AND
NOT A SHOT
IS
FIRED

THE AMERICAN EDITION OF JAN KOZAK'S
GUIDEBOOK: "HOW PARLIAMENT CAN PLAY A
REVOLUTIONARY PART IN THE TRANSITION TO
SOCIALISM, AND THE ROLE OF THE
POPULAR MASSES."

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL CZECH

THE LONG HOUSE, INC
1963

HERE'S HOW OUR GOVERNMENT
WAS TAKEN OVER

All excerpts are from
"And Not A Shot Is Fired"

First, the legislative power, at all governmental levels —
local, State and national — is manipulated as pressure "from
above"; then the people's power is manipulated as "pressure from
below". Concurrently, a "wide popularization of the demands
and slogans of the policy of the Communists" is promoted, serving
"as a means for the revolutionary education of the popular masses."
(p. 19) Gradually, and by cooperative legislative action, business,
industry, agriculture, finance, the professions, and even living con-
ditions, come under the domain of The State. (p. 20)

Thus, by "a democratic and constitutional course", the legis-
lature is reconstituted "into an instrument of the transformation of
the whole state and its machinery . . . [and the] revolutionary
transformation of capitalist society into a socialist one . . . [proceeds]
absolutely legally." (pp. 33-4)

As an institution, the legislature "cannot be erased from
life", so the technique in regard to it is pliant: "It is necessary
therefore to work in it and to use it . . ." (p. 35)

The delicately balanced mechanism of self-government is
employed, cleverly and with deliberation, to destroy its character
and itself. And not a single move need be identifiable as com-
munist inspired.

Jan Kozak, the author, is a Czech. He was a member of the
Secretariat of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia at the time
he presented the guidebook to his fellow theoreticians in Prague.
It is not easy reading, as the idiom is that of the confirmed dialec-
tician. Its inestimable value lies in its complete authenticity.

Here is the technique by which a democratic, representative
government is metamorphosed into a socialist state by legal, demo-
cratic means. The steps are gradual, unsensational, and obscure.

The apparently dull text reveals a fascinating story in peaceful
revolution. It is a document of extreme importance.

The author presents as illustration the authentic inside story
of the take-over of Czechoslovakia, a story never before told outside
the communist imperial orbit. And here it is illustration, nothing
more.

The technique is all-important. Its operation becomes ever
more recognizable as one reads; in the Middle East, in Latin
America, in Africa, in Asia, and on the continent of Europe. With
further reading, a realization grows that there are disturbing paral-
lels to be seen in these United States.

How does the technique work? It may, for instance, be
applied to some easily discoverable public concern. To answer the
need, a piece of "enabling legislation" is suggested, carrying no
authority, expressed or implied. It sets up an "agency". The
agency, once established, follows normal agency behavior. The need
becomes more precisely defined. A modicum of authority is re-
quested. Pressures are organized, artificial and real, from "above"
and from "below". The requested authority is voted, and pressures
wane. In due course, further authority is suggested, and new coa-
litions of pressure appear. All in good time an "Authority" is there,
self-contained; a new instrument of power has arisen, sufficient unto
itself. This instrument may be local, regional or nationwide. Its
key is the word Authority. In the beginning, this word is seldom
employed.

By such parliamentary means a democratic and representative
government can be made authoritarian, legally, and piece by piece.
The form remains, an empty shell. Its philosophy and its content
are gone. The person, the individual, who one year is free and
independent, is next year just a little more restricted. Then a little
more, and a little more. Suddenly, overnight, he no longer is a
person. He is a cog, being moved inexorably by the monolithic
machinery of the State.

And not a shot is fired.