

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

Soviets and Allies Invade
– Czech Freedom Violated Again
1968. 08.21-30.

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The Star Jan. 21 1968



—Associated Press

The swastika chalked on the side of this Russian tank was put there by a Czechoslovakian demonstrator in Bratislava, according to a British tourist who took the picture before leaving for Vienna. The tank crewmen apparently hadn't noticed the hated symbol of Nazi Germany.

Citizens Taunt Soviet Forces Taking Prague

7 to 25 Dead;
Czech Leaders
Held by Invaders

By BERNARD GWERTZMAN
Star Staff Writer

Soviet armed forces, backed by four other Communist countries, today seized control of most of Czechoslovakia.

The 225,000-man Czechoslovak military was never ordered into battle—allowing the Warsaw Pact forces a virtually unopposed entry last night.

The only resistance apparently came from angered citizens who demonstrated in the streets of Prague.

Details were sketchy and there were many reports of deaths—ranging from seven dead to 25 dead.

The Czechoslovak News Agency, still filing copy abroad, said two Russian tanks were set afire as Prague citizens chalked "Russian Go Home" signs on the walls and hoisted the Czechoslovak national flag in defiance of the latest invader.

Moscow indicated that its primary purpose in taking the drastic step of an invasion is to replace the liberal Communist regime of Alexander Dubcek with an orthodox one that will follow Moscow's line more closely.

Novotny Back?

Reports from Prague indicate that the Soviet Union is claiming in its propaganda that Antonin Novotny, the deposed head of the party and state, and a long-time pro-Soviet conservative, is the "legal" head of the Czechoslovak state. This would indicate, if true, that the Russians were hoping to push Novotny back into his old—highly unpopular—role.

The Dubcek leadership got strong support today from the Romanian and Yugoslav chiefs of state — both independent-minded Communists who have supported Czechoslovakia throughout the present crisis.

President Nicolae Ceausescu told a Romanian Central Committee meeting that the intervention was "particularly grave" and said that "nothing can justify this armed action."

President Josef Broz Tito of Yugoslavia called a meeting of his Communist party and told the Tanyug news agency that the intervention "has made us deeply concerned." He said "the sovereignty of a socialist country was thereby violated and trampled."

Virtually every major Czech radio station was seized by Soviet troops but the few remaining on the air said that the entire Czechoslovak 11-man Presidium—the top leadership of the country—is in custody of Soviet troops who occupy their headquarters.

Local Communist party groups, with access to radio stations, called on the populace to

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LBJ Calls on Soviets to Quit Czechoslovakia

Pages 2, 3 and 5



Liberty Dies on Prague's Wenceslaus Square

Soviets and Allies Invade

Czech Freedom Violated Again

PRAGUE, Aug. 21 (UPI) — Czechoslovaks met invading forces from Russia and its four satellites with jeers, spit and some street fighting today, but it was no contest and the tanks, planes and troops snuffed out the country's brave experiment in liberal reform.

Street fighting in Prague left two Soviet tanks burning and two ammunition trucks exploded. Civilian casualties were reported as thousands of Czechoslovaks surged into the streets and shouted defiance of Russians, East Germans, Poles, Hungarians and Bulgarians.

Cannon, machinegun and small arms fire crashed and rattled thru the night in Prague and Bratislava, where two weeks ago the Russians agreed to let Czechoslovakia have its liberal regime.

The Russians said they were invited in to quell "counter-revolutionary" forces and would "immediately" withdraw as soon as the job was done. They did not say who invited them.

At least seven persons were known killed by Soviet gunfire in Prague, Bratislava and Kosice. Czech agencies reported 57 wounded.

Four persons died in Prague and two in Bratislava when Soviet troops opened fire on a crowd, according to the Czech news agency CTK.

BOY SLAIN

It said a 17-year-old boy was shot and killed and about 20 others, mostly youths, wounded "when the occupation troops of the Soviet army were passing thru Kosice," in eastern Slovakia on the border with Russia.

One youth in Prague had his head blown off by gunfire after a Soviet tank nearly burst into flames under attack by civilian guerrillas.

Czech freedom fighters also set fire to two Soviet ammunition trucks which exploded and set off an awesome display of fireworks.

The reform leadership appealed for calm, and "passive resistance." It denounced the invasion as "illegal."

Tanks surrounded the buildings where liberal Communist Party Secretary Alexander Dubcek and President Ludvik Svoboda were believed to be.

At least 25 Soviet tanks, their big red stars showing thru the grime of all-night runs from the border, thundered thru Wenceslaus Square in the heart of town to the jeers and whistles of about 10,000 Czechoslovaks, including mothers with babies in their arms. Some spat at the tanks.

BURNED TANKS

A Soviet tank lay burned out in a side street. Popping ammunition and streaking tracers marked the place where the two ammunition carriers were ambushed.

Witnesses reported another Soviet tank had lumbered away with flames pouring from its rear.

Witnesses said the tanks and ammo carriers were set ablaze by youths who threw wads of burning paper or dropped flaming mattresses from rooftops onto the steel giants.

There was no immediate estimate of Soviet casualties or the extent of resistance thruout the country.

In the city's main square, a U.S. diplomat saw two Czechoslovak soldiers crushed by a Russian tank.

A woman was killed by Soviet machine gun fire. A West German radio correspondent said he saw two more Czechoslovak civilians shot to death by the invaders in the Wenceslaus Square violence.

The Czechoslovak news agency CTK said Prague citizens threw themselves in front of Soviet tanks in Wenceslaus Square in attempts to block the invaders.

The U.S. Embassy advised the estimated 3000 Americans visiting in the country to stay put, pending further information. There were no re-



Czech citizens attend to their affairs tho Soviet troops and armored vehicles occupy Prague streets. —UPI Photo

ports of any Americans involved in the crisis.

The Russians fired bursts of submachinegun fire into the air to disperse some crowds and used their tanks to smash thru the barricades formed of trucks and, in at least one case, an old trolley car.

The Soviets and their hardline allies struck at 11 p.m. last night across the frontiers. From Moscow, Warsaw, East Berlin and the other capitals of the Soviet bloc, official spokesmen announced they had acted to save communism in Czechoslovakia and preserve the Eastern Alliance's security against foreign-aided "counter-revolutionary forces."

It was the same reason the Soviets gave for their 1956 smashing of the Hungarian uprising and their crushing of the 1963 East Berlin revolt.

Czechoslovaks reported finding leaflets proclaiming Antonin Novotny, the ousted Stalinist president as still the "legal president."

In Moscow, UPI Bureau Manager Henry Shapiro, reported that diplomatic sources said they regard as a foregone conclusion that the Kremlin already has picked out a pro-Soviet regime to replace Dubcek and his reformers.

Russian paratroopers occupied key positions in Prague.

Soviet tanks plus armor of the other invading neighbors rumbled in every major Czech city and occupied the western border facing West Germany and Austria. Resistance there was mostly in the shadows and not effective.

Clandestine "freedom radio" came on the air in Prague. Said one:

"None of the leaders are able to speak because they are held prisoner in the buildings of the central committee or government. Cestmar Cisar (a Dubcek aide and party leader) has already been taken away by three unidentified men."

The "freedom radios" shifted locations constantly. Out in the streets some crowds chanted, "Dubcek, Svoboda, Dubcek, Svoboda."

About 60 motorcycles and 30 trucks circled around "October Revolution" square, there riders waving the red, white and blue Czechoslovak flag.

Jeff Roberts, a 21-year-old San Francisco State University student, watched the Soviet tanks crunch into Prague's heart, Wenceslaus Square.

"There were perhaps 200 Praguers, spitting and throwing paper on the Russians," Mr. Roberts said. "They did not throw rocks, just paper."

"The Russians got very nervous and excited. Finally troops pointed their submachineguns in the air and starting shooting. They shot for about two minutes and all the people got down behind a wall or took off."

Russian tanks smashed thru a barricade made of a streetcar and two trucks in the square.

"I had to jump over one of the trucks," said Mr. Roberts who later made his way to the U. S. Embassy.

The Czechoslovak Communist Party led by First Secretary Alexander Dubcek denounced the invasion and told the Russians and their allies to get out. They also advised Czechoslovaks not to fight but to offer "passive resistance."

But Prague crowds waving their national flags and shouting for the Russians to go home swarmed around the invaders.

Western travelers streaming past columns of Soviet bloc armor fled into neighboring Austria and West Germany.

They said they saw Soviet and its allied forces occupy all major cities and border points. They said Soviet jet fighters flooded into Prague's airport thru the night.

Travelers said crowds of Czechoslovaks filled

John Cramer is on a brief vacation. His column will resume on his return.

their streets, some of them weeping and some pleading with the crews of the invading tanks to go back where they came from. At least once the resistance worked for a moment.

When Soviet tanks rumbled up to the Prague radio building, hundreds of Czechoslovaks, cursing and jeering, swarmed around. They yelled "pfui!" in the faces of the Red Army troops coming with the tanks. Bewildered, angered, the Russian soldiers fell back — but only for a few minutes.

Czech radio stations poured out appeals for calm and advice from Dubcek for the nation to carry on. "Go to your jobs and carry out passive resistance," Prague Radio told listeners at dawn.

Bratislava television broadcast hundreds of what it said were thousands of messages and telegrams from workers' groups, all proclaiming loyalty to the Dubcek regime. It said Czechoslovak writers, journalists and artists were ordering a two minute general work stoppage, starting at noon, to demonstrate their loyalty to the anti-Stalinist forces and "to show the world our people's faith and confidence in the Dubcek regime."

Ostrava Radio quoted Czechoslovak military commanders as being "100 per cent loyal" to Dubcek and awaiting any orders from him to move. It quoted the commander of troops at Hradec Králové as saying his troops "will not serve any other country."

Prague radio announcers, broadcasting descriptions of the scene in the streets below them, said bullets were smashing thru their windows. Over their voices the sound of cannon and machine gun fire could be heard.

Fur Fashions in Sam Lubell Says We Ask LBJ to
World of Women Nixon as of Now Veto Freeways

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The New York Times

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61-75. Temp.-Hum. Index yesterday
78. Complete U.S. report on Page 62.

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10 CENTS

RUSSIANS SEIZE DUBCEK AND 5 COLLEAGUES; MACHINE-GUN FIRE IS EXCHANGED IN PRAGUE; CZECHS BALKING FORMATION OF NEW REGIME

KENNEDY ATTACKS VIETNAM POLICY; ASKS END OF HATE

Senator, Ending Seclusion
and Renouncing "Safety,"
Promises to Carry On

Text of the Kennedy address
is printed on Page 22.

By JOHN HERBERS

Special to The New York Times

WORCESTER, Mass., Aug. 21—Senator Edward M. Kennedy, announcing that he was picking up the fallen standard of his brothers, called today for the removal of "our men and our future" from the "bottomless pit" of Vietnam.

The Senator's speech, marking the end of two and a half months of seclusion, was by far his strongest indictment of the Johnson Administration's conduct of the war.

In his first public appearance since Senator Robert F. Kennedy was assassinated in Los Angeles last June 5, the 36-year-old heir to the Kennedy political fortunes erased any doubt about his being a future contender for national leader-



23 Killed in Clashes With Invading Force

The Major Developments in the Crisis

In Czechoslovakia, Soviet troops and their allies, completing the occupation of Czechoslovakia, begun Tuesday night, were reported to have detained Alexander Dubcek and other top Prague leaders. Czechoslovak civilians were putting up scattered resistance to the invaders, hurling stones at tanks. Twenty-three demonstrators were reported killed and scores injured when troops opened fire.

In Moscow, a statement was issued, purportedly on behalf of responsible Czechoslovak party leaders, justifying the Soviet invasion. However, the statement was unsigned. Observers in Prague suggested that Moscow had been unable to find a satisfactory Czechoslovak leadership willing to obey its directives.

At the United Nations, and in some capitals, statements were circulated by Czechoslovak diplomats demanding the withdrawal of the invading forces. The Security Council was called into session on the request of the United States, Britain, France and three other Council members.

In Washington, President Johnson condemned the Soviet action and urged Moscow to withdraw its troops. There were indications, however, that the Administration would accept the Soviet move, however reluctantly.

In Paris, London, Bonn and other Western capitals, statements strongly disapproving of the invasion were issued.

Many Communist leaders were stunned by the Soviet action. Both President Nicolae Ceausescu of Rumania and President Tito of Yugoslavia protested sharply. The French Communist party reproved Moscow, and the chorus of protest from other parties indicated a setback for the Soviet move.

Star 8 24.72

SIGNS ALONG ROAD

Czech Greeting: 'Go Home'

By **TERENCE ANDREW**
United Press International Writer

PRAGUE—Russian soldiers, rain pouring off their capes and steel helmets, try vainly to pull a tank from a ditch alongside "invasion road."

Two Czech coal miners riding in my automobile cannot keep from grinning. "Our fraternal invaders," one said.

Highway E14 used to be a main route for Eastern European tourist traffic, from the Polish border to Prague. But for the past five days it has been the route of invading Soviet tanks and troops. The Czechoslovaks have adorned the road with special greetings.

Their national flag, draped in black, flew at half staff along the road. There are such scrawled slogans as "Soviet Colonialists Go Home," "A Second Vietnam" and, recalling the Nazi invasion 30 years ago, "1938-1968—the Fascists are here again."

Almost every building and

tree at roadside, virtually all Czechoslovak buses, trucks and cars on the highway carried a national flag or posters reading "Dubcek," a cry for Communist party first secretary Alexander Dubcek who was seized when the invasion started.

When I began the drive down E14, a Czechoslovak border official said issuing me a visa was no trouble. "But you realize, of course, our country is occupied by foreign soldiers," he said.

In the border town of Harrachov, two farm boys said they had hacked down trees to make a barricade against the Soviet convoys. Red army tanks brushed the trees aside.

"The young ones take it harder," said a Czech teacher who had been vacationing near the border. "It was the same as 1938, but not as well organized."

"A few people got hurt near here. A woman and a child

were killed when a tank ran into their home. There were some 'accidents,' more than one person was run over by a tank.

"Some were shot at for no reason other than they wore our national flag," he said.

"Some of the East German tourists have not been able to get out yet. They are all very nervous. A lot have been weeping," he said.

All down the road, Czechoslovaks had turned around sign posts or painted them over. In some towns the residents removed street signs and replaced them with signs bearing the names of Czechoslovak leaders.

But the Soviet military convoys have no trouble finding their way down E14.

They can tell the way from the roadway churned up by the earlier tanks and by the little signs in Russian, Czech and even English. The signs read, "Ivan go home."

U.S. Denies Agreeing To a Soviet 'Sphere'

The State Department yesterday angrily denied that it ever has entered into any "spheres of influence agreement" with any country in the world.

Taking note of some news reports that the United States had an understanding with the Soviet Union that Czechoslovakia was within the Soviet "sphere," the department said "there has been no discussion of any such idea in connection with the recent developments in Czechoslovakia nor has any government attempted to elicit from the U.S. government any such understanding."

Robert J. McCloskey, department spokesman, said "any suggestion that the United States tacitly or otherwise gave the Soviet Union to understand that the United States would be indifferent to actions which the Soviet Union and other Warsaw

Pact countries have now undertaken in Czechoslovakia is malicious and totally without foundation."

McCloskey also rebutted a statement attributed to French President Charles de Gaulle which tended to blame the Czechoslovak crisis on the 1945 Yalta Conference which De Gaulle believes created the blocs in Europe.

The department statement said that the Yalta Conference "did not in any manner, either directly or indirectly, deal with any question of spheres of influence."

De Gaulle has long resented the fact that France was not invited to the Yalta Conference attended by Prime Minister Winston Churchill, Premier Josef Stalin and President Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Star 8.25.72

U.N.

By GEORGE SHERMAN
Star Staff Writer

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y. — Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Hajek in a speech yesterday before the U.N. Security Council charged the Soviet Union with "non-legal" occupation of his country and demanded that all foreign troops withdraw "without delay."

Hajek, the first top member of the deposed Czechoslovak Regime to speak in the outside world, said he appeared before the U.N. "with emotion, sadness and regret."

He went out of his way to assure the Russians and other Warsaw Pact allies that Czechoslovakia has no intentions of "lending" its name to an "anti-Socialist" campaign of the West or of deserting "the path of socialism."

But for 35 minutes he knocked down, point by point, all the arguments used by Soviet Representative Jacob Malik in the three previous days of bitter debate.

After Hajek finished, Malik contented himself by reading an announcement that negotiations between Czechoslovak President Ludvik Svoboda and the Soviet leadership would continue tomorrow in Moscow.

Without directly mentioning Hajek, Malik warned against any appeal which could be used by "imperialists" to interfere in the negotiations.

Asked afterwards about a report that Svoboda had cabled Hajek asking him to cease Security Council debate on Czechoslovakia, Hajek said he had not talked with his president. But he said he did not think the Security Council debate had done much good up until now.

He said he opposed a current Canadian "humanitar-

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—United Press International

Prague residents ask a Soviet soldier, "Why?"

U.N.

Czech Counters Russian

Continued From Page A-1 The occupation was based on "incorrect consideration, information and analysis" of Czechoslovak conditions. He hoped that the Soviet Union and its four allies, after seeing the unity of the Czechs, would see "dangerous consequences," grasp the error and tragic mistake and make "decisive reparation."

In any case, the Security Council had already voted to adjourn debate on Czechoslovakia until tomorrow morning.

The Soviet Union had delayed Hajek's speech by three hours. Inside the security council chamber, Malik led a long procedural fight over an East German request to send a representative to the debate while his deputy — L.I. Menbelevich — was in the halls trying to persuade the Czech delegate, Jan Muzik, that Hajek's speech should await the outcome of the Moscow negotiations.

U.S. delegation members conferred intermittently with Muzik to discover whether Hajek would follow the Soviet pleas.

In the end, he did not. The council first voted 9 to 2 (against the Soviet Union and Hungary), with 4 abstentions, not to allow the East German Communists to appear here. The Western powers consistently have held that East Germany is not a state and therefore not admissible to U.N. debate.

A 'Heavy Blow'

But the real drama was in Hajek's long-delayed words. Speaking in slightly accented English, he said the Warsaw Pact use of force against Czechoslovakia could not be justified "for any reason."

The occupation, he said, is a "heavy blow" to peaceful development of Czech socialism. It deeply displeased, offended and humiliated the people, he said.

Czechoslovakia intended to remain loyal to its Warsaw Pact foreign policy, he said, even if other allies did not.

He insisted that the occupying troops leave and that sovereignty be returned.

Hajek attacked the main Soviet excuse here for the invasion — that the Socialist system in Czechoslovakia, and hence the balance of power in Europe, was in danger from "counterrevolutionaries under the leadership of Communist party secretary Alexander Dubcek.

He maintained that before the occupation his government was in full control and that the party had never enjoyed such "natural authority." He said the revitalization of the Socialist system under the liberal reforms of the Dubcek leadership was gradually isolating "entirely secondary, negative anti-socialist" developments in the country.

Drawing support for this argument in the Communist world, Hajek said President Tito of Yugoslavia and Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu convinced themselves of the justice of the Czech course only one week before "the fateful occupation."

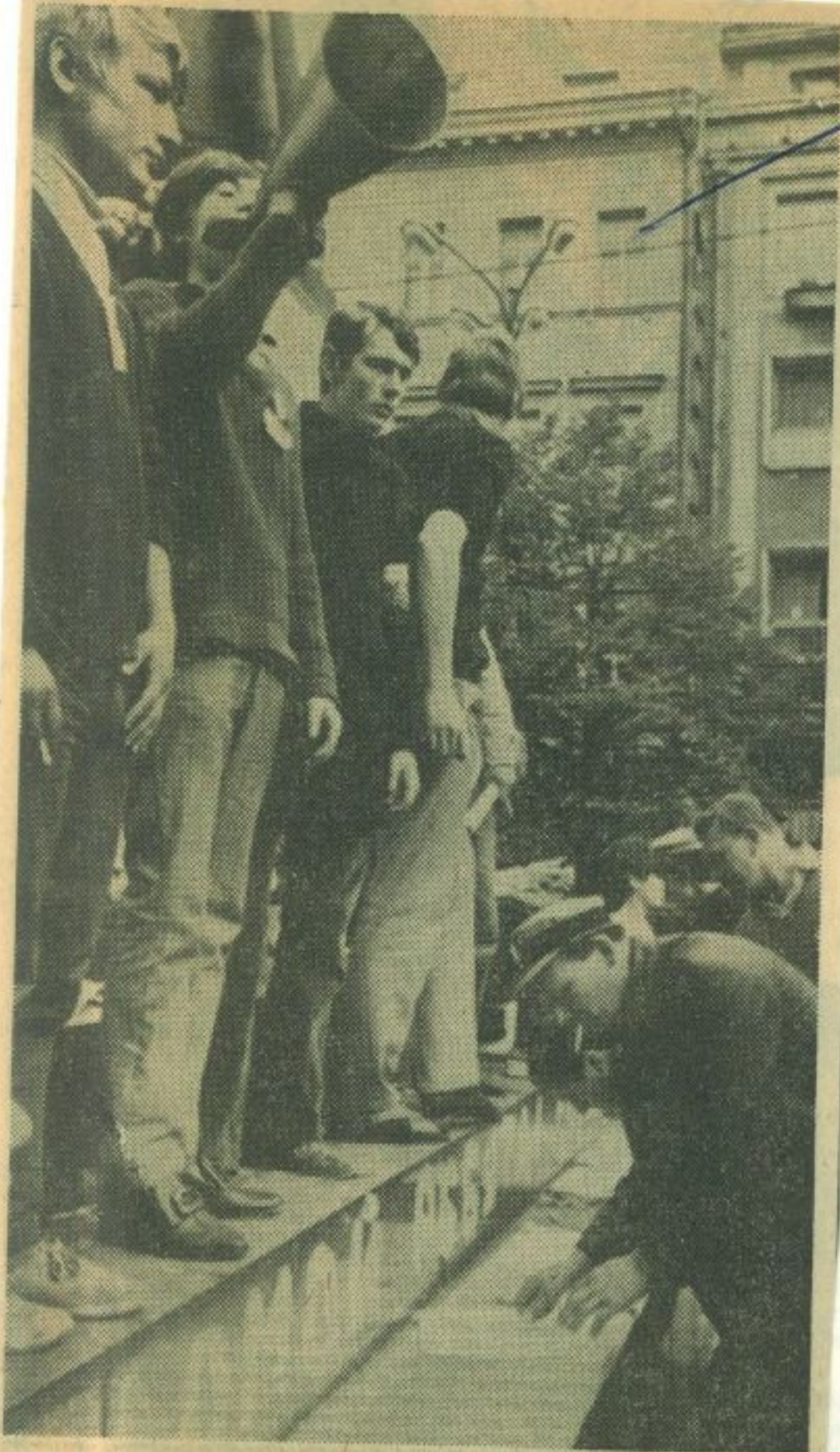
Furthermore, Hajek warned, the frustration which the people harbor against the occupation and the inability of the government to operate might create the greatest danger to socialism in Czechoslovakia.

If this happens, it will be the five intervening states who would be responsible, not the Czech Communist party, he said.

He said earlier that it was not the fault of Czechoslovakia

if "Western imperialist" propaganda took advantage of the Soviet block occupation to launch a worldwide campaign against socialism.

Despite his inherently hostile tone, Hajek carefully avoided accusing the Soviet Union alone of perfidy. He gave the impression that with the end of the occupation Czechoslovakia once again would return naturally to the Socialist fold.



Associated Press

DEFY SOVIET TROOPS: Czechoslovak youths at base of statue of Saint Wenceslas in Prague yesterday. They sought signatures for petition supporting Alexander Dubcek, party chief, and maintained vigil in defiance of curfew.

Vigil in Prague Square

By **CLYDE H. FARNSWORTH**

Special to The New York Times

PRAGUE, Aug. 25—Long-haired youths of Prague have been staging a 24-hour-a-day sitdown vigil around the equestrian statue of St. Wenceslas, defying a Soviet-imposed curfew on their occupied city.

Last night after word had gotten out that the Russians were enforcing their curfew by shooting—three young men distributing anti-Soviet leaflets were killed—two armored cars carrying about 20 soldiers with submachine guns approached the statue in Wenceslas Square.

It was about 3 A.M. There

had been an earlier unsuccessful attempt to terrify the 30 youngsters seated at the base of the monument by firing machine-gun bursts over their heads.

The monument, dedicated to the 10th-century hero Saint of Bohemia, has been draped with Czechoslovak flags and plastered with anti-Soviet posters. It stands at the upper part of the square, a broad avenue similar to the Champs-Élysées. Just above it is the National Museum, which was raked by

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A VIGIL IS STAGED AT PRAGUE STATUE

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Soviet gunfire on the first day of the occupation.

In the silence and loneliness of the curfew hours, the young men and women—students and workers—have refused to move as the Soviet armored cars approached them.

When the cars stopped, the youths turned their backs to the soldiers to express their contempt. No words were spoken.

The soldiers simply started tearing off the posters. They tried to reach the higher ones but could not because they had no means of ascent. The youths had used ladders to climb the monument. The ladders were now hidden.

One Russian started to rip down a poster that said "Long Live Svoboda!" He was reminded by one of the students that Ludvik Svoboda was President of Czechoslovakia and was then meeting with Soviet officials in the Kremlin. The soldier ripped down the poster anyway.

Youths at the monument described their experience in undramatic terms. They said that they intended to man the monument 24 hours a day until the Soviet forces go home.

There was an 18-year-old machine-tool worker who was in need of a shave, drinking a mug of beer, which was being shared with his neighbors.

No Fear of Russians

Between his knees sat his girl friend, an 18-year-old clerk with a pretty round face and blue dress. Asked how she felt last night, she replied, "I'm not afraid."

The boy said: "None of us are afraid of the Russians. This is our country."

A young worker from Slovakia who also was present last night said that the Russians did not dare disperse the students because this would give the lie to their assertions that they were here as liberators.

The youths of Prague have many other ways, besides defying curfews, to express their contempt for the Russians. Today at a street corner as a Soviet scout car approached, one boy, catching the driver's eye, stretched out a piece of bubble gum an arm's length from his mouth.



—UPI Photo

A workman clears rubble and debris left when the citizens of Prague resisted Soviet tanks.

Soviet Has 'Crawl-Down'

All Sides Lost Invasion

By B. J. CUTLER

Scripps-Howard Staff Writer

PARIS, Aug. 28 — The "settlement" of Russia's invasion of Czechoslovakia is a defeat for the Kremlin, the liberal leaders in Prague, and the Czech people — who now pay for the mistakes of both sides.

A week ago with its sudden attack, the Soviet Union started out to overthrow the Czech reform government and replace it with a repressive, pro-Moscow puppet regime.

Yet in the agreement signed in Moscow, the Kremlin was forced to confirm in office such liberal communists as Party Leader Alexander Dubcek and Premier Oldrich Cernik.

This was quite a crawl-down for a major power. Last week Russia kidnaped them, declared them traitors who were aiding counterrevolution, and was pointing them toward prison — if they were lucky.

FRIENDS DISCREDITED

In addition, Russia has discredited its reactionary friends whom it planned to install in power. This handful of hard-line Czech communists is being assailed in Prague for "treason" and "collaboration" and no longer has a political future.

Moscow's blunder was its underestimation of Czech patriotism and the people's attachment to leaders who were democratizing the state. This led to such widespread resistance that the invaders could not find enough quislings to run the country for them.

But Mr. Dubcek and associates had to pay a heavy price to get Soviet tanks out of their cities. For one thing, by signing the agreement, they legalized the presence of the occupation army.

'GRADUALISM'

They got a promise of a gradual withdrawal, but the Russians are genuises at gradualism. They are, for example, still "temporarily" in Poland 23 years after World War II and in Hungary 12 years after they crushed Budapest's revolution for freedom.

A United Press International report in Washington quoted U.S. officials as saying the Soviet Union's apparent victory is likely to cost the Kremlin and the cause of international communism dearly in the long run.

American specialists in East European affairs said the strong arm methods Moscow had to use underline inability of the communist system to tolerate more responsive governments of the type increasing numbers of its subjects will demand.

The Soviet leaders, in the view of a number of well-placed U.S. officials, were clumsy and unsophisticated in dealing with a political problem brewing on their doorstep for eight months.

They said this may well result eventually in some changes in the top Kremlin leadership, al-

the lack of information on the internal debate within the politburo makes it difficult to know for certain.

The U.S. Government hopes, despite the local reverberations of the Czech crisis, to continue working toward improved relations with Moscow thru various secondary agreements.

Top Administration officials realize, however, that U.S. public and Congressional opinion may make this impossible.

Mr. Dubcek, in his speech today, made clear he would have to cut back Czechoslovakia's freedom of speech and the press. He knew the public would disapprove and hoped it would only be temporary, but one could not "ignore reality."

Nor will his own future be easy. Mr. Dubcek now knows that as long as the Soviet army is in the country, Russia will keep plotting against his liberal leadership, seeking ways of replacing him with a "real communist."

CZECHS ANGRY

The Czechs are now angry and protesting at the agreement that keeps foreign troops on their soil and limits their rights. But they are sensible and disciplined, and will finally accept what Mr. Dubcek salvaged for them: more freedom than under Antonin Novotny, the pro-Moscow dictator deposed in January — less freedom than before the tanks arrived.

Svoboda Tells Prague Cabinet 2 Foreign Divisions Will Stay

Continued From Page 1, Col. 1

for an invasion on such a scale had to start some six months ago.

This suggested, he said, that the Soviet Union had begun contemplating a military invasion shortly after the Czechoslovak party deposed the conservative leadership of Antonin Novotny in January to launch the liberalizing program.

The reports to the Cabinet by President Svoboda, Premier Cernik and General Dzur were part of an urgent effort by the Czechoslovak leadership to explain the agreement signed last Monday in Moscow to try to put an end to the crisis stemming from the occupation.

'Normalization' Is Issue

The settlement, which, according to a communiqué, provides for the departure of the occupying troops when the situation in Czechoslovakia becomes "normalized," was greeted with dismay.

The first bitter reaction yesterday was that it bordered on capitulation. However, the leadership has been striving to persuade the nation that the agreement was the only one possible under the circumstances.

The leaders contend that despite the invasion they have succeeded in saving from destruction the liberal-minded regime headed by President Svoboda, Premier Cernik and the party's First Secretary, Alexander Dubcek, who personifies democratization to most Czechoslovaks.

In speaking to his Cabinet today, President Svoboda described the agreement as a moral victory for Czechoslovakia.

He told the Ministers that he had refused on the first day after the invasion to sign a Cabinet list of a "workers' and peasants' government" that the Soviet authorities had wanted him to head.

This was reported to have been proposed to him by three pro-Moscow Communist leaders and by Ambassador Stepan V. Chervonenko of the Soviet Union.

The President indicated that both before his departure for Moscow last Friday as well as

after his arrival there he had made "serious efforts" to obtain the liberation of Mr. Dubcek, Mr. Cernik and the President of the National Assembly, Josef Smrkovsky.

These three leaders were arrested by Soviet troops as soon as Prague was invaded at dawn last Wednesday and then they were taken to Moscow as prisoners.

At today's Cabinet meeting, Premier Cernik is reported to have said that they were first taken to the Carpathian Mountains and that "my life and that of my comrades was in great danger."

Against the background of events, the Czechoslovak leaders believe they have won important concessions from the Soviet Union, in having Mr. Dubcek, Mr. Cernik and Mr. Smrkovsky not only released, but also invited to take part in the Moscow talks and finally allowed to return here yesterday.

Their reasoning is that never before has a regime within the Soviet bloc physically and politically survived after defying Moscow as the Dubcek group had done for eight months.

They relate this to Soviet inability to form a collaborationist government. They hope that, proceeding with caution, Czechoslovakia may be able to preserve some of the gains won since last January.

Meets Central Committee

To persuade Czechoslovakia to be both careful and realistic, Mr. Dubcek took the leadership's case today before a meeting of the Central Committee at a session held at a Prague automotive plant while President Svoboda was meeting with his Cabinet.

The Prague radio broadcast a proclamation today, signed by President Svoboda, Mr. Dubcek, Mr. Cernik and Mr. Smrkovsky, urging the nation to avoid any actions that could cause bloodshed.

"We beg you in the name of everything that is dear to our nation . . . not to be carried away by your feelings, because that would bring about a national catastrophe," the proclamation said.

At the Cabinet meeting this



STILL IN PRAGUE: Soviet tanks and troops lining street in the old town section of the capital yesterday

morning, Premier Cernik was reported to have warned that any violation of the Moscow accords could become the reason for a new intervention.

Demonstrators Disband

The tactics seemed to be working. Some 700 youths who attempted to organize a demonstration against the Moscow agreement dispersed of their own volition after five truckloads of Soviet infantry had driven into Maxim Gorky Square, where they were gathering.

The Russians did not have to say a word or fire a gun in the air. It marked a contrast with the state of affairs only a few days ago. Several planned protest marches on the National Assembly building also failed to gain and petered out.

Political pressures were being gradually applied as improvised printing plants of clandestine newspapers and magazines were reported to be the target of raids by security forces and hostile posters were being taken down.

The Russians apparently left it up to the Dubcek regime to

enforce some form of control.

An order issued today barred foreign newsmen and tourists from entering Czechoslovakia. A dozen foreign correspondents were taken off the Vienna-Prague express and sent back.

Whether and how censorship will be applied to the press after nearly eight months of freedom was expected to be made clear when newspapers are again published tomorrow. Prague editors agreed last night not to publish today so that some cool thinking could prevail, as one of them put it, and pending a decision on how to proceed in the matter of the press.

Mr. Dubcek's immediate problem is to put his political house in order in an attempt to heal the divisions within the party.

At this point the party has two Presidiums and two Central Committees, both headed by him. The first Central Committee dates back to last year and it includes pro-Moscow conservatives and middle-of-the-road members. Its Presidium was elected last April and the liberals and the conservatives are fairly evenly split there.

The second Central Committee was elected last week at a secretly held extraordinary 14th congress of the party when Mr. Dubcek and his associates were in Soviet captivity. It is almost entirely liberal and the Presidium elected by it has no conservatives.

The Soviet Union considers that last week's party congress was illegal and that the party should return to the Central Committee and Presidium that functioned before the invasion. The communiqué on the Soviet-Czechoslovak talks in Moscow identified Czechoslovak leaders by the titles they held in the pre-invasion party bodies.

Indications were emerging today that Mr. Dubcek may have no choice but to go back to the old situation.

A congress of the Slovak party that met in Bratislava today demanded a new extraordinary congress of the national party. The Slovaks contended that not enough of them were represented at the clandestine Prague congress last week.

Gustav Husak, a Deputy Premier, announced at the Slovak congress that he was resigning his post on the new Presidium and Central Committee and he

urged Mr. Dubcek to do likewise.

Assembly's Resolution

PRAGUE, Aug. 28 (AP)—The Czechoslovak National Assembly refused today to ratify the Moscow accord and declared the Soviet-led occupation illegal.

The eight-point National Assembly resolution stated:

"Continued occupation of Czechoslovakia is 'illegal and violates the United Nations Charter and the Warsaw Treaty.'"

"The Czechoslovak delegation is thanked for its efforts at Moscow to 'remove the present abnormal situation in the country.'"

"The National Assembly is convinced that Czechoslovakia must remain in the socialist community."

"The National Assembly is convinced that the Czechoslovak army is able to defend the country's western borders without foreign assistance and calls on the Government to insist on a firm date for the withdrawal of the foreign armies as soon as possible."

"The National Assembly demands that all Government organs and mass media be allowed to resume normal free activities. It demands the release of all persons illegally arrested by Czechoslovak or foreign security organs since the beginning of the occupation."

"The National Assembly insists on uncompromising pursuance of the principles proclaimed in the reformist action program of the Communist party and the program of the legal government. The democratization process should be continued without interference."

"The National Assembly will discuss in the next few days an impending Government report on the outcome of the Moscow talks."

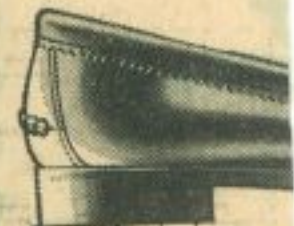
"The Czechoslovak people are called on to retain their firm unity and to 'prevent all provocations that could supply a pretext for new interventions against the interests of our people and state.'"



REFLECTING: These citizens of Prague appear to be pondering the future of their country as they stand under posters of President Ludvik Svoboda, left, and Alexander Dubcek.

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Liberal Leaders Are on the Way Out

Czech Press Freedom Is Dead

PRAGUE, Aug. 30 (UPI) — Freedom of the press began dying in Soviet-occupied Czechoslovakia today. The key publication of this nation's humbled communist reform regime issued what it called its last edition.

Literarni Listy, the magazine in whose pages the drive for reform was spearheaded until the Soviet bloc invasion Aug. 21, said in today's edition, "we will not publish unless we can write freely."

It went down fighting. The final issue distributed in Prague featured a cartoon of a Soviet soldier standing atop a tank and holding a machine-gun. The caption read:

"Workers of the world unite — or I shoot you!"

THE FACTS OF LIFE

Parliament President Josef Smrkovsky, a major reform leader along with Communist Party First Secretary Alexander Dubcek, was telling his countrymen the new facts of life as the magazine's final issue came off the presses last night. In a radio broadcast he said:

"We will be forced to make extraordinary measures in the sphere of the press, radio and television so as to prevent them from writing and speaking against the foreign political interests and needs of the republic."

Smrkovsky said other conditions laid down by the Soviet invaders meant the end of non-communist political bodies the Dubcek regime had allowed to flourish before Aug. 21.

Dubcek, President Ludvik Svoboda, Smrkovsky and other leaders met 20 hours yesterday trying to plan now to reconcile these and other Soviet conditions and the open defiance shown by the Czechoslovak people to the occupation forces of the Soviet Union, East Germany, Poland, Hungary and Bulgaria.

Communist sources said Dubcek planned to call a Party Central Committee meeting tomorrow as the first step toward holding a full communist congress early next month, probably Sept. 9. The congress was needed to work out just how Czechoslovak communism can co-operate with the Russians and still keep alive hopes for making this nation more democratic.

REPLACEMENTS

The sources said the Kremlin, which arrested Dubcek, Smrkovsky and other reformers during the invasion and released them only after getting vows of obedience, has its own plans. According to the sources, the Soviets are demanding the Dubcek reformers oust many of their own number from high party office and replace them with pro-Moscow comrades trusted by the Soviets.

According to Western diplomats here, the Kremlin's plan is even more far-reaching. They said the Soviets plan to eventually squeeze from power all the liberals, including Dubcek. They said the Russians have allowed Dubcek to stay in power only because they feared massive resistance to his ouster by the Czechoslovak population.

The diplomats said the Kremlin intends to have Dubcek carry out its crushing of reform and then toss him out.

All this was reflected in the sorrowing tones of public statements from Dubcek and other reformers, all pleading with lumps in their throats for Czechoslovak to live with Soviet occupation. Smrkovsky ended his broadcast last night by saying:

"Dear fellow citizens, I beg you to show understanding for us, on whose shoulders has rested the heavy burden of negotiating and of making decisions.

"We too had to act and decide in the shadow of tanks and aircraft stationed on our territory."

Romania Continues to Support Czechs

BUCHAREST, Aug. 30 (UPI) — Romania yesterday reaffirmed its support of occupied Czechoslovakia by demanding the complete withdrawal of Soviet-led forces 'in the shortest possible time.'

By openly announcing "disapproval" of the invasion, Romania contradicted opinions of diplomatic observers that Communist Party leader Nicolae Ceausescu had weakened in his sympathy for the Czechoslovaks. Moscow TV predicted Wednesday Romania would switch sides and approve the Soviet intervention.

Romanian and Russian troops exchanged rifle fire across their border during the early crucial days of the Soviet occupation, Romanian border guards said today.

Czech Family Seeking a New Life in Exile

Invasion Brings Its Vacation on Adriatic to a Sudden End

Special to The New York Times

VIENNA, Aug. 30—The vacation on the Yugoslav Adriatic had come to a shattering end. Soviet tanks were in Prague, and the Havelkas headed homeward at once. But they got only as far as Vienna.

Now they say they will not return. Their signatures are on one of the manifestoes endorsing Alexander Dubcek and liberalization, and they fear arrest.

The Havelkas are four: she, a tall, black-haired woman in her early forties, Rumanian-born, at home in half a dozen languages, self-assured and tough; he, with firm features and receding blond hair, a man who could be pictured gardening after a long day at the Ministry of Transport, and their two children, a brooding, red-haired teen-aged girl and a cheerful, lanky boy of 12.

Like thousands of other vacationing Czech families, they were caught abroad by the invasion last week.

Through clandestine means, they were advised by friends in Prague that they might be arrested when they returned. Other signers of manifestoes had disappeared, it was said, perhaps arrested, perhaps hiding.

To Marga Havelka, the decision for exile was an urgent challenge. Until some time in September, they may stay in the apartment of friends, everything else requires planning: how to earn a living, and tuition for the children.

And then, Marga said, Vienna, which is less than an hour's drive from Czechoslovakia in



Camera Press-Pix

Citizens of Prague sign a manifesto endorsing liberalization trend in Czechoslovakia

their Fiat, looks much like Prague. They have few friends here and, anyway, such is life. She is a qualified fashion designer and has a job, "the pay isn't much"—starting Monday, Simon Havelka has been a Communist since he was 17. This is his second exile. He was sent to Britain in 1938 and stayed there through the war, joining a Communist youth group and studying physics.

He enthusiastically supported President Klement Gottwald when the Communists took over Prague in 1948. He mastered his disgust in the early nineteen-fifties when the purges, mostly of Jews, began. Mr. Havelka is Jewish.

Then came Mr. Dubcek and liberalization, soon followed by the tanks.

He will avoid working in his specialty, a branch of optics,

"so that I cannot be accused some day of having put Czech knowledge at the other world's disposal."

He shook his head. Who would have thought of a second emigration?

Jiri Havelka, the boy, did not seem worried. But for Milena, the girl, the world is ending. She had her life in Prague, her friends, the river and the trees, and a boy she loves. She is 17.

Vesely, editor in chief of the Czechoslovak literary magazine *Literarny Listy*, fled to West Germany last night, it became known here today.

Mr. Vesely who is staying with friends in Munich said that he decided to flee because he feared arrest by the Russians. His magazine, the organ of the Czechoslovak Writers' Association, was the voice of Czechoslovak intellectuals, strongly supporting the democratization process of the last eight months.