



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

Mr. Brezhnev wipes tears from eyes
1968. 08. 1-20.

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The Czechs seem to accept. 208

The Washington Daily News, Thursday, August 1, 1968

New Conference Set

Czech Tension Eases

By B. J. CUTLER
Scripps-Howard Staff Writer

PRAGUE, Aug. 1 — After three days of grueling talks, Czechoslovakia's leaders seem to have convinced the Kremlin not to smash their effort to democratize communism.

As the summit conference between the Czech Politburo and Soviet Presidium moved toward its end, some tension went out of the air and the threat of Russian military intervention receded somewhat.

Altho the official Czech news agency said the talks had ended yesterday it later announced they would continue today so a disagreement over a communique at the close of the meeting could be resolved.

CAUTIOUS OPTIMISM

The grim mood of the country turned to cautious optimism.

There were signs that party leader Alexander Dubcek had finally made the Russians understand he would not let moves to liberalize Czech life, lead to the overthrow of communism.

The apparent letup in pressure on the Czechs came just in time. With the Red Army maneuvering on this country's borders with the Ukraine, Poland, and East Germany, a number of Czech intellectuals went to work carrying their passports today, just in case they had to make a run for Austria.

Propaganda from Russia, Poland, and East Germany continued to be hostile and threatening. But Czechs noted hopefully that one ominous phrase — that the situation here was "absolutely unacceptable" — was not being repeated.

'WARSAW LETTER'

That phrase appeared in the July 18 "Warsaw Letter" from the three hardline countries plus Hungary and Bulgaria. It clearly threatened intervention to overthrow reform communism here, and the Czechs are relieved not to hear it now.

What else Dubcek had to yield is not certain. The Kremlin wanted assurance that the press would not be free to attack the Soviet Union. It also wanted some ultra-liberals fired and censorship reimposed, moves Dubcek has promised publicly not to make.

(United Press International quoted Communist Party sources as saying that Czechoslovakia had won a reprieve for its liberalization program but had agreed to pay for it by halting anti-Russian attacks in the press. The party sources called the Czech promises "self-imposed restrictions.")

Victory Seen; Bloc Parley Is Scheduled

By Anatole Shub and Kenneth Ames

Special to The Washington Post

PRAGUE, Aug. 1 — The Soviet Union has agreed to end its campaign against Czechoslovakia.

This seemed clear at the end of a four-day meeting involving 30 of the highest leaders of the two countries at the Slovak border village of Cierna. The talks ended this afternoon in what appeared to be complete victory for Soviet moderates and for Czechoslovakia's new, liberal Communist leadership.

The Cierna sessions produced only a brief, vague communique in which pat phrases were followed with the announcement that another summit meeting will be convened Saturday in the Slovak capital of Bratislava. This meeting will bring together the Czechoslovak leaders with the so-called Warsaw Five—the Soviet Union and its four dogmatic allies who in a joint letter on July 15 unleashed charges that developments in Czechoslovakia were "completely unacceptable" and "counterrevolutionary."

Troop Maneuvers

The Warsaw letter, and the massive press and radio campaign following it, were backed by troop concentrations on Czechoslovakia's borders in the largest Soviet military maneuvers since World War II and the continued presence inside Czechoslovakia of some 8000 Soviet troops in position to black out the country's entire communications network.

However, both the Czechoslovak people and their leaders held firm, and National Assembly Speaker Josef Smrkovsky was able to announce publicly tonight that at Cierna "We agreed that polemics, mutual criticism, mutual accusations lead to nothing and will be ended." Smrkovsky added: "We will

Czechs Claim Policy Upheld in Soviet Talks

CZECH, From A1

cial in Kosice who had been briefed at Cierna disclosed privately that the Bratislava meeting will be largely a formality, to ratify the Cierna decision that the entire Warsaw letter campaign "never happened."

Agreement on the multilateral meeting represents a minor concession on the part of Czechoslovak Party leader Alexander Dubcek, who had earlier refused to attend a meeting demanded by the Warsaw Five in mid-July. It is regarded as significant that, after three and half days of hard negotiations with the

Russians, he has persuaded his critics to meet him on his own soil.

Smrkovsky said tonight the Bratislava meeting will last only one day, and will be followed next week by visits to Czechoslovakia by Yugoslavia's Marshal Tito and Rumanian President Nicolai Ceausescu—the independent Communist leaders who have backed Prague most staunchly in the crisis.

The joint Czechoslovak-Soviet communique, worked out in the final two-and-a-half hour session at Cierna, spoke of "a broad and comradely exchange of views" in an atmosphere "of complete frankness,

sincerity and mutual understanding."

The real terms behind the vague communique were not completely clear. Smrkovsky conceded tonight that the final departure of the remaining Soviet troops here was "a detail" that has not yet been settled. But he emphasized that Czechoslovakia had won the right to its own way in domestic affairs, and insisted that the question of curbing Prague's press freedom, an issue raised in the Warsaw letter, "was not even discussed."

Nevertheless, it seemed obvious that, in return for the removal of the threat of military intervention and the end of the propaganda onslaught against them, Czechoslovakia's leaders had agreed to restrain criticism here of Russia and its allies.

It was the white-haired Czechoslovak President, Ludvik Svoboda, who broke the news to the nation tonight in a television broadcast from Kosice. His 15-minute talk was characterized as a palliative but he left little doubt that the nation's leadership had come to terms with the Soviet Politburo.

"Our developments since January," he told the nation, "may have faults but they have great strength and have taken root so deeply that nobody can reverse it or deflect us from this path."

He added: "Anybody who wants to abuse this or work against the National Front or people of Czechoslovakia or our alliances would have no success . . . They cannot destroy our sovereignty or independence which are so dear to us. We spoke openly and frankly to our friends and told them firmly we are determined to continue our policy and not allow anyone to destroy it."

Dubcek and his Party leaders are also known to have given reassurances of their adherence to the Warsaw Pact, Comecon and the Communist movement. They also guaranteed that the supremacy of the Communist Party in Czechoslovakia would not be endangered, an assurance sought by the Warsaw Five.

However, how such general assurances work out in practice remains to be seen. Prague's views on many aspects of Communist policy differ strongly from those of Warsaw, East Berlin and the hard-line faction in Moscow. The reconciliation at Cierna, as well as the future example of the new Czechoslovak model of democratic socialism, may well prompt changes in Soviet policy and within the Soviet Union itself.

It would seem almost certain that the inspirers of the Warsaw letter—the biggest Kremlin miscalculation since the Cuba missile crisis—will fall by the wayside at the next Kremlin shake out.

It also seems likely that Cierna may prove to have been a great personal victory for Dubcek, increasing his stature as the Czechoslovak national leader. Only his knowledge of Soviet methods, his own training at the Soviet Party school and his fluent knowledge of Russian presumably enabled him to come through without losing his nerve or being flustered by Soviet diversionary tactics.



August 2, 1968

The Washington Post

Cierna talks will lead to Saturday meeting in Bratislava.

Text of the Communique

MOSCOW, Aug. 1 (AP)—Following, as distributed by Tass, is the joint communique issued at the close of the meeting of Communist leaders of the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia:

A meeting of the Political Bureau of the CPSU (Communist Party Soviet Union) Central Committee and the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia was held in Cierna Nad Tisou July 29-Aug. 1.

The meeting was attended by:

On the side of the CPSU—General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee L.I. Brezhnev; members of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee G. I. Voronov, A. N. Kosygin, K. T. Mazurov, A. Y. Pelshe, N. V. Podgorny, M. A. Suslov, A. N. Shelepin, P. E. Shelest; alternate members of the political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee P.N. Demichev, P. M. Masharov; secretaries of the CPSU Central Committee P. N. Demichev, P. M. Masharov; secretaries of the CPSU Central Committee K. F. Katushev, B. N. Ponomarev;

On the part of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia—First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia A. Dubcek; members of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia F. Barbirek, V. Bilak, O. Cernik, D. Kolder, F. Kriegel, J. Piller, E. Rigo, J. Smrkovsky, J. Spacek, O. Svestka; alternate members of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia A. Kapek, J. Lenart, B. Simon; the

Chairman of the Central Control and Auditing Commission, M. Jakes.

L. Svoboda, the President of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, attended the meeting on the Czechoslovak side.

A broad comradely exchange of opinion on questions interesting both sides was held at the meeting.

The participants in the meeting exchanged detailed information on the situation in their countries.

The meeting of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia was held in an atmosphere of complete frankness, sincerity and mutual understanding, was aimed at the search for ways of further developing and strengthening the traditional friendly relations between our parties and peoples, resting on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

During the talks both delegations by mutual consent resolved to address the Central Committees of the Communist and Workers' Parties of Bulgaria, Hungary, the German Democratic Republic and Poland with a proposal on holding a multilateral comradely meeting.

The aforesaid fraternal parties agreed with this proposal.

The meeting of representatives of the Bulgarian Communist Party, the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the Polish United Workers Party, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia will be held in Bratislava Aug. 3.

Star Aug. 4, 1968

Czechs Say They Won Showdown

BRATISLAVA, Czechoslovakia (AP) — The nation's reform leaders declared last night that Czechoslovakia's eight-month-old experiment with making Communism function democratically has emerged intact from a showdown meeting with the heads of five Soviet bloc nations who hinted only last week they would intervene here.

"At last normal days can begin," declared Josef Smrkovsky, the National Assembly president, after the signing of a joint statement at the conclusion of a one-day meeting in Bratislava. He said the Czechoslovaks said preserved their liberalization drive and reaffirmed the principle of noninterference.

It was the end of a historic and harrowing seven days during which Soviet troops massed on Czechoslovakia's borders and the Prague reformists traveled to the tiny border town of Cierna for talks with the Soviet leadership Monday through Wednesday.

Soviet Comedown Seen

Apparently, the Czechoslovaks were able to convince the Soviet leaders they could stay firm allies within the Warsaw Pact while maintaining the free press, free speech and free travel reforms that have been instituted since the old Stalinist order was ousted in January. It looked like a comedown for the Soviets.

Last Monday, Czechoslovak party chief Alexander Dubcek greeted Soviet party head Leonid I. Brezhnev with a courteous handshake at Cierna. Last night, they rode together in a car here and crowds cheered both men.

"Long live sovereignty Long live Dubcek! Long live Brezhnev!" the crowds cried.

The mood was further lightened by announcement in Prague by the Defense Ministry that the last of 16,000 Soviet troops — who lingered for more than a month after the completion of Warsaw Pact exercises — have now left the country.

No Discussion of Troops

Foreign Minister Jiri Hajek said that the participants at the Bratislava meeting — East Germany, Poland, Hungary and Bulgaria in addition to Russia and Czechoslovakia — had not discussed stationing any foreign troops in the country. He added that none was needed.

The hard-liners, who less than three weeks ago branded Prague's Communism as "counterrevolutionary," dropped their aggressive stance with the signing of the declaration in the Hall of Mirrors of this Slovak city's Old City Hall.

The document recognized the right of every Communist party to "solve the problems of its further Socialist development, taking into account its

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—Associated Press

Soviet Communist party leader Leonid Brezhnev (center) attends a memorial service at Bratislava, Czechoslovakia, yesterday honoring Russian soldiers who died in World War II.

With him (at left) is Jozef Smrkovsky, Czechoslovakia's president, and at right, Polish party chief Wladyslaw Gomulka.

CZECH

Prague Claims It Won Showdown

Continued From Page A-1
national characteristics and conditions."

The key statement in the 10-page document summed up what the Czechoslovaks under Dubcek have been striving for since the ouster of former President Antonin Novotny from the party leadership last January.

Cooperation Pledged

"The participants of the meeting have expressed their firm endeavor to do everything in their power for the deepening of the multilateral cooperation of their countries on the basis of the principles of equal rights, sovereignty and national independence, territorial inviolability, mutual fraternity and solidarity," the declaration said.

for promises that some features of old-style Communist rule will actually be restored.")

Dispute Over Text

A crowd of thousands waited in the rain for three hours until the signing was announced. A snag had held up its release and informed sources said this was due to a dispute on the text's formulation.

The six parties also called for "a top level economic consultative meeting" of the signatories as soon as possible and declared themselves ready to "put in harmony" their foreign policies.

"The present situation requires unweakening efforts to increase the defense capacity

of the Socialist states and of

lied to be the staunchest opponent of Czechoslovakia's liberalization. While the reference to national conditions in the declaration seemingly was pushed by the Czechoslovaks' other phrases apparently were stressed by the hard-liners. They said:

"It was the uniform view of all participants to develop and protect the Socialist achievements in their countries and to realize further successes in the building of Socialism.

"They will be strictly and consistently keeping in sight the general regularities of the construction of Socialist society," and, "above all strengthen the leading role of the Communist party."

But obviously on Czechoslovak insistence, these phrases were immediately followed by

mention by name of Czechoslovakia in the excerpts published by the Hungarian news agency MTI.

Separate Soviet military exercises, part of the pressure the Kremlin has exerted recently in Dubcek's reformist Prague regime, evidently continued in adjacent territory of the Soviet Union, Poland and East Germany. These maneuvers are scheduled to last until Aug. 10.

Yesterday's meeting site was cordoned off by police. However, Brezhnev and the other leaders mingled with the crowds elsewhere.

The six leaders, following their morning meeting, placed wreaths on a monument to 7,000 Soviet Soldiers who died in the liberation of Slovakia in World War II. The monu-

Times Aug. 4, 1968

KADAR'S VIOLATION OF PACT REPORTED

Continued From Page 1, Col. 7

Deutschland, waited six days—until July 24—before printing a line of the Czechoslovak party's stand.

The East European sources said that, while Mr. Kadar bowed to massive Soviet and East German pressure in signing the Warsaw letter, he continued to maintain sympathy for Mr. Dubcek. Moscow's greatest pressure was applied during Mr. Kadar's visit to the Soviet capital June 27 to July 4, following by only six weeks his warm reception of Mr. Dubcek in Budapest.

"In Budapest the party leaders and everyone else are keeping their fingers crossed for the Czechoslovaks," said one source.

This attitude has been continuously reflected in Hungarian press commentary on the events in Czechoslovakia. Thus the Soviet-Bulgarian version of the discovery July 19 of an "arms cache" in western Bohemia—suggesting a Western subversion plot—was ignored in Hungarian broadcasts and the official Czechoslovak version, minimizing the incident, was broadcast instead. A week later, the party paper, *Nepszabadsag*, published criticism of Prague, but tempered it by saying Hungary still took a positive stand toward Czechoslovakia "on matters of principle."

Backing for Prague

This softer line was described by the sources as substantial assistance for the Prague reformers, tantamount within the inner circle of the Soviet bloc to the open support offered by President Tito of Yugoslavia and Nicolae Ceausescu, head of the Rumanian Communist party.

They sources said Mr. Kadar undoubtedly pleaded for a gentler approach to Czechoslovakia during the six-party meeting in Bratislava today.

The East Europeans asserted that, as late as last night, the Soviet-East German demand to station Warsaw pact troops permanently at the Western Czechoslovak frontier was still on the Bratislava agenda.

The sources also pointed to the continuation in recent days of anti-Czechoslovak polemics in the East German press, though somewhat toned down, and the continuance of Soviet bloc military exercises along Czechoslovak frontiers. They said this strongly indicated that anti-Prague polemics and other pressures would resume with considerable force after the Bratislava meeting.

Communist Leaders From East European Nations Gather in Bratislava



United Press International

... Dubcek, First Secretary of Czechoslovakia's Communist party, meeting Polish counterpart, Wladyslaw Gomulka, at the airport.



Associated Press

Soviet Premier Aleksei N. Kosygin speaking to newsmen during stroll through city.



Ulbricht, leader of Communist Party in East Germany

Todor Zhivkov, at left, Bulgarian Communist Party leader

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DUBCEK CONFIRMS A PRAGUE VICTORY IN 6-NATION TALKS

Czech Leader, on TV, Holds
Sessions Gave 'New Scope'
to Program of Reform

STATEMENT IS SUBDUED

Denies Any New Obligations
Were Made—Crowd Gathers
to Demand 'the Truth'

By HENRY KAMM

Special to The New York Times

PRAGUE, Aug. 4—In a subdued victory announcement to the people of Czechoslovakia, Alexander Dubcek, the Communist party leader, said tonight that last week's two conferences—one with the Soviet Union and one with five Communist-bloc powers—had provided "new scope" for Czechoslovakia's liberalization.

The First Secretary, in a television address, refrained from saying that the conferences had removed the threat of Soviet military intervention or other forms of direct pressure to turn Prague from its road to a democratic form of Communism.

The leaders of Czechoslovakia, who appeared to have outmaneuvered the party leaders of the Soviet Union, as well as those of East Germany, Poland, Hungary and Bulgaria, remained at great pains not to appear triumphant.

Assurance Is Repeated

For that reason, most Czechoslovaks appeared unsure and even dissatisfied today with the results of the talks at Cierna with the Soviet Union from Monday to Thursday and the six-nation conference in Bratislava yesterday.

They hope that the danger of active Soviet measures has been lifted, but none of their leaders has said it so bluntly. To calm fears, Mr. Dubcek twice in his 15-minute speech tonight assured his listeners that Prague had assumed no other obligations toward its allies other than those that had been publicly announced.

These included continued loyalty to the Communist camp and its military and economic alliances, and preparedness to defend Czechoslovakia's frontier with West Germany. Prague also undertook to coun-

Dubcek Confirms Czech Victory In 6-Nation Talks at Bratislava

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sel restraint to its press to halt polemics against this country's Communist allies.

Since the reform program was begun in January, when Mr. Dubcek replaced Antonin Novotny as the party leader, the Czechoslovak press has enjoyed a wide measure of freedom that has provoked criticism from other Communist-bloc nations.

Today, Prague's Old Town Square was again the scene of a demonstration by several thousand people demanding to be told the "truth" about the results of the recent conferences.

A similar crowd gathered in the square Thursday and vociferously demanded to know the results of the Cierna talks. Josef Smrkovksy, a Presidium member who had taken part in the negotiations, assured them that no further promises had been made.

Bohumir Simon, head of the party organization in Prague and alternate member of the party's Presidium, provided the same assurances as Mr. Dubcek.

The party chief stressed in his speech that there was no ground for fear for Czechoslovakia's sovereignty. Soviet demands to station troops on the West German frontier were reported to have been rejected by the Czechoslovaks in the meeting at Cierna, a village in eastern Slovakia, near the Soviet border.

Mr. Dubcek declared that yesterday's conference at Bratislava had been successful and "fulfilled our expectations." This meeting was viewed by

authoritative sources as a triumph for Czechoslovakia.

Budapest Sessions Likely

By PAUL HOFMANN

Special to The New York Times

BUDAPEST, Aug. 4—Hungarian Communist party leaders are expected to meet in the next few days to discuss the result of the Soviet-bloc talks in Bratislava.

However, it is not yet known whether Janos Kadar, the chief of the Hungarian Socialist Workers (Communist) party, will call a formal meeting of the Central Committee.

It is thought here that the top Communist leaders in at least some of the countries represented in Bratislava—especially those of East Germany and Poland—will be summoned to report on the talks.

The controlled Hungarian press today stressed the "solidarity" among the six countries, which, it said, had been strengthened in Bratislava. Newspaper editorials here merely paraphrased the official communiqué.

However, Hungarians reading between the lines, sought to detect any satisfaction by the Kadar regime over the outcome of the talks. The prevailing opinion here is that the Bratislava parley marked only the first round of what may be a long battle between Mr. Dubcek, the Czechoslovak leader and hard-line Communists in the Soviet bloc.

It is suggested here that the Hungarian leaders, in the forthcoming party discussions, will examine the positions maintained by Mr. Dubcek in the face of strong Soviet-block pressure with an interest in the question whether his stands are strong enough to be cited as precedents by the Hungarian regime.

The Wash. Daily News accepts E68

They Want to Hear It Like It Is

No Secret Deals, Dubcek Assures Czechs

By B. J. CUTLER
Scripps-Howard Staff Writer

PRAGUE, Aug. 5 — A worried Czechoslovakia has been assured by Communist chief Alexander Dubcek that he made no secret deals with the Russians to limit his countrymen's new freedoms.

His reassuring words were needed. This small nation could not quite believe what he had done last week: won a victory — or at least a draw — in its struggle with mighty Russia and her four hard-line allies.

"We are determined to continue on the road we have taken," said Dubcek of the Czech democratization program, which has raised hostility in the Soviet Union, Poland, East Germany, Hungary, and Bulgaria.

Dubcek was reporting on radio and TV about the conference in Bratislava he and his reform communist team had yesterday with the party bosses of the other five states.

TYPICAL DECLARATION

The conference had ended with a typical communist declaration, ten pages long and filled with words like proletarian internationalism and democratic centralism. Naturally the Czech people could not understand it and feared that the turgid prose meant a sellout.

For days, hundreds and sometimes thousands of people, mostly students, had been gathering in Prague's ancient town square and demanding to know what really went on at Bratislava and at the earlier four-day Czech-Soviet showdown in the border village of Cierna.

Such gatherings could happen in no other communist country, except Yugoslavia, and the highest party leaders came to speak to the crowds. "We are fully independent," Politburo member Joseph Smrkovsky told them.

NATIONAL HERO

But it finally required Dubcek, the modest Slovak who has become a national hero by standing up to the Kremlin, to convince the public that there had been no secret arrangement. The Bratislava declaration, he said, even opens the way "for further development of Czechoslovakia's democratization process."

It was clear, however, that the Czechs had to pay a price to Russia to be permitted to continue their internal liberalization.

In the declaration, they agreed to coordinate their foreign policy with the Soviet Bloc's and to have even closer economic relations with their



—UPI Photo

Czech Communist Party leader Alexander Dubcek accompanied his Russian counterpart, Leonid

Brezhnev, to the airport when the latter left for home after the Bratislava meeting.

communist neighbors. This rules out, for the time being, better relations with West Germany or a dramatic increase in trade with the West.

The Czechs undoubtedly yielded on these less-than-vital issues to hold firm on what really mattered: to liberalize their system, to refuse to permit Soviet army garrisons in the country, to continue to weed out reactionary pro-Moscow communists from key posts.

One measure of the Czech victory is what Russia tried to accomplish and could not. The Kremlin and its allies had demanded that the Czechs muzzle the press, fire overly-zealous reformers, ban political activity by non-communist groups, and let Russian troops "protect" their border with "revenge-seeking" West Germany.

GOOD SHOW

To enforce these demands, the Kremlin put on a good show of preparing to invade this country. But the Czechs remained cool, stayed united behind Dubcek, and finally wrung from the "unfriendly five" the right to run their own domestic affairs.

Some experts here think the Kremlin looked so bad in being faced down by Czechoslovakia that top party leaders, including general secre-

tary Leonid Brezhnev, could eventually be deposed because of their failure.

In addition, nobody thinks Czechoslovakia's struggle with Russia is over. János Kadar, Hungary's party boss, said in Budapest today that the five still have differences with Prague, but prefer to stress their agreements.

After a month of fear of invasion and a week of bullying visitors, Czechoslovaks will get a chance this week to relax with really welcome guests. Presidents Tito of Yugoslavia and Nicolae Ceausescu of Romania, who backed this country against the Russians, are coming and will be cheered to the skies.

NOT CLEAR YET

But Czechoslovakia is not out of the woods yet. The economy is stagnant, and tied closer than before to Russia's. Dubcek has to find some way of restraining the press from attacking the Soviet Union without turning it against him.

Fundamentally, the dispute must erupt again. Czechoslovakia cannot be democratic for long without exporting freedom to its neighbors. And they must take the risk that Czech ideas will undermine their totalitarian systems — or stamp out the source of infection.

The Sunday Star Sept 17, 1968
Sept 17

Tito Queried on Czech Radio

PRAGUE (AP) — Yugoslav President Tito, the first Communist to break away from Moscow, met yesterday with Czechoslovak reform leaders, then dodged questions about whether he personally intervened to stop the Soviet Union from halting this nation's liberalization process.

Tito was pressed by Yugoslav and Czechoslovak reporters at a news conference broadcast live to the nation—a precedent in Communist countries. No other journalists were admitted, but the live broadcast of a Communist head of state being questioned was considered a first.

Asked about possible Soviet intervention here, Tito, an ally of Prague's reformers, said:

"These are delicate questions. I know of no other factors (affecting developments) here than the unity of the Czechoslovak people behind the Central Committee of their Communist party.

Defended 'Honorably'

"The Czechoslovak leaders defended their position honorably and this did not remain without result," Tito said, referring to the showdown meetings two weeks ago between Prague and the Soviet bloc.

Tito stressed several times that each Communist country has the right to take its own road.

"Intervening in the affairs of other countries would be damaging to world socialism," he said.

"The Bratislava meeting showed that a comradely solution to some problems is the only correct way. In my opinion, the conference ended positively."

Backs Romania's Gripe

The Bratislava conference was attended by the Soviet, East German, Polish, Hungarian, Bulgarian and Czechoslovak parties. It produced a rollback on Soviet-led demands that Czechoslovakia reverse its course.

Tito said he thought Romania was justified in complaining that



—United Press International

Yugoslav President Tito (left) is welcomed to Prague by Czech Communist Party Chief Alexander Dubcek.

it was not invited to the meeting.

"They are members of the Warsaw Pact and they have a right to be dissatisfied," he said. Yugoslavia is not a member.

Yugoslavia was not invited, he said, and "I don't know whether we would have decided to go if we had been. In any case, it's not a good thing when several parties talk about the affairs of one party."

More Cooperation Seen

The talks of the leadership apparently were to set the stage for increased cooperation between Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia. They were held behind closed doors at historic Hradcany Castle, formerly the seat of Bohemian kings, where Tito was an honored guest.

Official statements said the participants "evaluated the present stage of their cooperation" and discussed "bilateral

choslovaks who fought in his anti-Nazi partisan movement in World War II, and a delegation from a Czechoslovak factory where he worked briefly before World War I.

'Sympathies Won't Change'

"The sympathies between our nations are deep and permanent and they won't change," Tito told his visitors.

He reminded them that thousands of Yugoslavs volunteered to fight for Czechoslovakia when this country was threatened by the Nazis before World War II.

The 76-year-old chief of state, who came out firmly on the side of Czechoslovakia when its liberalization movement raised a threat of Soviet military intervention, said: "I would like to assure you that our support for the development of Czechoslovakia will also in the future be as great as possible.

"Our current talks are progressing in the best possible spirit of friendliness, in an atmosphere of mutual understanding."

Tito suggested the Czechoslovaks needed unity in the face of their difficulties, adding: "We all have difficulties, and must overcome them."

The Russians and other followers of the orthodox Communist line were obviously keeping an eye on operations of the Prague Communist hierarchy, headed by Alexander Dubcek, despite the live-and-let-live agreement reached at Bratislava Aug. 3.

cooperation between the two countries."

During a break in the talks, Tito received a group of Cze-