

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

Thousands of Czechs Fleeing
1968. 09. 1-15.

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—United Press International

Czech women weep as they stand a vigil near Prague's Wenceslas Monument where a me-

morial has been erected to honor the first victim of the Soviet invasion—a 14-year-old boy.

Thousands of Czechs Fleeing

By ANDREW BOROWIEC

Foreign Correspondent of The Star

PRAGUE—The trains for Austria and West Germany were jammed and a long line of people waited for exit visas at the Bartolomeska Street police station.

They were saying "get out before it is too late."

An estimated 8,000 Czechs have left Prague in the past 24 hours. The visas were still available although some officials of the Interior Ministry were reported under arrest.

Anti-Soviet slogans are being washed off the walls of Prague. Officials say this is a part of the return to normal life.

One remained, though, showing a large face shedding a tear marked "1968."

There were some Czechs who were saying that all was lost, but others

declared stubbornly that, after all, there were 14 million Czechs and Slovaks united by their hatred of Russia and of the system brought from Moscow.

"We are a pragmatic nation," they were saying, "and we have survived many dark periods. We will see this one through."

Outwardly Czechoslovakia this weekend is slowly staggering toward normalcy.

Crowds swarmed through the streets of Prague yesterday afternoon looking for bargains, as usual, lining up at fruit stores, exchanging the latest rumors. On the surface it was a normal Saturday afternoon in an East European capital.

But one did not have to scratch deep to find fear and dread.

Prominent liberals were changing apartments every night, sleeping with

friends. Many were fleeing toward the Western borders, their dream of a new Czechoslovak society shattered.

Some were stubbornly plotting passive underground resistance to thwart the Soviet scheme for Czechoslovakia's conquest.

In the heart of Prague men and girls manned honor guard in front of the monument of St. Wenceslas while passersby piled flowers in the place where a 14-year-old child was killed by Soviet bullets.

"St. Wenceslas don't let us perish," someone had scribbled in chalk on the monument.

Until now, an estimated 45 people have been killed and some 400 wounded since Soviet tanks rumbled into Czechoslovakia 10 days ago.

No one knows how many have been arrested by the Soviet secret police,

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PRAGUE

Thousands Fleeing Capital to the West

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whose numbers are growing steadily.

Russian troops were keeping out of sight, at least in Prague.

It was, in a way, an incongruous spectacle — Saturday strollers, crowded streetcars and buses and pretty girls carrying icecream cones—and, in a side street, tanks and armored cars and Soviet soldiers staring out.

Worst Still to Come

Most Czechs feel that the worst is still to come. They feel the Russian noose it tightening very, very slowly. They also feel that the rest of the Communist nations are being shown they should take heed, that Russia is determined to see to it that they toe the line—or else.

Nothing symbolized this attitude better than a drawing on the front page of the liberal Czech newspaper, *Literary Listy*. It showed a tank and a Soviet soldier aiming his rifle. The caption read: "Workers of the world unite—or else I will shoot you."

The Moscow newspaper *Pravda* has already indicated that 40,000 Czechs will have to be purged in order to bring Czechoslovakia back into the fold.

Many Czechs believe that before long the Russian securi-

ty apparatus will be working on a scale unheard of since Stalin's death.

The press will be censored, they say; the contacts with the West limited to the barest minimum. Sooner or later, they feel, they are bound to be barred from a free access to the West.

Few Collaborators

It will take some time before Moscow succeeds in this program. The degree of hostility in Czechoslovakia is such that few collaborators will be found.

But Russia's aim appears to be clear: The germ of "capitalist gangrene" that Czechoslovakia represented in the Soviet bloc has to be eliminated.

There are some Czechs who hope that the leadership in Moscow will change. But there is no evidence that this is in the offing.

Five coaches were added to this afternoon's Vienna Express. All seats were sold out and hundreds of relatives jammed the platform to say goodbye.

Some wept and some smiled. Handkerchiefs fluttered as the train left the glass-domed station, taking away the lucky ones.

Those who stayed behind slowly walked toward the city, past slogans "Zvitezime" (we shall win) that now have lost their spell.

Political Thinking Beyond Politics

TOWARD A MARXIST HUMANISM. Essays on the Left Today. By Leszek Kolakowski. Translated from the Polish by Jane Zielonko Peel. 220 pp. New York: Grove Press. \$5.50.

By SIDNEY HOOK

IF one wants to understand the philosophical sources of the "revisionist" streams of thought now eroding the bureaucratic Communist structures of Eastern Europe, this book of essays by Leszek Kolakowski is indispensable, exciting reading. There is no evidence here of direct influence of his ideas on events in countries other than Poland. But the book makes coherent the amorphous strivings toward political independence and intellectual tolerance now stirring in Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and even in Rumania under refurbished Marxist notions bursting out of their historical and semantic frames.

The irony is that in his own country (where his ideas have had an enormous impact, particularly on the

MR. HOOK'S own contribution to the strategic thinking of war and peace is his recent book, "The Fail-Safe Falloey."

young) Kolakowski has become a victim of the neo-Stalinist tendencies of the Gomulka regime. The liberal hopes of the Polish "October of 1956" have withered; Gomulka himself is revealed, for all his nationalist deviations, as much closer to the doctrinal orthodoxy of the Kremlin than those who carried him from dungeon to dictatorial power suspected. Expelled from the Communist party and, according to his publishers, driven from his post as philosopher in the University of Warsaw, Kolakowski is now subject to the administrative and economic pressures by which the regime seeks to strangle the intellectual opposition. By accident of birth, he has been spared the charge of "Zionist!" now leveled surreptitiously at Adam Schaff, who once led the official attack against him.

The range of this collection of essays is impressive, extending from large problems in social philosophy and the theory and practice of Marxism to knotty issues in contemporary epistemology. It concludes with a playful essay "In Praise of Inconsistency," which defends moderation, skepticism and

tolerance in a vein reminiscent of an Enlightenment philosopher, for whom reasonableness consists in more than mere logical consistency.

Kolakowski's thought may best be characterized as an expression of pragmatic Marxism. He is familiar with the work of William James but, apparently, not with that of Charles Peirce or John Dewey, who fashioned more powerful tools for the dissolution of dogmas. He opposes his pragmatic, empirical approach in a frontal attack all along the line to "institutional Marxism," which refuses to abide by the test of consequences and fruits in experience. This test, Kolakowski believes, together with some American interpreters of Marx, is entailed by the Marxist theory of truth. Instead of modifying party programs by their observable effects on the welfare and freedom of the masses, "institutional Marxism" relies on force and fraud rather than persuasion and honest education to remain in power. The result is that its socialist phraseology functions mainly as a "facade for police states."

The author is no less critical of the misuse of democratic phraseology to obscure the realities of class power in the West. But his very concern with the question of what authentically expresses not only the needs, but the will, of the masses, points up his heretical view. For it implies that the basic issue between the official Communist theory and practice and its critics (East and West) is not so much the nature of its economy as the genuineness and extent of democracy in its political and social institutions. In other words, Kolakowski is primarily a democrat and humanist, and a socialist to the degree that a socialized economy furthers the ideals of a community of morally autonomous persons. This explains his opposition—rooted in the classic Marxist position—to the dictatorship of a minority party in social and political life, and especially in the fields of art, science and philosophy.

There are certain difficulties in Kolakowski's pragmatic version of Marx, even if one rejects the institutional view as enforced by its Unholy Office. If Marxism is basically a scientific method of realizing a democratic, classless society (or rather a nonexploiting society, since every society will be class-structured) and not a set of dubious and ambiguous doctrines in economics and sociology, what is specifically Marxist about it? Why should there be a Marxist sociology any more than a Marxist physics?

Kolakowski is aware of the problem, but his answer seems evasive. In discussing the permanent versus the transitory elements in Marxism, he contends that the most significant division in the social sciences today is not among orthodox Marxists, heretical Marxists and non-Marxists but "between the Right and Left in the humanities." This seems to

me loose and unfortunate language. For, when we ask how the intellectual activity of the Left differs from the Right, we are told it differs in virtue of its "radical rationalism in thinking; steadfast resistance to any invasion of myth into science; an entirely secular view of the world; criticism pushed to its utmost limits; distrust of all closed doctrines and systems; striving for open-mindedness . . ." etc. All excellent traits, exemplified to a pre-eminent degree by thinkers like M. R. Cohen, Dewey, Russell and other vigorous critics of Marx and Marxism! Kolakowski would transform Marxism into the credo of the Rationalist Association.

What we have here is a development rather than a mere interpretation of Marxism. This is clear in Kolakowski's emphasis on the role of human consciousness in redetermining the direction of history, and his defense of the autonomy of individual moral judgments, despite his unqualified acceptance of historical determinism. His discussion is rich and suggestive, but it is not free from ambiguity.

He asserts, for example, that "one must recognize certain facts as both morally repulsive and historically progressive." In a sense, this is true—but not if progress is a moral notion. The author does not sufficiently distinguish this position from the view that morally bad means are justified by socially good ends, one of the standard forms of apologia for the worst excesses of tyrants, Marxist or others. Only if the ends are truly desirable in the light of the costs of the means, and only if the means used are the least costly, would the position be defensible. In that case, the means would involve the lesser or least evil in an inescapably tragic situation.

A greater familiarity with Dewey's philosophy, especially his critique of Trotsky, would have helped Kolakowski's analysis. He would also have avoided some gross errors in his discussion of the pragmatic theory of truth—which differs from the classical conception of truth, not in denying that an idea is true when it corresponds with its object, but in its activist conception of what it means "to correspond." Nor is mere usefulness a criterion of correspondence. A lie can be useful, too.

Considering the political milieu in which Kolakowski has developed, it is a great and unpatronizing pleasure to testify to the high intellectual and professional competence of his writings, comparable to the best in the West. They are informed by a fresh and original approach to old problems; they are both spirited and interesting; and they are written in a colorful as well as incisive style. Most impressive to me is his awareness of dimensions of life that transcend the political, and his recognition of the commanding perspective of the tragic vision, even in the best. (Continued on Page 25)



Photograph by Lutfi Ortok

LESZEK KOLAKOWSKI has been a thorn in the side of the regime since the post-Stalin thaw went out of style in Warsaw. This maverick humanist-philosopher is the author of a hotly-discussed play, "Entrance and Exit" (closed after four performances on orders from above), set in a dentist's anteroom and spoofing the incompetence of all authoritarian "extractions"; his book of parables, "Keys to Heaven," used innocent Biblical settings to suggest that the destiny of man, if it is to change at all, must change from within. Today, though dismissed from the party and his professorial chair, he still retains his intellectual freedom and his gadfly sting, and is still the courageous leader of the Polish enragés. Gomulka describes him as the "spiritual agitator" of the recent student rebellions. At the last Warsaw Writers Union, he deplored the "sad record of so-called discussions, in which no one has the occasion to go deeper into things, since each subject leads to the barrier of the forbidden."

*As Stalin said,
"There is ground for
just one party..."*

Why Moscow Couldn't Stand Prague's Deviation

By ALBERT PARRY

THE Serbian worker was asked, "Do you think a two-party system would work with us Yugoslavs?" The Serb shook his head vehemently: "Once a second party is allowed, everybody will rush to join it—and then the Communist party will die. We'll be right back where we started: a one-party system."

This mordant anecdote, which is often attributed to Tito himself, gained wide circulation in Eastern Europe early this year. It was given special point 11 days ago when troops of the Soviet Union and four of its Warsaw Pact allies seized Czechoslovakia, ending the short-lived lib-

eralized regime of Party Secretary Alexander Dubcek.

The specter of a second party has long haunted the rulers of Soviet Russia. For Leonid Brezhnev, as for Lenin and Stalin and Khrushchev before him, a multiplicity of parties in any Communist state—parties that would be more than puppets—is a perversion and distortion of Marxism, a horrible nightmare. When the men of Prague moved to breach the dike of one-party rule, when this critical Warsaw Pact state raised the forbidden specter, it was inevitable that Brezhnev must move to hold the line. Whatever the eventual settlement of the current crisis may be, the multiparty threat must be the Kremlin's prime consideration.

At first blush the main worry of Brezhnev, Kosygin, Suslov, et al., might have seemed to be the amount



DEFIANCE—A Czechoslovak youth parades his nation's flag before a Soviet tank during the occupation of Prague, Aug. 21. Faced with the Czech move toward a multiparty system, Soviet leaders "could do no other."

of freedom being given by Dubcek to his own Communist party members. But this was only the genesis of the Kremlin jitters. The chief issue was the courage inspired in Czechoslovakia's nonparty and other-party folk by their riotous example. From the Communists' liberties, it would be but one contagious step to a genuine multiparty system. The Communist party might diminish, first a minority, then to a culprit (for all of its past but well-remembered sins against the people) and finally to an outcast. So the Kremlin arguments must have gone.

Nor was it just a matter of Prague alone. The domino theory applies: With Prague gone, Warsaw and Budapest and certainly Bucharest would follow. The restless Soviet intellectuals would become yet more restless with such tempting examples

before them, and the effect on the non-Russian national groups in the Soviet Union—especially the rebellious Ukrainians right next door to Czechoslovakia—was all too easily predictable. In the Soviet leadership's mind's eye, those Communist bodies of Budapest, 1956, dangled from the lampposts all over again—and this time all over Eastern Europe.

IN spite of Dubcek's reassurances that this would not happen, that the specter had no substance in Czechoslovakia, the Soviet leadership called for invasion. Did they distrust Dubcek's intentions? No, they distrusted his intelligence and ability as a Communist leader. They felt that he was naive. They felt that he had not done his homework in Lenin's books. They feared that forces craftier than

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Times Sept. 2, 1968

Pope, Assailing Invasion, Asks Prayers for the Czechoslovaks

Special to The New York Times

CASTEL GANDOLFO, Italy, Sept. 1—Pope Paul VI today bitterly condemned the military invasion of Czechoslovakia, saying it had "spread uneasiness and fear throughout the free and civilized world."

His remarks, the strongest language he has used on the Czechoslovak crisis, were made in his regular Sunday-noon address to the pilgrims and visitors to his summer villa in the Alban Hills. He called on all Christians to pray for the Czechoslovak people.

"The news of the world is not good," the Pope said, "What we believed no longer possible has, instead, happened. The foundations of international order have been shaken.

"Once again the oppression of arms and of intimidation has been readmitted to determine by force the relations between nations; independence and national dignity have been gravely offended. The security of other nations has been threatened; an extraneous will has been imposed upon the civil life of a people; a police-like incubus increases the psychological tension of the population."

The Pope went on to express a feeling of "solidarity for those who suffer" and the need to reaffirm "the moral principles that should protect the respect for the individual, and upon which social and political relations should be based."

Turning these principles into reality "could be a positive fruit" of the situation, in Czechoslovakia, he said, but it is a "fruit slow to mature," and one which, history shows, comes after "bitter experience."

The Pope said that such re-

flections give rise to a feeling "of impotence and fatality" in souls that suffer over violence and that "observe without being able to bring help."

Prayer 'Becomes Logical'

At this point, recourse to prayer "becomes logical and urgent," the Pope said, adding: "God does not abandon human events to their perverse destiny."

The Pope asked for prayers that God would enlighten "those responsible for the fate of peoples."

"God can comfort the weak and make them a race of seers and heroes" he said. "God can extract from the errors and mishaps of men unforeseen sources of wisdom and virtue."

The Pope's address was viewed by some as not only a plea for the end to oppression but as evidence of a desire to dispel any doubts about his stand that might have arisen from his remarks last Wednesday that the situation in Czechoslovakia could have been worse.

Wark Port-68.9.11

Czechs Told Police Terror Won't Return

From News Dispatches

PRAGUE, Sept. 10—Czechoslovakia's liberal leaders pledged to their fellow citizens at home and abroad tonight that they need not fear a return of Stalinist police terror even under Soviet military occupation.

The promise came in a dramatic proclamation signed by Communist Party First Secretary Alexander Dubcek,

the leader of the reform movement, President Ludvik Svoboda, Premier Oldrich Cernik, National Assembly President Josef Smrkovsky and Gustav Husak, the leader of the Slovak Communist Party.

"We know that today one of the fundamental premises for the people having full confidence is the question of personal freedom and security," said the document, broadcast by Radio Prague.

"We want to assure you that we are fully aware of our duty to ensure the personal freedom and safety of all our fellow citizens, workers, farmers, artists, scientists, adults and juveniles.

"Hence, conscious of our responsibility, we proclaim: We regard security under the law of all Czechoslovak citizens as one of the inviolable principles of our socialist development. Every citizen of this state who has not violated the law enjoys its full protection."

Referring to those Czechoslovaks who have fled the country or refused to return since the Soviet-led occupation began on Aug. 20, the leaders said they understood "the complexity of their situation . . ."

"Staying abroad multiplies distrust, foreign propaganda and difficulties in getting to know our reality at first-hand and increases one's helplessness and confusion.

"However," the writers continued, "we would like to remind them: Your place is here. The Republic needs your abilities, knowledge . . . your creative work. Your fellow citizens are waiting for you . . ."

Emphasizing their determination to prevent a return to the police terror used by Antonin Novotny, ousted earlier this year as President of the Republic and First Secretary of the Communist Party, the new leadership declared:

"We repeat yet again that we will never tolerate deformations and violations of our legal order such as we were witnesses to—and not only witnesses—during the past years."

The proclamation said the liberal course instituted last January would be continued. It said the leadership would work "to strengthen socialist order and expand its democratic humanist character."

The statement followed numerous individual pledges by Czechoslovak leaders that the law would be observed despite the presence of 650,000 occupying troops. But there were hints that the proclamation

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Premier Cernik of Czechoslovakia sees Soviet leaders for political and economic talks. Page A16.

Czech

Aide Said To Quit

Liberal Hajek Unacceptable To Soviets

By Kenneth Ames

Special to The Washington Post

PRAGUE, Sept. 12—Further moves in the protracted process of reshaping the Czechoslovak party and government hierarchy into a form more acceptable to the Soviet military authorities became known today.

There were widespread reports—neither confirmed nor denied by the Foreign Ministry—that Foreign Minister Jiri Hajek, one of the men known to be unacceptable to Moscow, had resigned. Tipped as his successor is Josef Lenart, a former Premier and anti-Dubcek man who was deposed early in the pre-invasion reform process.

Hajek's days were numbered since he went, on his own initiative, from Yugoslavia to put the Czechoslovak case against the occupation before the United Nations Security Council. The Prague government then cut the ground from under his feet, at Russian behest, by demanding that the matter be dropped from the agenda. Strong attacks on Hajek were printed in Soviet organs.

German Issue

Since his appointment as Foreign Minister earlier this year, Hajek had made himself unpopular with Moscow and its closest allies by his persistent campaign for improved trade and political relations with West Germany.

A strong believer in detente with West Germany, he had repeatedly solicited support from the Rumanians and Yugoslavs after those two countries became the first Communist nations, outside of the Soviet Union, to extend recognition to Bonn.

Assuming the reports are true, Hajek thus becomes the third minister in Alexander Dubcek's regime to fall a victim of Russian pressures to revamp Czechoslovak leadership without overt intervention.

Minister of Interior Josef Pavel, a noted liberal who prevented the Russians from getting their hands on the security organizations after the invasion of Aug. 20, was the first victim two weeks ago. He was followed by Deputy Premier Ota Sik, the mastermind of

See CZECH, A14, Col. 1

*Albania acts to leave
Warsaw Pact. Page A14.*



United Press International

Soviet soldiers march out of Prague toward the outskirts as part of evacuation from centers of major cities.

Czech Official Hajek Said to Resign

CZECH, From A1

economic liberalization who resigned, in absentia, last week.

As the Soviets neutralize the progressive Czechoslovak leadership by gradual stages, there are increasing signs that they are concentrating their attentions on the region of Slovakia, which they apparently consider more amenable to their blandishments.

Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Vasily Kuznetsov spent a full two days in discussion with Gustav Husak, the Slovak Communist Party leader, considerably longer than he devoted to his negotiations with Dubcek.

A full meeting of the Slovak Party Presidium in Bratislava yesterday and today discussed the outcome of these talks. And hot on the heels of Kuznetsov came the Czechoslovak Minister of Interior, Jan Pelnar, to negotiate details of what is described as "Slovak administration within the Ministry of Interior."

Husak, until now a faithful supporter of Dubcek, is touted as a strong Slovak nationalist but with reservations about the progressive trend of pre-invasion political developments.

High Czechoslovak sources are speculating that Husak, with the backing of the Soviets and supported by strong undercurrents of Slovak chauvinism, could within a few months be eased into the top slot of the Czechoslovak Party, replacing Dubcek.

There is as yet, three weeks

after the invasion, no hint of any diminution of Dubcek's popularity with the people. But with a heavy program of unpopular measures to implement as part of the Moscow-dictated agreement under which he remained in office, it is conceivable that his popularity may be seriously undermined within the space of several months.

Other developments pointing to a consolidation within Slovakia, which has a population of four million against 10 million Czechs, include:

- Preparation of a bill giving a new deal to minorities, notably Hungarians and Gypsies in east and southeast Slovakia.

- Discussion by the Slovak Party leadership of planned punitive measures against newspapers which continue to annoy the Soviet military authorities by their "Negative attitude."

- Reported installation by the Soviets of a new editorial board on the East Slovakian News' at Kosice and plans to use it as a mouthpiece for Vasil Bilak, the pro-Soviet former Presidium member who has been discredited in Prague.

The evidence of continued and perhaps even intensified Soviet thumbscrew pressure has still not completely wiped out optimism at high levels of the Czechoslovak government over the chances of a complete Soviet troop pullout in the near future. Troops today finished vacating the centers of Prague, Bratislava and

Brno, staying close by in outlying areas.

However, there are strong signs that Moscow is using the Prague regime to eliminate the last vestiges of democratization, and is playing on the hope of an eventual troop pullout as a reward for good behavior.

News agencies reported from Prague:

Party chief Dubcek was persuaded tonight to tone down a television speech likely to have irked the Russians.

The move came on the same day that the Czechoslovak cabinet, bowing to Soviet pressure,

approved a draft law reinstating censorship and suspending freedom of the press. The law has been stiffened to include publication censorship.

Excerpts from Dubcek's speech were carried on television at 10 p.m. But reference to censorship and matters that might have been considered offensive by the Soviet Union and its allies were deleted by officials of the Czechoslovak Party Central Committee.

One source viewed the original speech as so strong "the Russians would have been back in town in five minutes" if Dubcek had made it.