

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

Red Parties to Meet in Budapest  
Today on a World Parley  
**1968. 09. 16-30**

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## Night Life Returns to Prague But It's Costly and Melancholy

Special to The New York Times

PRAGUE, Sept. 16 — Night life has returned to this beleaguered city, but with an air of forced gaiety mingled with melancholy.

Foreigners are starting to drift back into town and, at night spots with names like Bibita, Lucerna, Esplanade Bar, Jalta Bar and Tatran Bar, Englishmen and Germans drink Scotch whisky at two dollars a shot and headwaiters demonstrate their remarkable facility of coping with half a dozen languages.

But many tables are empty. The call girls, staring blankly, sit on stools, and a headwaiter at one of the nightclubs, mindful of the Soviet tanks that still ring the city, comments, "It will never be the same again."

For the first two weeks of the occupation, all the late-night bars were closed and restaurants stopped serving meals at 6:30 P.M. to get their employes home before the 10 P.M. curfew.

Gradually the restaurants and bars reopened and, though the restaurants occasionally get filled, the trade is still well below normal. Bars that normally remained open until 3 A.M. sometimes shut at 1 A.M. because there is no one to serve but the idle girls.

In the cavernous cellar premises of the Lucerna Bar, which before the invasion provided the first striptease in recent Prague history, a six-piece orchestra plays Latin-American rhythms.

There are perhaps 200 people, mostly Czechs, at the tables and by the bar. The talk is quiet, the dancing slow and the gaiety subdued.

The assistant manager, in a small office papered with hundreds of picture postcards, tells a reporter that business is off 50 per cent and that he does not know when, if ever, the striptease will return.

At the Esplanade Bar a little later the same evening, several Western businessmen, here for the big trade fair at Brno, are discussing the financing of East-West trade.

One of the men, a British banker, tells the small group that has gathered around that Czechoslovakia has an exceptionally good credit rating in the West because "it can't afford not to."

As he talks, a blonde sidles up to him and explains in German that she is from Hungary and stays at the International Hotel.

She leaves alone.



NY Times 68. 9. 20.

## HUNGARY UNEASY ON INVASION ROLE

Kadar Is Silent and Press  
Is Restrained on Prague

By ALVIN SHUSTER

Special to The New York Times

BUDAPEST, Sept. 19 — The Hungarians are telling a joke these days about the invasion.

Question: "What are 650,000 troops doing in Czechoslovakia?"

Answer: "They're looking for the fellow who invited them in."

That is about as light-hearted as the Hungarians get about the Czechoslovak situation. For of the five countries that sent in troops a month ago this week Hungary seems the most shy and embarrassed about it.

Western diplomats are convinced that Hungary—where a rebellion was crushed by Russian troops 12 years ago — was the reluctant partner in a decision that is not being defended with any great conviction in the press here.

"There is no doubt that the decision is still viewed here with sadness and shame to a large extent," said one.

A Communist source close to the Government put it this way:

"I would say that the number of people happy about it is insignificant. No socialist country likes to put troops into another."

### Denunciations Absent

Denunciations of the Prague regime's reforms have not been seen here. Nor have there been the implied demands, like those in Poland and East Germany, for punishment of the "guilty." In short, newspapers here have been calmer than in any of the other invading countries.

"I think it all means that the vote for sending troops in, if there was one, was 4 $\frac{1}{4}$  in favor," one diplomat said.

In the view of some here, one effect of the invasion could be a slowing down of Hungary's gradual process of reform.

Janos Kadar, the 56-year-old party chief, who was put into office by the Russians after the 1956 uprising, has not been heard from since the invasion.

He has made no speeches. He has not been quoted in the press. The explanation for the Hungarian participation has been left to lesser figures. This week the press has been telling Hungarians that some day "people will argue a lot about the events or the recent past" and that "in time many things will become more comprehensible and clearer."

Mr. Kadar is generally regarded by Western diplomats as a moderate progressive who after a few years of repression has tried to steer a middle course with a program of economic reform of decentralization, which many regard as perhaps more advanced than that in preinvasion Czechoslovakia.

### Secret Police Recede

There is a self-imposed press censorship and a foreign policy that echoes Moscow. But the secret police have receded into the background, nonparty officials have been brought into the Government's economic hierarchy and a truce has been reached with intellectuals, enabling some experimentation.

The Government has tried to encourage economic contact with the West—Coca-Cola arrived the other day. Western plays are popular—"The Odd Couple" was a sell-out on the stage, and the movie "Cleopatra" is showing here now.

Some diplomats see Mr. Kadar's silence since the invasion as evidence of his disappointment in failing to moderate the dispute. Communist officials say that he rarely speaks out anyway.

In any event, Mr. Kadar had apparently built up a personal relationship with Alexander Dubcek, the Czechoslovak party leader, who received the warmest greeting ever given to a Czechoslovak leader, when he paid a visit here. Three days before the invasion, on Aug. 18, Mr. Kadar met with Mr. Dubcek on the border.

### Believe He Had No Choice

There are some who argue that Mr. Kadar really felt that Mr. Dubcek was moving too far too fast. But the more general assumption among diplomats is that Mr. Kadar had no choice, given his economic dependence upon the Soviet Union, which also happens to have 40,000 troops on Hungarian soil.

The question of concern to diplomats here now is whether Mr. Kadar's early support of Mr. Dubcek's reforms and his reported failure at moderation have strengthened the unknown number of party hard-liners.

"He may not be weakened in any significant way," one Western source said. "But he is probably hurt psychologically. Any thought that he could entertain an even more independent policy has been dispelled."

But all signs indicate that Mr. Kadar continues to have the support of the Soviet Government, and that alone is enough to discourage the hardest hard-liner who might be tempted to challenge him.

### Madrid Heart Patient Dies

MADRID, Sept. 19 (AP)—Juan Rodriguez Grille, Spain's first heart transplant patient, died today of kidney complications. The heart transplanted into the chest of the 44-year-old plumber yesterday continued to function well until an "acute kidney insufficiency" poisoned him, the La Paz Clinic announced.



Work Port 68.9.20

# Newest Rumors About Rumania Excite Prague

Washington Post Foreign Service

PRAGUE, Sept. 19—The interruption twice today of telephone service between Prague and Bucharest unnerved this already nervous city.

Thousands of phone calls were received by Radio Prague from persons wanting to know if Rumania was suffering a fate similar to that experienced here on the night of Aug. 20.

During the day the Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry denied knowledge of an invasion.

The state of nerves in Prague was not helped by persistent—but completely unconfirmed—rumors that Soviet military forces, including tanks, had been seen concentrating around Soviet cities. Another report, also completely without confirmation, was that food shortages were appearing throughout the Soviet Union because of heavy requisitioning of food for the armed forces.

[In Washington, officials said they had no word of renewed Soviet military activity threatening Rumania. They added that in recent days there have been a number of broadcasts by unidentified Czechoslovak radio transmitters which, when checked out, proved to be unfounded. The implication was that such broadcasts may be of a provocative nature aimed at the Soviet occupation of Czechoslovakia. There were no reports from Bucharest or elsewhere in Europe to confirm the Prague rumors.]

First reports of telephone failure with Bucharest came this morning from an unidentified Czech-language radio station. This resulted in the phone calls to Radio Prague. In the afternoon, another incident occurred.

An airline official tried to place a call to Bucharest and was told by the international operator, "We are occupied." This was misinterpreted to mean that Rumania was being overrun, rather than that all the lines were busy. Within hours, the invasion scare had spread.

One journalist, however, was told at the international post office in Prague in the morning that "the lines have been cut."

In wake of the rumors in Prague, high-level diplomatic and Communist sources expressed renewed concern for Rumania. Rumanian and Yugoslav diplomats said that they remain worried about Soviet intentions. Thus, Rumania is said to be now making a study of the military aspects to determine whether the introduction of 650,000 Warsaw Pact troops here indicated that the Kremlin had other military plans for the area.

According to Communist sources, the Rumanians and Yugoslavs consider their position to be serious enough to have concluded a semiofficial military aid pact. The agreement could not be revealed or formalized, it was said, because of Rumania's membership in the Warsaw Pact, under which an adherent is forbidden from making military pacts with other countries without the consent of its allies. Yugoslavia is not a member.

Communist sources said that they had been informed of troop activity in Hungary, the Soviet Union and Bulgaria, which has a border dispute with Yugoslavia. How many troops were on the move was not known, but diplomats



JIRI HAJEK

... loses position

stressed that never since World War II has Russia had such a massive troop force on the borders with the West.

They said 16 to 18 Soviet divisions, each with about 10,000 men, were in the vicinity of the Rumanian border in the Soviet Union. Some 1.3 million troops of the Warsaw Pact were reported to be within a day's drive of the West German border in Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland.

*Henry Shapiro of UPI reported from Leusheny, Moldavia, Soviet Union:*

A group of foreign correspondents who had been flown from Moscow saw no evidence of unusual troop movements on the 60-mile road connecting the Moldavian capital of Kishinev with the Rumanian border.

The frontier is heavily forested, however, and the Soviet army has a talent for making itself invisible.

Officials in Kishinev and here at this border town said business with Rumania was going on as usual, and that the border had not been closed in recent weeks. Western tourists have confirmed that they crossed the Rumanian-Soviet border since Aug. 20, the date of the Czechoslovak invasion



# Hungary Defends Economic Reforms Like Czechs'

By ALVIN SHUSTER

Special to The New York Times

BUDAPEST, Sept. 20 — The Hungarian Government tonight strongly defended its own economic-reform program, which closely resembles the Czechoslovak reforms now under new attack by the Soviet Union.

Premier Jeno Fock said that Hungary — one of the five invaders of Czechoslovakia — had tried to make other Socialist countries understand the "process going on in our country." The hope, he said, was that they would "agree with our course, if possible."

For Hungary, the Premier told a group of technical and scientific federations, remains determined to meet the commitments of the program under any circumstances. "We shall continue to stick to this attitude," he said.

This was the first time since Hungary joined in the Soviet-led invasion a month ago that the Premier had spoken out. Janos Kadar, the Communist party leader, has not yet made a public postinvasion statement.

The defense of Hungary's program, begun on Jan. 1 after long study, came as the Soviet press renewed attacks on the

defenders of Ota Sik, the principal architect of the economic reforms in Czechoslovakia.

The economic ideas of Dr. Sik, a former Deputy Premier whose resignation was forced by the Soviet Union, were studied by economists here in preparing Hungary's program.

There has been some feeling among observers here that the Hungarian program might now be handled more cautiously and even at a slower pace because of the invasion.

For the Hungarian program, with its decentralization in planning, emphasis on the competitive spirit and profit incentives, has elements much like the Czechoslovak effort. In some respects, experts say, the program here goes even further in theory than the pre-invasion Czechoslovak liberalization.

This explains in part why the words of officials and the Hungarian press often seem calmer than those in the other Warsaw Pact countries. Officials make the point that the "normalization" in Czechoslovakia preceding any troop withdrawal does not mean the abandonment of her economic reforms.

"We sent troops in with our allies," said one Hungarian

Government source, "not because we were against reforms, but because we wanted to help rid the country of the counter-revolutionary forces preventing the reforms from working."

The program here is aimed at creating an economy with limited price mobility and freedom for state-owned enterprises to make their own decisions on how much to manufacture. The businesses will be judged primarily on their level of profit, the size of which determines the bonus to managers and workers.

The effort includes increased contacts with the West, and officials are reporting elatedly that there may soon be an announcement that a Hilton hotel will be built in the Buda hills overlooking the Danube.

Hungarian officials say they do not agree that the Czechoslovak developments will affect their own program, admittedly still in its early stages. But some experts here predict a much more cautious pace.

"Take the morale of these Government economists," one expert here said. "How can they put the same fire and spirit into what they are trying to do when the Russians and others are de-

nouncing Sik and the thinking that went into the Czechoslovak program."

There is also a belief that the political effects of the Hungarian program in Western Europe will not help the program. Hungary, which has taken major strides toward an industrialized economy since World War II, has sought to increase her contacts in the West. West Germany is now her biggest trade partner outside the Soviet bloc, which still handles about two-thirds of Hungary's trade.

Hungary has also looked to world bankers for credits, but some observers now think that the banks may be a little more reticent. The economic-reform effort had already been set back somewhat by fears of unemployment and inflation. Moreover, the economy was impaired this year by the worst drought in 50 years.

Some prices freed since January promptly rose, particularly the cost of some food and clothing. A man's suit of average quality costs about \$62, at the tourist rate of exchange, but that is high in terms of wages here. The factory worker earns about \$66 a month, at the tourist rate.



PARADE'S SPECIAL

# INTELLIGENCE REPORT

EDITED by LLOYD SHEARER

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BECAUSE OF VOLUME OF MAIL RECEIVED, PARADE REGRETS IT CANNOT ANSWER QUERIES ABOUT THIS COLUMN.



MAP SHOWS ACCESSIBILITY OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA FOR ESCAPEES TO THE WEST.

## CZECHS AND GEOGRAPHY

Czech students whose resistance against the Soviet invaders has been gallant, inventive, and productive, told PARADE several weeks ago that few Americans could understand their situation without first studying a map of Eastern Europe.

If you study such a map, you will find that Czechoslovakia, put together 50 years ago as an independent nation, is bordered by Poland, Russia, Hungary, Austria, East and West Germany. Of all these countries, the one Soviet Russia fears the most is West Germany. The reason for this is

that in World War I Russia suffered approximately 10 million casualties at the hands of the Germans. In World War II Russia suffered another 20 million, so that today there is hardly any family in Russia which has not lost someone to German militarism.

Walter Ulbricht, the dictator of East Germany, who was trained as a Communist agent in Moscow, knows of Russia's obsessive fear. It was he who prevailed upon Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev to invade Czechoslovakia.

What Ulbricht pointed out was that many of his most skilled and adventurous East Germans were defecting to West Germany via Czechoslovakia. East Germans from Leipzig, Dresden, Jena, Weimar, and other cities would travel to Czechoslovakia ostensibly for a vacation. Once in Prague, they would meet relatives or friends from West Germany, equipped with extra passports or identity documents. They would then take the train from Prague to Pilsen to Cheb, cross the border into Nuremberg and freedom. Czech border guards were liberal and permissive, hardly gave anyone trouble.

Since people constitute the basic wealth of a nation, Ulbricht complained that he was losing his most valuable asset through the Czech loophole. He insisted that it be eliminated.

Gomulka of Poland, who has lost Poles through a similar escape route, Katowice in Poland to Moravska in Czechoslovakia, complained of the same thing. Why lose people to

West Germany, a well-armed, prosperous, ambitious nation anxious to regain East Germany?

Why let a liberal Czech government establish diplomatic relations with West Germany? Why threaten East German, Polish, and Soviet security by permitting Czechoslovakia to break away from the tight Communist camp?

What Soviet Russia cares most about is Soviet security. Brezhnev, Kosygin, Suslov, and the Soviet leadership were seduced by the Ulbricht and Gomulka arguments, decided to take over Czechoslovakia and try to place in power a puppet government which would neither recognize West Germany nor permit easy passage across its borders.

Another major reason for the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia was that the Red leaders were afraid that the democratic reforms and liberties engineered by Czech students would set off shock waves of unrest in their own countries where more than 50% of the population is age 40 or under.

Czech students, who sport long hair, blue jeans, and gathered around the statue of their 15th-century revolutionary hero, Jan Hus, waving the Czech flag and shouting "Russians, go home!", say they have talked to thousands of East German and Polish tourists and that practically all of them are dissatisfied with their leaders at home.

In short, the Communist leaders are afraid that democracy is contagious, and that the "disease" will eventually lead to their downfall.



CZECH STUDENTS RALLY FOR FREEDOM.



NY Times 68.9.23

## Red Parties to Meet In Budapest Today On a World Parley

By ALVIN SHUSTER

Special to The New York Times

BUDAPEST, Sept. 22—The announcement of gradual troop withdrawals from Czechoslovakia is expected to help ease tensions at a meeting of Communist parties opening here tomorrow.

The meeting, the largest gathering of the parties since the invasion, will try to draft plans for a world Communist conference scheduled in Moscow in November.

Observers here and elsewhere have linked the announcement from Prague yesterday of the impending withdrawal to an effort by the Soviet Union to try to dampen interparty wrangling here this week.

The announcement was made by the Czechoslovak Premier, Oldrich Cernik. It has not been officially confirmed by Moscow and reports from Prague today indicated confusion on the prospects of withdrawal.

Communist parties in the West have been unanimous in their condemnation of the invasion. The Italian party, the largest in Europe, said the action was unjustified and issued a "grave dissent."

### Conciliatory Gesture Seen

There had been some speculation here that the Russians would make some gesture either before or during the meeting in an effort to try to heal the party wounds. The parties in the West have been invited to the meeting.

No official announcement has been made of the meeting and there are no indications just who will come.

While some believe the sessions will involve a relatively small working group, preparations here suggest a gathering of the so-called preparatory committee for the Moscow conference. When this committee met here in April, more than 50 parties attended.

The site of the meeting will be the old Gellert Hotel, a majestic building on the Danube. It was cleared today of all its guests.

The sessions may last two weeks, according to one report.

The report of the impending troop withdrawal was welcomed by Hungarians, who saw Russian troops crush their rebellion 12 years ago. Some 50,000 Soviet soldiers still remain in the countryside.

Hungary has generally been regarded as the most reluctant of the five countries that sent troops into Czechoslovakia, in part because some of her own reforms resemble those of the invaded country.

### U.S. Communist Present

William Weinstone, a member of the national committee of the American Communist party, is in Budapest in connection with the meeting starting today.

This was reported yesterday by James Jackson, a secretary of the United States party's national committee and director of its international department.

### Hudson Bay Co. Flourishes

Modern department stores flying the Hudson's Bay Company's historic red insignia span Canada.



# Prague Purge Is Sought

## Kremlin Calls For Ousters in Press, Radio

By Anatole Shub  
Washington Post Foreign Service

MOSCOW, Sept. 25—The Kremlin tonight demanded a swift purge of the Czechoslovak press, radio and television and denounced "some Czechoslovak leaders" who have recently praised the news media.

In an authoritative statement, the official Soviet news agency Tass charged that such Czechoslovak leaders "directly contradict" last month's post-invasion Soviet-Czechoslovak agreement.

No leaders' names were mentioned, but the most obvious target of the attack was Josef Smrkovsky, Czechoslovakia's popular National Assembly President, who declared Saturday that the news media "rendered magnificent services in the critical days" after the Soviet invasion Aug. 20.

Zdenek Mlynar, a Czechoslovak Party secretary and progressive theoretician, also paid tribute to the Czechoslovak press last week. In addition, the National Assembly Legal Commission has formally endorsed the underground newspapers and radio stations which maintained Czechoslovakia's determined resistance in the days after the invasion.

Tonight's sharp attack by Moscow appeared to make it less likely that Czechoslovak leaders will visit here in the immediate future. The action appears to portend another sharp turn toward a hard Kremlin line on Czechoslovakia after some days of apparent indecision.

The Tass statement emphasized that the question of "antisocialist" journalists is "very topical." Despite Prague's reimposition of censorship, Tass charged, "some organs of the Czechoslovak mass media have not only failed to stop antisocialist propaganda but are even trying to intensify it."

[Radio Prague announced today that Jiri Pelikan, the director of Czechoslovak Television, and Zdenek Hejklar, the director of the state Radio, had been fired, Reuters reported. Story on Page A26.]

According to the Soviet

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# Moscow Insists Czechs Purge Press

SOVIET, From A1

agency, the matter is that "newspaper, radio and television editorial boards remain in the hands of the very same people as before the invasion."

"More than that," Tass continued, "recent statements by some Czechoslovak leaders contained, strange though it may be, praise for those who led the mass media along the antipopular road, and even attempted to win the favor of those who must bear direct responsibility for the ideological preparation of the counter-revolutionary coup."

"These statements in support of people who used the press, radio and television to call for a change of the political system in Czechoslovakia in isolation from the community of socialist countries, who called for bloodshed, directly contradict the agreement reached at the Moscow talks [and] greatly damage the cause of normalizing the situation in Czechoslovakia."

[The Soviet Union has yet to produce any evidence that anyone was preparing a coup or calling for bloodshed in Czechoslovakia before the invasion.]

"It is not accidental," Tass said, "that many of those who had committed their black deeds in Czechoslovakia's mass media have openly betrayed their country, fled to the West and offered their services to imperialist propaganda."

The Soviet statement singled out Pavel Kohout, playwright and author of a patriotic appeal signed by more than a million Czechs and Slovaks last July; novelist Ladislav Mnacko; a philosopher, Ivan Svitak; literary editor

Ludvik Vesely; writer Milan Kunzera, and former television news director Kamil Winter among those now in the West who had been "engaged in subversive activities" in the Czechoslovak news media.

Tass also charged continued activity by "the counterrevolutionary underground" but gave few particulars. It said:

"Acts of terror are being permitted against honest Communists. There are acts of subversion. Counterrevolutionary leaflets and illegal literature are being circulated. A leaflet calling for a 'sanguinary blow at Communists' recently appeared at the motor plant in Ceske Budejovice. There were instances of outrages against monuments to Soviet soldiers . . ."

Tass said that the Czechoslovak news media were intensifying "antisocialist propaganda" by various means. It said there were "many direct and veiled sallies against the Moscow agreements, appeals to avoid fulfilling them, attempts to fan nationalism, to undermine feelings of friendship for the fraternal peoples of socialist countries."

Earlier today, the Soviet Party newspaper Pravda had indirectly criticized high Czechoslovak leaders for having praised the "political maturity" of the nation's youth. The criticism, which mentioned no names, came in a report from Prague emphasizing ideological disarray among Czech and Slovak young people. Among those who have publicly praised the youth in recent days are Czechoslovak President Ludvik Svoboda and Premier Oldrich Cernik, as well as Smrkovsky.

Pravda also produced another Soviet intellectual to endorse the Kremlin's policy in Czechoslovakia. He is 59-year-old chemist academician Alexander Nesmeyanov, the second well-known cultural figure to approve the occupation. The other was novelist Mikhail Sholokhov, earlier this month.

In another development, Soviet authorities conceded publicly the existence of disagreements in the world Communist trade union movement. Although Western Communist labor leaders, as well as officials of the World Federation of Trade Unions, have condemned the occupation of Czechoslovakia, this had never been reported here.

Tonight, however, Tass revealed that the French General Confederation of Labor and pro-Soviet unions had their "differences" over Czechoslovakia.

[Tass said the Soviet Communist Party delegation left today for Budapest to attend the preparatory meetings for an international Communist Conference, UPI reported. The British Communist Party added its voice to earlier calls by the French and Italian parties for a postponement of the international meeting, now scheduled for Nov. 25 in Moscow, Reuters reported.]

## Leaflet Distributors Expelled by Russians

Reuters

MOSCOW, Sept. 25—Russia today expelled two young Westerners for distributing leaflets yesterday attacking the occupation of Czechoslovakia. The government newspa-

per Izvestia alleged that the pair were victims of "imperialist" intelligence services.

Vicki Rovere, 24, of New York, and Andrew Patworth, 24, of London, were put aboard a London-bound plane.

## Bulgaria Denies Report Of Troop Concentration

From News Dispatches

Bulgaria yesterday denied an Albanian report that strong Soviet forces were concentrating in Bulgaria for aggressive purposes.

The Bulgarian news agency, BTA, said it was authorized to state categorically that "the government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria refutes in full as untrue the assertions of the Albanian side. They are to end."

From Budapest, the Hungarian news agency MTI quoted Hungarian Premier Jenoe Fock as saying that the Czechoslovak people must solve their internal political and social problems themselves and called for patience to let them do it. Fock was speaking at the Budapest military academy and the MTI report was received in Vienna.

In East Berlin, Prof. Klaus Fuchs told a news conference West Germany would be able to produce about 50 atom bombs a year by 1970 and had the technical ability to begin the independent production of hydrogen bombs.

The news conference was called to reiterate an East Germany demand that West Germany sign the nuclear non-proliferation treaty. The Fuchs statement was quoted by the East German news agency, ADN.



# Autumn Finds Prague Unlike Spring, But Still Clinging to Same Concepts

By Dan Morgan

Washington Post Foreign Service

PRAGUE, Sept. 29—Walking out into the streets of this beautiful city for one of the last times before leaving, it is easy to get the impression that the outside world has changed since the tanks came, but not Czechoslovakia.

Where armored personnel carriers squatted a month ago, red and yellow trams ply up and down Wenceslas Square, and the bleached blondes with the good, round faces walk arm-in-arm past the shops and kiosks. At Hradcany Castle, armed Czechoslovak soldiers have been restored to their guard posts outside the heavy iron gates, minus their bayonets.

And people walk again through the cemetery of poets and musicians at the Vysehrad promontory, where the heroes of Czechoslovak cultural achievement, Capek, Smetana and Maca, lie buried.

## Battle of Inches

In the Central Committee building on the Moldau River, an idea which captured the excitement of the whole world is being ground away by Moscow's proconsuls, using the tried techniques of Communist politics.

What started as a dramatic confrontation has deteriorated into a dreary row over petty things, the battle of inches which the Russians love to wage. Today the row may be only over the removal of a liberal editor in the provinces, but the real argument is over Czechoslovak sovereignty and liberty.

Almost imperceptibly, the Prague spring seems to be slipping into history. Perhaps, as Hungarian ideologist Zoltan Komocsin once predicted with supreme cynicism, it really was only an "anarchic interlude" in the march of socialism.

## Holding Together

Most of the proud reforms of press and public liberty have been dismantled. The tanks are still the main reality of Czechoslovak life, even though the Red Army has faded off into the woods.

But can the historical inevitability of the Czechoslovak drive for freedom really be reversed by tanks? The country has preserved something. It is written in the slogan, "We are with you, be with us," the message that is holding the peo-

ple and their leaders together in a quiet conspiracy to thwart their enemies.

Each night on television, the screen flashes a picture of Dubcek or Smrkovsky or Svoboda or Cernik moving among factory workers who crowd around to touch them and be touched. It is a rare thing in history, reminiscent of British unity in the battle of Britain or Israeli discipline before the 1967 war.

In front of the Central Committee building a girl or student steps forward to thrust flowers into the arms of Dubcek, who looks a little sadder, a little paler each day.

## Record Is Written

The spell may be broken tomorrow, but even so, the Czechs and Slovaks have written a historical record. It will be difficult to erase from Communist history the memory of the courageous and shrewd underground radio network after the invasion, or forget the fruitless Soviet search for a single convincing collaborator in a nation of 14 million.

And the world is sure to remember, if only as a historical extension of Selma, Ala., Jackson, Miss., and the 1968 Paris barricades, the sight of Czechoslovak flower children tying red ribbons on the tanks of Moscow's riot police and giving them girls' names.

In Prague these days, one is brought up short by sights of the unlikely. The other day, I sat talking with a liberal editor in his office, just as we had done seven weeks earlier, before the invasion.

"I didn't expect to be back here," he said. "But we are going on as we did before, until they make us stop. For instance, I haven't the slightest idea of whether they bugged this room when they left, but I intend to say everything I feel. If they want to come and get me, they know where I stand anyway."

## Concept Salvaged

For now at least, the leadership has salvaged one important thing: the concept of individual liberty, of freedom from arrest without legal protections, at least some freedom to express opinion. The guarantee of

individual safety is what the leadership has staked all its prestige on. If it alone can be saved from the wreckage, it will be something. It will mean that Czechs and Slovaks can be secure in their own houses and relieved of fear. But for how long?

Prague seems sad at the end of September. The dominating question is "Where did we go wrong?"

Did Dubcek make a mistake, after taking power in January, not to keep the country in tight control for a while and concentrate mainly on economic revival? But if so, could he have consolidated his own power without turning the press loose to cut up his conservative opposition?

Should Dubcek have compromised with the Soviets and their allies at the Cierna and Bratislava summit meetings to save the country from disaster? But, if so, could he then have slowed the reform process without pushing radicals into a true counterrevolution which would surely have brought in the tanks?

Along with the questions that haunt the city are the memories of the tumultuous days of liberalization. The town is full of ghosts.

But life is returning to normal. In the 500-year-old Jewish cemetery, they have placed stones on the grave of the famous Rabbi Yehuda Loew in the ancient Jewish tradition, and soon the snow will be falling on them.

## Guerrillas Raid Rocky's Hacienda

VALENCIA, Venezuela, Sept. 29 (UPI)—Venezuelan guerrillas took over a hacienda belonging to New York Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller, painted revolutionary slogans on walls and stole an undisclosed amount of money from the safe, the national news agency Innac reported today.

Innac said four men disguised as government soldiers held the caretakers hostage for about six hours Friday night and Saturday at Rockefeller's hacienda Mortesacro in Carabobo state, about 125 miles west of Caracas.



# Czech Patriots Tell Off the Soviets

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One of the numerous ways by which the Czechoslovakians continue to defy their Soviet occupiers is illustrated by this outsize postcard (actually it's slightly larger than this photograph) just received in the United States. The card was not smuggled out; it was stamped and officially postmarked at Prague.

The Czech word on the left above asks WHY? The Russian word on the right, in the Cyrillic alphabet, asks WHY? On the reverse side in bold capitals is a directive: "Send

(the postcard) to the occupiers and to foreign countries."

There is also a Czech-language text on the reverse side; just so no Soviet recipient will fail to get the message, it is translated underneath, in full, in Russian. That text reads:

"The Extraordinary 14th Congress of the Czechoslovakian Communist Party

"proclaims

"—The sovereignty of Czechoslovakia was disturbed on August 21, 1968, by the military

occupation of the USSR, Poland, East Germany, Bulgaria and Hungary.

"—No responsible party or institutional organization asked for such a step.

"demands

"—The departure of foreign troops

"—Establishing of normal conditions for the functioning of all institutional and political organs, release of workers to enable them to function. The Central Committee supports the results of the 14th Extraordinary Congress."