italian parties appeared to have obtained a scant margin
over the 50 percent. By clever postelection tactics and catching the
authorities napping, the Communists were able to contest and fraud-
ulently throw out a sufficient number of votes—several hundred thou-
sand—to reduce the non-Communists just below the 50-percent mark.
They got away with it. The system for handling challenged votes was just too archaic to prove they were wrong.

These examples show the skill and adroitness of the Communists in manipulating our free institutions and the mechanisms of free elections. The Communists hope that people more and more will come to look at them as just another political party, a bit to the left but still of sufficient respectability so as not to cause any lifting of eyebrows against those who are members of it.

We cannot say, in the light of all this evidence of Communist intent, that we have not been warned. The free world is confronted with the plain fact that a great foreign power with vast resources to back a program of subversion and castration, proposes to do everything that it can to see to it that free governments shall perish and that dictatorships of the proletariat, allied with Moscow, shall be established throughout the length and breadth of the lands.

It is well to recognize the danger. On the other hand, there is no ground for panic. As I have suggested, nowhere outside of the U. S. S. R., with the qualified exceptions of Czechoslovakia and Guatemala, have the Communists succeeded in subverting a free government except with the aid of armed force. This is true for China, North Vietnam, and the other Eastern European satellites. Moreover, good charts and a knowledge of where the shoals lie are a mariner's best guide. The Kremlin leaders have told us what they propose to do. It is up to the leaders of the free world, working together as allies and friends, to help to uncover and to frustrate this Communist design, which otherwise could threaten to wreck the free institutions of many countries and even endanger our own.

THE POPULAR FRONT: ITS POLITICS, SOCIOLOGY, AND ECONOMICS

By Karl H. Cerny

Born in New York City, Professor Cerny graduated from Princeton and received his doctorate from Yale University. He also studied at the Universities of the Sorbonne and California. In World War II he served with the United States Armored Corps. He is now assistant professor of government at Georgetown University and was a member of the University's staff that conducted the psychological warfare program for the United States Armored Forces.

POLITICAL PARTY WARFARE

Native Communist movements that are legally recognized as political parties provide the international Communist movement with an extremely capable weapon. Although it can be safely assumed that Communist movements will exist in some form or shape even in the absence of legal recognition, the fact that they can appear under the guise of legitimate political parties helps to cloak the true nature of their entire activities. Thus their apparently sincere efforts to win votes and to secure control of the Government through constitutional processes can throw a smokescreen over the underground and deliberately illegal aspects of their activities. Again their day-to-day maneuvering vis-à-vis other parties can appear to be nothing more than the normal "partisan" politics associated with all political parties.

In reality, however, their approach to internal politics is entirely different: as Communists in a non-Communist country they look upon themselves as agents of a foreign power in the camp of the enemy. To be sure, some countries are less clearly the enemy; some may even be well on the road toward becoming "friends." But whatever the situation, the chief objective of Communist Parties is to advance the interests not of their native countries but rather of the U. S. S. R. and the Chinese People's Republic. In short, in the unconventional war against the non-Communist world, Moscow and Peking possess the unique privilege of commanding their own forces behind the lines of the enemy and of having the enemy accord such forces the status of legal participants in the peaceful pursuit of political power.

In the Communist lexicon, Communist parties can be called upon to pursue in the internal politics of their respective countries one of the alternative strategies: the "united front from above" or strategy of the "right"; the "united front from below" or strategy of the "left"; and the more recent "Maoist" strategy based on Mao Tse-tung's successful capture of Nationalist China in 1949. Under the "right" strategy, Communists invite the leadership of Socialist parties, left-wing radical parties, and indeed, all parties that are ready to accept the necessary conditions, to cooperate with them in order to fight