



**Eastern Europe – Fifty Years Ago**  
**A Press Review by a Hungarian Refugee**

**Prague Twits the Soviet Bloc**  
**On 'Excommunication' at Talks**  
**1968. May–July**

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# Prague Twits the Soviet Bloc On 'Excommunication' at Talks

The N.Y. Times  
V. 12. (96)

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States forces had been introduced in Czechoslovakia under the guise of being part of an American film production.

### More on Troop Moves

The reappearance of newspapers after a one-day holiday pause gave readers their first opportunity to learn of Soviet troop movements in southern Poland, near Czechoslovakia's frontiers. The Prague leadership chose to dismiss the movements as routine military maneuvers of which it had advance notice.

But as new information filtered through from Western Europe, it became clear that the Soviet Union had set in motion a still-perplexing psychological-warfare operation against Czechoslovakia.

Reliable diplomatic reports said ahtt, contrary to official statements, no military maneuvers of Warsaw Treaty forces had been planned at this time in southern Poland and that none, strictly speaking, had actually taken place.

### Deliberate Move Seen

Instead, these sources said, 9 Soviet tank-led force simply moved near the Czechoslovak border on Thursday with what appeared to be deliberate ostentation.

According to the informants, Poland ordered a two-day ban on diplomats' travel to the southern area to reinforce the impression to reinforce the impression of menacing military movements.

Strengthen the theory that no Warsaw Pact maneuvers were planned at this time, observers recalled that only last week the Czechoslovak Defense Ministry issued a routine announcement that normal staff exercises, but not actual maneuvers, would be staged in Czechoslovakia this month. Nothing was said of maneuvers in Eastern Europe involving combat units.

The inclination in Prague was to link the troop episode with the Moscow meeting of Soviet-bloc nations, the attacks by Polish communists on the Czechoslovak leadership and the East German charges that American forces had been introduced into Czechoslovakia.

While few persons here seriously believe that the Soviet Union is considering military intervention in Czechoslovakia the sun of all these pressures has produced evident concern in Prague.

Writing about the Moscow meeting, a Rude Pravo commentator remarked that, "contrary to similar meetings in the past, the official communiqué does not mention unanimity and unity, from which foreign correspondents deduce that full harmony among all the participants was not achieved."

meetings had been held before among Eastern European representatives, "this combination appeared for the first time." The meeting involved the Soviet Union, Poland, East Germany, Hungary and Bulgaria, excluding Rumania and Czechoslovakia.

It was the Rude Pravo commentator who said that he wished "to believe, at this time that there had been no 'excommunication' of Czechoslovakia or her Communist party on the part of the participants" of the Moscow meeting.

Another article in Rude Pravo took to task Berliner Zeitung for what it called the newspaper's "tendentious invention" that American forces were in Czechoslovakia. Rude Pravo said that despite official Czechoslovak denials, East German media persisted in spreading this "simple nonsense" and "scandalous mystifications."

Actually, the Czechoslovak authorities said, eight old American-made tanks owned and manned by Czechoslovaks were being used in the filming of the "The Remagen Bridge," a United States-Czechoslovak Coproduction titled for an incident in World War II on the Rhine River.

Also viewed as significant in the context of present tensions was a speech yesterday in which Alexander Dubcek, the Czechoslovak party leader, used the words, "Friendship with the Soviet people will never be permitted to be touched." Traditionally, protestations of friendship among Communist countries mention the parties and governments in addition to the peoples.

Speaking at a Czechoslovak National Day celebration, Mr. Dubcek said the time had come to move from "broad criticism to concrete work" on the new political program of freedoms and economic involvement.

### Kadar Move Reported

MOSCOW, May 11 (UPI)—Informed communist sources said today that Janos Kadar of Hungary had persuaded the Soviet union and its other close East European allies to delay applying economic and political sanctions against Czechoslovakia.

The sources said that Mr. Kadar, who is the Hungarian party leader, may try to mediate differences between Czechoslovakia and the other members of the Soviet bloc.

They said that at no time did the Kremlin contemplate actual military intervention in Czechoslovakia. They said Moscow was considering the application of pressures but decided to consult first with Hungary, Poland, Bulgaria and East Germany.

The sources said Mr. Kadar succeeded in convincing the other party leaders at the conference here to hold off while a solution was sought.

## Prague Twits Bloc On Moscow Parley

By TAD SZULC

Special to The New York Times

PRAGUE, May 11—The independent-minded Czechoslovak Communists went on the political counteroffensive today against Soviet and other Communist critics.

The Czechoslovak party newspaper, Rude Pravo, expressed the hope tongue-in-cheek, that Czechoslovakia and her party had not been excommunicated by the leaders of more orthodox East European parties who met in Moscow earlier this week. The Czechoslovaks also berated East Germany for "scandalous mystifications" in asserting in the East Berlin newspaper Berliner Zeitung that United

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1968

# Dubcek and Kadar Stress Solidarity With Soviet

Prague Leader, in Budapest, and Hungarians Emphasize Continued Democratization

By DAVID BINDER

Special to The New York Times

BUDAPEST, June 14 — The leaders of Czechoslovakia and Hungary, Alexander Dubcek and Janos Kadar, declared their solidarity with the Soviet Union today while committing themselves to continuing the democratization of their governments.

The two leaders also signed a 20-year friendship pact, which both hinted could serve as a model for wider European cooperation.

Their speeches appeared to indicate a common policy of cautious progress in foreign affairs and gradual but steady reform at home.

Intervision, the East European television net work, broadcast the speeches live to the Soviet Union, East Germany and Rumania, as well as to neighboring Czechoslovakia.

Mr. Kadar, who at the moment is in the unique position of being on excellent terms with both Moscow and Prague, appeared to go further than Mr. Dubcek in support of Soviet policies.

Alluding to the latest tensions between East and West Germany over Berlin, he said:

"We are completely in solidarity with the Soviet Union and the (East) German Democratic Republic."

He criticized the Bonn Government for recently enacting legislation to deal with "national emergencies" and linked this step to "militarism, the advance of neofascist forces" in West Germany.

The East Germany introduced regulations Wednesday requiring West Germans traveling to and from West Berlin to obtain transit visas to cross East German territory. East German officials said the new regulations were in retaliation for emergency laws recently passed by the West German legislature. Mr. Kadar, however, left a



United Press International

Alexander Dubcek, right, being greeted at airport in Budapest by Janos Kadar, the Communist party chief.

loophole, by saying: "We are ready to support any initiative that would bring us nearer to establishing peace in Europe."

Mr. Dubcek struck a more conciliatory note. While stressing that East Germany's "international situation" should "grow stronger," he added:

"It is also in our interest to really normalize relations with the [West] German Federal Republic. We want nothing else from them than a guarantee—and this we require—that they break with the legacy of nationalism, and there with that the neo-Nazi forces not gain the upper hand."

Mr. Dubcek also urged Bonn to give up what he said was its endeavors arrived at "changing the map of Europe."

Mr. Dubcek emphasized the importance of Czechoslovakia's alliance with the Soviet Union as he has done ever since he took office in January. He added that his Government continued to regard the recognition of the existence of two German states and the acknowledgement of existing frontiers as the precondition for a secure peace on the Continent.

Both leaders also commented on the sensitive issue of the 700,000 Hungarians living north of the Danube in Slo-

vakia. Both men vowed to work for progress on the matter.

Mr. Kadar remarked that passions had been stirred in this region of mixed nationalities "by the Hapsburgs, German imperialism and the bourgeoisie of our countries as a weapon to divide and rule."

"Certain remnants of this past are still in existence today," he said. "Their liquidation is only possible on the basis of socialism."

Mr. Kadar then urged members of the Hungarian minority group to act "not on the basis of sentiments, because that is a bad adviser," but to "rally around the Czechoslovak Communist party and support its struggle."

# Escalated War Games End in Czechoslovakia

By Kenneth Ames

Special to The Washington Post

PRAGUE, June 30 — The Warsaw Pact war games, advertised as a small command-staff exercise and carried out as a full-dress operation involving more than 9000 Communist troops, ended on schedule today in Czechoslovakia.

The weeks-long military exercise brought troops from the Soviet Union, Poland, Hungary and East Germany to join those of Czechoslovakia. Official observers from Rumania were present and there were unconfirmed reports that Bulgarian units participated.

The maneuvers took place amid pressure on the new Prague leadership from her Communist neighbors to keep the liberalization drive from getting out of control.

A statement released by Maj. Gen. Josef Pocepicky, spokesman for the exercise, reported that participating staffs "are now engaged in evaluating the exercise and holding discussions on the experiences gained."

The statement further said that results of the exercise, for some reason not explained, will be placed before the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party "whose participation at the analysis is being counted on."

"The units which acted as marker troops and signal and logistics units are preparing for departure to their locations and the public will be informed to the greatest possible extent on the results of the exercise at a press conference to be held on July 2 or 3," Gen. Pocepicky's statement ended.

This was the case of the military exercise which escalated, or, more properly, the deal forced on Czechoslovakia by the Soviets which leaked out only gradually. There have been repeated denials over the past few weeks that there was anything unusual about the maneuvers, described as "purely routine liaison operations."

As one example of duplicity, it was originally denied that East German troops would be participating, since Czechoslovak relations with that neighboring country were so tense.

Saturday, however, was the first official admission that East German forces had been directly involved.

Kulturny Zivot, a Czechoslovak literary weekly newspaper, said, "The play has developed according to the strict rules of drama. In the spring it was said there would be no exercise and no exercise was contemplated. In the second stage, it was tentatively admitted that a tiny and ordinary exercise of staffs was being prepared. People not well acquainted with military matters visualized staff officers over maps shifting small tanks in a sand table game."

The paper continued with heavy irony, "The true play started when the press secretary of the Ministry of Defense reminded us that staff exercises need signal troops, estimated at about one battalion. Then in rapid succession so-called security units and marking units were added, then tanks and aircraft and the whole glittering cast was on stage.

Kulturny Zivot then cites the case of the innocent man of Trutnov "who did not grasp the director's intentions and in some alarm telephoned Prague Radio to report that Soviet columns and tanks had been marching through his town for four hours."

The newspaper draws the inference, first, that the "director of the play" was not a Czechoslovak, and, second, that the failure to provide complete and truthful accounts of intentions has created a crisis of confidence between the government and nation.

Some expert observers believe this may have been precisely the main object of the exercise. From the outset, it has been clear that the intent was more political than military: a crude attempt at saber-rattling to let the conservative Czechoslovak political elements know the Russians are still there to back them if needed.

The presence at one stage or another of nearly all the Warsaw Pact Defense Ministers suggested something more

than a routine "coordination and control of armed forces under modern operational conditions" (the way it was advertised), and Marshal Ivan Jakubovsky himself, the Warsaw Pact commander-in-chief, saw fit to take time out and address a purely domestic political rally in Bohemia. Other foreign military leaders conducted "friendly and useful exchanges of views" with Czechoslovak political leaders and squeezed in their ration of preaching in factories and down on the farms.

It is regarded as highly probable that the driving force behind the maneuvers was the Soviet High Command itself, rather than Kremlin political leaders.

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The Wash. Post. VII. A 1968

## Rips U.S., Czechs

### Prague Warned

Washington Post Foreign Service

MOSCOW, July 3 — The Kremlin Palace of Congresses today resounded with the gravest threats yet made publicly of military intervention should Czechoslovakia's democratization go too far.

The threats came from Soviet Communist Party General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev and Hungarian Communist leader Janos Kadar in addresses to a friendship rally. Neither mentioned Czechoslovakia by name, but the points that got applause from the hand-picked Moscow Communist audience indicated their meaning was clear to all concerned.

Both Brezhnev and Kadar chose to dwell on the Hungarian revolution of 1956, crushed by the Soviet intervention which brought Kadar to power. Brezhnev recalled how Hungarian Communists had relied on their "fraternal international union with the other socialist countries" to regain power. He said that, while the forms of communism might differ in various countries, "there is not and cannot be socialism without the lead-

See BLOC, A7, Col. 1

# Czechoslovakia Is Warned By Brezhnev and Kadar

BLOC, From A1

ing role of the Communist Party, armed with the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism." ("Leading role" is the Communist phrase for a permanent power monopoly, "proletarian internationalism" for loyalty to the Soviet Union.)

### Can't Be 'Indifferent'

Brezhnev added that "we Communists" gave priority to developing their own countries, but "we cannot be and never will be indifferent to the fate of socialist construction in other countries, the common cause of socialism and communism on the earth."

He then attacked, without specifying, "apologists for bourgeois systems" who, he said, "are ready to disguise themselves in any sort of pseudo-socialist clothing, in order to attempt—under the placard of 'national forms'—to shatter socialism, to 'soften' it as they say, to weaken the fraternal ties between socialist countries. Earlier, Brezhnev had stressed that the Warsaw military pact "offers

### Jackets Come Off

HAMBURG, West Germany, July 3 (UPI) — The European heat wave ended a 410-year tradition at Germany's oldest stock exchange here: that brokers must wear jackets on the trading floor. The exchange board announced brokers could remove their jackets on condition they wear neckties and a clean shirt and no suspenders.

sufficient possibilities for reliably defending the positions of socialism."

### Kadar Is Specific

Kadar, who followed Brezhnev, was considerably more specific and firm. He said "the experience we have had" proved the necessity to combat all attempts "in whatever country to build socialism separately from the socialist countries and even build it without Communists. History proves that, just as anti-Soviet communism does not exist, so there cannot be socialism without Communists."

Kadar asserted that in normal times Communists in power should rely on ideological weapons, not on force. "But when our class enemies, resorting to organized and forcible actions, attack the foundations of the socialist system, it is our right and duty also to use power to defend the cause of socialism."

### Rejects Stalin Thesis

He rejected the thesis that "class struggle" automatically sharpens as Communist country develops—the thesis Stalin used to justify the great purges. "However," Kadar continued, "our own struggle and the experience of other socialist countries show that under certain circumstances this struggle does grow sharper and assumes more complex forms. In no matter what country this struggle unfolds, the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party . . . expresses full solidarity with Communists who defend the power of the working class . . . [against] the class enemy. We are ready to

render every kind of international assistance."

The Hungarian delegation led by Kadar, which arrived here a week ago, is believed to have spent much time discussing the problem of Czechoslovakia with Soviet leaders. Until Kadar's speech, the Hungarians had been considered more sympathetic to Prague than any other Soviet ally.

Despite the new threats, observers do not believe a military invasion of Czechoslovakia is imminent. The threats are believed aimed more at intimidating Czechoslovak liberals and encouraging hardliners in the current struggle to control September's special congress of the Czechoslovak Communist Party.

### Some Russian Troops Stay in Czechoslovakia

PRAGUE, July 3 (UPI)—A Czechoslovak spokesman for the recently concluded Warsaw Pact maneuvers in Czechoslovakia said today some Soviet and other foreign troops will remain in the country. He did not say for how long.

Maj. Gen. Josef Cepicky of the Ministry of Defense told newsmen the first units of Warsaw Pact troops would pull out of Czechoslovakia within the next two or three days.

Cepicky had previously announced that all the foreign troops would leave within three days.

Rumors have swept the country that Soviet troops would be stationed here permanently, in an effort to slow down the liberalization of this one-time Stalinist nation.

The Post 01111. CP6P

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Thursday, July 11, 1968

THE WASHINGTON POST

# Soviet Journal Decries Liberal Czech Appeal

By Anatole Shub

Washington Post Foreign Service

MOSCOW, July 10—"It is, let's say it straight out, a provocative, incendiary program of action. An Anti-Communist program! Counter-revolutionary."

This was the verdict delivered today by the official Soviet weekly Literaturnaya Gazeta on the controversial manifesto "Two Thousand Words" issued a fortnight ago by 70 leading Czechoslovak liberals. The manifesto was drafted by rebel writer Ludvik Vaculik—the main target of Literaturnaya Gazeta's five-column attack today.

The Soviet attack was signed "Journalist." Concentrating on Vaculik, it failed to mention any of the other signatories of the appeal, who ranged from the rector of Charles University to Olympic-champion athletes.

Literaturnaya Gazeta did, however, express "amazement" at the solidarity expressed with the appeal by Frantisek Kriegel, president of the Czechoslovak National Front (which groups the Communist and other Czechoslovak parties).

The Vaculik manifesto warned that Czechoslovak conservatives were being highly active during the summer months, and called on liberals and progressives to use all possible means and pressures to obtain their final defeat. The manifesto was hurriedly condemned by a conservative quorum of the Communist Party Presidium then in Prague, reportedly in the hope of averting Soviet criticism. Party leader Alexander Dubcek criticized the manifesto more mildly.

Two progressive leaders, however, Premier Oldrich Cernek and National Assembly

any Soviet paper to the entire controversy. The Soviet press has been completely silent on more recent developments in Czechoslovakia, including the Prague Presidium's rejection Monday of critical official letters from Moscow, Warsaw, East Berlin, Sofia and Budapest.

Observers saw the main significance of today's attack in the reference to Kriegel, one of the half-dozen key Communist leaders in Czechoslovakia, and the highest official publicly criticized here since Pravda last month attacked Czechoslovak Communist Party ideologist Cestmir Cisar.

Tonight's Izvestia continued to reflect the official anxiety about Czechoslovakia, but directed its criticism at the American policy of "building bridges" to Eastern Europe. The Soviet line has been that this policy is nothing more than "ideological diversion."

Izvestia criticized the State Department for expressing "sympathy and interest" in Czechoslovakia, The Washington Post for urging "a positive gesture" toward "liberal pragmatic elements in the Communist world," the New York Times for alleging Soviet complicity in the escape of Stalinist Gen. Jan Sejna to the United States, and the American press generally for reporting Czechoslovak inquiries into the death of Foreign Minister Jan Masaryk in 1943.

Izvestia also criticized as "a transoceanic ultra" Sen. Walter F. Mondale (D-Min.), currently one of Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey's key campaign managers. The Soviet government newspaper took exception to Mondale's advocacy of expanding U.S. trade with Eastern Europe. It

The Wash. Post. July 15. 1968

## Red Summit Begins Talks On Czechs p 15

From News Dispatches

WARSAW, July 14—The leaders of the Soviet Union and four of its East European allies met here today, apparently to discuss once again the new liberalism of Czechoslovakia.

The first session took place in the building of the Council of Ministers. PAP, the official Polish news agency, said "deliberations continue." This suggested that the talks would resume Monday.

The Soviet delegation included Communist Party leader Brezhnev, Premier Kosygin and President Podgorny. Brezhnev and Podgorny arrived by train yesterday, while Kosygin flew here today after returning to Moscow from an official visit to Sweden.

Present also were Party and government delegations from Bulgaria, East Germany, Hungary and Poland. Observers noted that the combination of Party and government leaders gave the conference the widest possible scope of action. Decisions involving the Warsaw Pact, for example, would require the approval of governments rather than parties.

There was no announcement of what was said in the meeting or even what the agenda was.

But the absence of Czechoslovakia and Rumania—which refuses to discuss internal de-

See BLOC, A10, Col. 1

## Reds Open Summit On Czech Reforms

BLOC, From A1

velopments of other socialist countries—indicated that the Prague reforms were the main topic.

Moreover, the Soviet Union suggested last week that a summit be held in Warsaw to discuss the situation in Czechoslovakia. The reforms have granted such rights as freedom of the press, freedom to travel abroad and the rehabilitation of the victims of Stalinism. The five countries that were meeting here met in Dresden, East Germany, in March and in Moscow in May to discuss these same innovations.

The Prague government declined to attend the Warsaw meeting. Instead, it invited the leaders of the other countries of Eastern Europe to make separate trips to Czechoslovakia. This invitation was refused.

[But Tanjug, the official Yugoslav news agency, reported in a dispatch from Prague Sunday that Alexander Dubcek, the new chief of the Czechoslovak Party, had met Saturday with Janos Kadar, the leader of the Hungarian Party. The meeting was said to have taken place on the Czechoslovak-Hungarian border. Observers noted that Kadar and Dubcek are said to be close friends and that there

have been reports that Kadar spoke up for Dubcek at the Moscow summit.]

Poland reiterated its views on Czechoslovakia as the conference here was opening. An editorial in Trybuna Ludu, the organ of the Polish Communist Party, claimed there were voices in Prague apparently wanting "to break alliances with the Socialist countries, to lead Czechoslovakia out of the Warsaw Pact and to neutralize our southern neighbor.

"A definite rebuff to the reactionary forces and imperialist maneuvers in Czechoslovakia lies in the best interests of all fraternal countries."

The newspaper went on to say that Poland "paid too great a contribution in lives" in defeating Germany in World War II to "look unconcernedly" at Czechoslovakia.

"The barrier created by Poland, East Germany, Czechoslovakia and other Warsaw Pact countries in alliance with the Soviet Union against the attempts of the West German revanchists and their allies cannot be weakened at any place," Trybuna Ludu said.

The gathering, in addition to the Soviets, included Communist Party leader Wladyslaw Gomulka, Premier Josef Cyrankiewicz and President Marian Spychalski of Poland; Communist Party leader and chief of state Walter Ulbricht and Premier Willi Stoph of



United Press International

Soviet Premier Kosygin, left, is greeted by Polish Party chief Wladyslaw Gomulka on arrival in Warsaw.

East Germany; Party chief and Premier Todor Zhivkov and Deputy Premier Penczo Kubadiniski of Bulgaria; and Communist Party leader Janos Kadar and Premier Jeno Fock of Hungary, PAP announced.

[In Prague, newspapers said the withdrawal of Soviet troops from the country was continuing on schedule. Their

presence two weeks after the end of scheduled Warsaw Pact maneuvers created great uneasiness in Czechoslovakia. The pullout began Saturday and is scheduled to be completed Tuesday. But Prague Television reported Sunday night that the movement had been delayed due to heavy weekend traffic.]

## Tito Says He Doubts Soviets Will Use Force

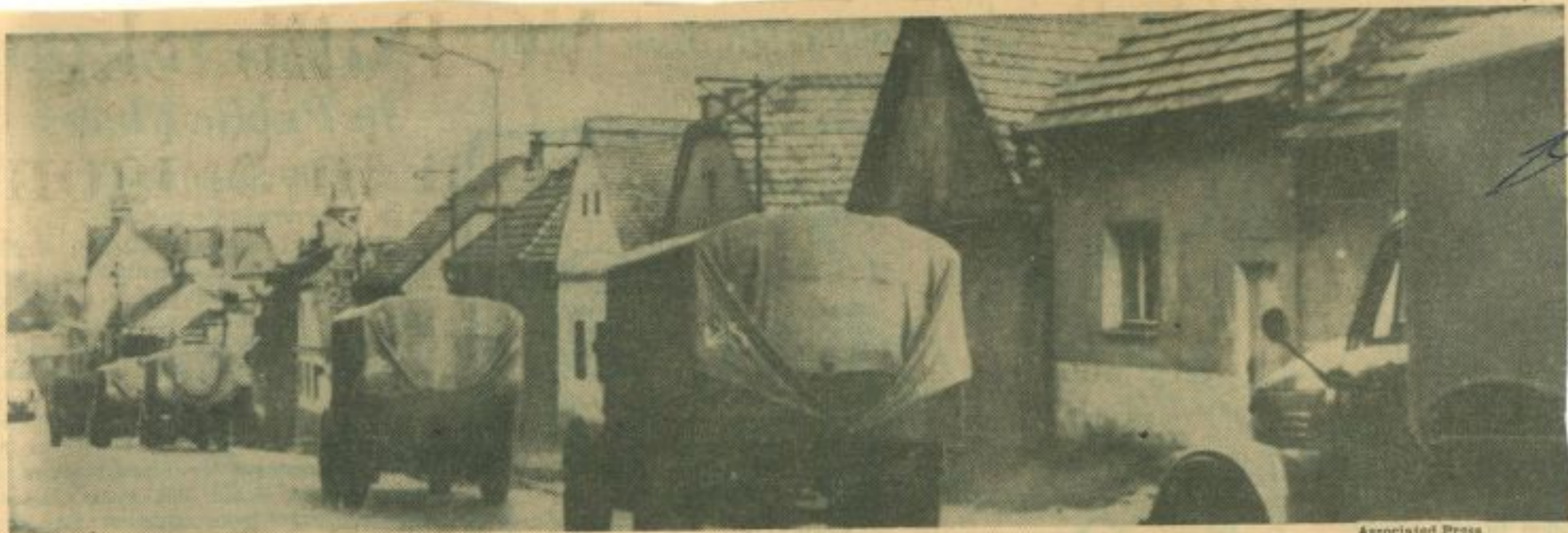
BELGRADE, July 14 (UPI)—President Tito said in an interview published here today that he did not believe anybody in the Soviet Union would be so "shortsighted" as to use force to halt the liberalization movement in Czechoslovakia.

Tito, the first Communist

leader to break with Moscow in the late 1940s, made the statement in an interview with the Cairo newspaper Al Ahram.

He also said Czechoslovakia—and Yugoslavia—are strong enough to resist by themselves any threat to their political systems from the West.

The Wash. Post July 16 1968



Associated Press

Soviet troops pass through Nachod, Czechoslovakia, Saturday on way to Poland after delayed departure from Warsaw Pact maneuvers.

## Erratic Troop Pullout Resumes in Czechoslovakia

From News Dispatches

PRAGUE, July 15—Soviet troops resumed their withdrawal from Czechoslovakia today, but Prague Television reported later that the Russian commander of the Warsaw Pact had ordered that further troop movements be made only at night.

The station said Gen. Ivan I. Yakubovsky had issued the order after returning to Czechoslovakia during the day. There was no immediate explanation for the apparent slowdown.

The Soviet units came here for Warsaw Pact exercises that ended June 30. Their con-

tinued presence in Czechoslovakia led many persons to believe their real purpose was to intimidate the new liberal regime in Prague.

As the result of representations by the government here, the Soviets began to pull their forces out last Saturday. The movement was interrupted

Sunday because of heavy weekend holiday traffic, according to a report by the official CTK news agency. Today, the agency said the withdrawal had resumed.

Meanwhile, Col. Gen. Vaclav Prchlik, the top defense official in the Czechoslovak Communist Party, told a news conference he could find nothing in the Warsaw Treaty that permitted foreign troops in a member nation that did not want them.

Prchlik said Czechoslovakia would seek revisions in the alliance to prevent the formation of blocs within it, according to reports of the conference, which was restricted to Czechoslovak journalists.

"There should be guarantees so that in this coalition there could be no grouping of individual members," the General was quoted as saying in the newspaper Vecerni Praha.

This was a reference to the meeting of Soviet, Bulgarian, East German, Hungarian and

Polish leaders which ended today in Warsaw. Prchlik called the conference a "regrettable act." The purpose of the gathering was to discuss the Czechoslovak reforms, which have drawn much criticism from other Communist Bloc countries.

In its announcement today on troop withdrawals, CTK said one Soviet unit permanently stationed in neighboring East Germany crossed the border at Civonec during the night and that three other Soviet columns headed into Poland near the town of Nachod.

The original schedule for the pullout said the last Russian soldiers were to leave Czechoslovakia Tuesday. Gen. Prchlik said on Prague Television tonight that his had now been pushed back to July 21. But he assured the audience that the Soviet troops were definitely leaving and urged Czechoslovaks not to succumb to a war of nerves.



The N.Y. Times Vol. 23

1962

## Austria Fears Refugee Influx; '56 Hungarian Crisis Recalled

By PAUL HOFMANN

Special to The New York Times

VIENNA, July 22—Austria, fearing the approach of a Moscow-Prague showdown, is haunted by the memory of hundreds of thousands of refugees who poured into this country from Hungary in a similar crisis almost 12 years ago.

The Hungarians who fled to Austria after Soviet forces crushed their nation's rebellion in November, 1956, clogged the Austrian labor market and caused a housing shortage and many other problems before they could be resettled elsewhere, including the United States.

It is widely feared here that a similar flood into this country, which has 7.3 million people, would start if the liberalized regime of the Czechoslovak leader, Alexander Dubcek, were to collapse either through Soviet military intervention or through a coup by backers of Antonin Novotny, who was ousted earlier this year as President and Communist party chief in Czechoslovakia.

The Austrian authorities showed little inclination today to discuss the situation on the Czechoslovak border. The gendarmerie, or Federal police, said that they saw no immediate need to reinforce their personnel in the frontier areas, and the Austrian Defense Ministry described the situation there as normal.

It was recalled that during ~~the~~ weeks when the Hungari-

an crisis was nearing its climax in 1956, Austria quietly strengthened her security forces along her eastern border.

Wiener Montag, a weekly with right-wing leanings, suggested today that few Austrians would sympathize with potential Czechoslovak refugees. The publication recalled that three and a half million Sudeten Germans were summarily expelled from Czechoslovakia and some fell victims to atrocities after World War II. They were ethnic Germans living in the Sudetenland, the area of Czechoslovakia adjacent to the German border.

"From the viewpoint of political morality," Wiener Montag said in an editorial, "the emigrant is always a deserter for if he does not like the political conditions at home he should have the duty of staying on and participating in changing these conditions."

Foreign diplomats here think that the Austrian Government is anxious to refrain from anything in the present Czechoslovak crisis that might displease the Soviet Union. The relations between Vienna and Moscow are described as cordial after recent exchanges of official visits and economic cooperation between the two nations is broadening. Austria is required by treaty to maintain strict neutrality.

# Czechs Face Freedom

The Post 04 28 1961

Czechoslovakia's developing national communism draws on a history of democratic socialism underpinned by humanist heroes. As such it is a threat to the remnants of Stalinism in the Communist world. But in the personal view of a Czechoslovak journalist, the final solution will be neither the best nor the worst of the alternatives. Here are two reports from Prague.

By Anatole Shub

Washington Post Foreign Service

**P**RAGUE—In his book-lined apartment on the banks of the Danube a few years ago, the Hungarian Marxist philosopher Georg Lukacs was ruminating on the future of Marxism, which he felt depended on the solitary efforts of a handful of thinkers and scholars—most of them in Western Europe—rather than on the political leaders of Communist countries. The latter, he thought, had been too deeply corrupted or compromised by Stalinism to apply genuinely Marxist critical methods to the reality of their own countries.

"But still," a questioner asked, "don't you think that sooner or later one of the Communist leaders will have to face the problem of freedom?"

"Of course," the 80-year-old philosopher replied with a twinkle, "and the first one of them who does will remain in power for 25 years."

That first Communist leader to "face the problem of freedom" may well be the modest, easy-going 46-year-old Slovak, Alexander Dubcek. A virtually unknown provincial Communist Party functionary eight months ago, he has become—without the slightest effort to develop a "personality cult"—a national hero and world figure by leading a quiet, bloodless, often humorous revolution that has been absolutely unique in Communist history.

Superficially, what has been happening in Czechoslovakia may appear to be merely another eruption of "national communism," and Dubcek just the latest in a line of outland "protestants" (the list includes Marshal Tito, Mao Tse-tung, Fidel Castro and Nicolae Ceausescu) who have refused to accept the infallibility of the Kremlin on matters of faith or doctrine, strategy or tactics, foreign or domestic policy. To be sure, the seven-month evolution

in Czechoslovakia had been marked by the increasing assertion of a patriotism transcending all other "isms," and Dubcek definitively won the hearts of his people on the night of July 18, when in a television address he defied the anathema of the "Warsaw Five" and, in the name of national independence and sovereignty, pronounced the magic and dangerous word "No" to the Russians. Surely, also, Dubcek's calm confidence throughout this July crisis owes a great deal to the firm support of Tito and Ceausescu, and the stand-off to which he (and they) appear to have held the "Warsaw Five" is certain to stimulate and encourage actual and potential "national Communists" in new corners of the world.

## The Sine Qua Non

**Y**ET, TO STATE the obvious, what is essential about "national communism," whether in Havana or Tirana, Peking or Prague, is precisely that it is national—that it conforms to the historic traditions of the particular nation and to that indefinable reality known as national character. Thus, strip away the patina of Marxist-Leninist phraseology and Mao Tse-tung may be seen as another in the line of great Chinese philosopher-emperors, Tito as the worthy successor of earlier south Slav insurrectionary leaders pragmatically mixing a somewhat anarchistic egalitarianism at home with brilliant efforts to avert the domination of nearby great powers.

And the national tradition is precisely what makes Czechoslovakia different—and so vastly important. For if ever there was a nation with a vocation for democratic socialism, it is the land of the Czechs and Slovaks. The national heroes are not warriors or

See PRAGUE, Page 3, Column 1



Associated Press

Alexander Dubcek . . . "absolutely unique" revolutionary.

The Wash. Post p. 611 31 968

P. 611 31

# Czechs, Soviets to Talk a 3d Day

By Anatole Shub

Washington Post Foreign Service

KOSICE, Czechoslovakia, July 30—The highest leaders of the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia continued their crisis conference for 11 hours today. They then unexpectedly scheduled a third day of talks for Wednesday—when Yugoslavia's President Tito was expected to arrive in this country.

The second day of the conference was conducted in the utmost secrecy and with tightened security precautions.

After ten hours of negotiations Monday, the talks continued from this morning until 9 o'clock tonight with only a one-hour break for lunch. It was then announced that the conference would resume Wednesday. It seemed clear that few had any idea of when

or how the meeting with the Soviet Politburo would actually end.

The prolongation of the Cierna conference, which Prague officials had originally hoped would last only a day, was generally seen as a bad omen. Observers believed that if a good atmosphere had been established in the discussions the Soviet leaders would readily have permitted Alexander

Dubcek, the First Secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, and his colleagues to hold to their original plan of having only a one-day meeting and perhaps arranging a second round of talks at a future date.

[CTK, the official Czechoslovak news agency, issued a brief statement tonight saying that the talks had taken

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place "in an atmosphere of comradely frankness." Tass, the official Soviet news agency, used similar language. The phraseology indicated a measure of goodwill as well as of disagreement. On Monday, Tass said merely that "the speakers from both sides exchanged opinions."

Marshal Tito was originally expected to arrive in Prague Wednesday morning with the entire Czechoslovak leadership on hand to greet him. He was expected to stay two days and President Nicolae Ceausescu of Rumania was due to arrive in Prague Thursday. Both independent Communist leaders have strongly supported the Czechoslovak bid for democratization and national independence against the challenge of the Soviet Union and its orthodox allies.

Late tonight, informed sources speculated that Tito might be induced to arrive Wednesday evening after a brief stopover en route for talks with Hungarian Party leader Janos Kadar in Budapest.

Another version had it that the Czechoslovak leaders would greet Tito in the Slovak capital of Bratislava, which lies between Budapest and Prague.

broke for lunch this afternoon, they also left the club separately — the Russians first, looking purposeful and somber the Czechoslovaks afterwards with the dispirited air of a baseball team which has just lost for the third straight time in the World Series.

These brief glimpses and impressions appeared to be confirmed by the explanation which an informed Slovak editor gave for the prolongation of the talk. He said they were lasting so long because the conferees had to discuss, one by one, each point of the so-called Warsaw Letter of the Soviet group—which charged Czechoslovakia with "counter-revolution"—as well as the Czechoslovak Party Presidium's reply to the Warsaw Letter.

Before the talks began, Prague liberals had labeled the principal accusations in the Warsaw Letter as utterly groundless and beneath their dignity to discuss further. They had hoped for a broad exchange of views which might improve the atmosphere and perhaps find useful compromises on a few urgent points—such as the final departure of several thousand Soviet troops in this country and, possibly, a cessation of polemics between news media in the two countries.

The meeting in Cierna includes nine of the 11 members

of Czechoslovakia to the pressure exerted by Germany during the Munich crisis 30 years ago.

At the railway station and in the streets, Westerners were asked eagerly if they had any information from Cierna.

In Kosice's main square, a bust and photograph of a pre-war Slovak national hero Milan Stefanik was mounted on a pedestal with flowers beneath it. Beside it was a stark black-and-white poster reading: "We Demand that the Soviet Troops Leave Our Country." A group of workers said the poster had been there since last Friday.

They said the square had originally been named after Stefanik, a co-founder with Thomas Masaryk of the Czechoslovak state, and renamed for Lenin by the Communists. Asked which of the two names they prefer, the workers agreed: "Stefanik."

News agencies reported these other developments in Czechoslovakia:

The Prague trade union newspaper Prace reported that Gen. Samuel Kodaj, a Czechoslovak officer who warned last month against "counterrevolutionary" tendencies in the country, had met in the Slovak town of Strecno with the "Soviet Army staff which is operating on our territory." The newspaper said Kodaj and the Soviets had "exchanged views on the present situation."