



# **Eastern Europe – Fifty Years Ago**

**A Press Review by a Hungarian Refugee**

## **Pravda Assails Czech Revisionists**

**1968.11.1-15.**

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Pass, Nov. 10, 1968

## Czech Sees Soviet Pullout by Dec. 15

From News Dispatches

PRAGUE, Nov. 9—The Soviet occupation troops scheduled to return home will leave Czechoslovakia by Dec. 15, Lt. Gen. Josef Dvorak, a deputy defense minister, said today.

When the movement is completed, a Soviet force variously estimated at 75,000 to 100,000 men will remain in the country under the terms of a treaty signed by Moscow and Prague leaders on Oct. 18. The treaty specifies that the stay of the Soviet garrison—most of it in western Bohemia near the borders of West Germany—will be “temporary.”

Estimates of the number of Soviet and allied troops who invaded Czechoslovakia Aug. 20 ran as high as 650,000. They came from Bulgaria, East Germany, Hungary and Poland as well as from the Soviet Union. The Prague government announced Friday night that 86

per cent of them had already been withdrawn.

The invasion was ordered to end the liberal reform program introduced under the leadership of Alexander Dubcek, 47, the First Secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party.

Dubcek faces a political struggle during a meeting of the Party's ruling Central Committee which is scheduled for Thursday. At stake will be how much of the Dubcek reforms, if any, can survive in a meaningful form. Censorship and other controls have already been reimposed at Soviet behest and Czechoslovak police used force in putting down anti-Soviet demonstrations by students earlier this week.

The resolution to be debated by the Central Committee, whose meeting may last two or three days, is entitled

“Main Tasks of the Party in the Near Future.” Feelings in Prague on what this will mean for the reforms range from deep pessimism to mild hope, Vincent Buist of Reuters reported.

Buist quoted sources as saying that Dubcek knows that one charge likely to be brought against him is that he initiated his reform program without the backing of the country's workers, who were more interested in such bread-and-butter issues as higher wages and better working conditions than they were in freedom of assembly and freedom of speech. Dubcek did have the support of the great majority of the country's intellectual community.

The sources said Dubcek wants to demonstrate at the Central Committee meeting that he now has strong backing among the workers and

that he has also gained the support of such moderates as Martin Vaculik, the former head of the Prague city Party apparatus.

Adding to Dubcek's problems, according to the sources quoted by Buist, is the fact that he has virtually withdrawn from the public scene in the past few weeks while small pro-Moscow groups have been attacking him and his policies. One such demonstration occurred Thursday during a ceremony at a memorial to Soviet soldiers who died in Czechoslovakia during World War II.

Meanwhile, the Czechoslovak Writers' Union decided today to appeal a decision of the Office for Press and Information to suspend publication of its magazine, Reporter. The magazine was generally critical of Soviet policies. Its suspension was ordered Friday.

# 1,000 Czechs Jeer, Jostle Reds After Pro-Soviet Rally

PRAGUE (AP)—Anti-Soviet Czechoslovaks jeered and jostled hard-line Communists who had to fight their way out of a Soviet friendship rally in Prague yesterday.

Shouting, "traitors," "swine" and "collaborators," a crowd of more than 1,000 Czechoslovaks massed outside a hall where more than 2,000 pro-Soviet Communists attended a morning rally. Fist fights broke out. Many suffered minor injuries and police took several persons into custody.

About 100 Soviet soldiers who participated in the rally left the hall by a side door. But about 100 Czechs gathered around their buses, shouting "go home" and shaking their fists at the Russians, who waved and smiled.

## Organizing Opposition

The meeting was organized by the Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship Association, a group being used to organize opposition to the reform leadership of Alexander Dubcek, first secretary of

the Czechoslovak Communist party.

Dubcek and the old guard are expected to clash Thursday when the party's central committee meets to decide whether reforms begun in January will continue under Soviet occupation.

A woman standing outside the hall whacked Emanuel Famira, former Prague Art School director, across the shoulder with her umbrella. Famira was on the stage at the rally, where the main speakers were Vaclav David, foreign minister during the pre-Dubcek era, and Lt. Gen. Sarkis Matirosian of the Soviet army.

One pro-Soviet woman criticized some boys for jeering at the Russian soldiers. The boys pursued her down the streets shouting, "shame, traitor," until police took her into a car.

Another man shouted, "You murderers, long live Dubcek!" at the pro-Soviet Czechs. Several demanded the man be arrested for slander.

Yugoslav President Tito, meanwhile, continued his defiance of Soviet domination, telling a crowd of 200,000 Yugoslavs at Osijek, near the Hungarian border: "Our sovereignty and our independence were paid for in blood, once and forever, and we will preserve them with blood if necessary."

"Attempts to isolate Yugoslavia will not succeed because we have many friends in the world," he declared, citing Italy, Austria, Britain, Belgium, the Netherlands, the Scandinavian countries and nonaligned countries of Asia and Africa.

The speech was seen as part of Tito's campaign to explain to his people the present conflict with the Soviet Union and its allies. He has made the series of speeches in towns that border Bulgaria and Hungary, the latter one of the Warsaw Pact nations that participated in the invasion of Czechoslovakia.

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## Pravda Assails Czech 'Revisionists'

By HENRY KAMM

Special to The New York Times

MOSCOW, Nov. 10—Pravda, newspaper of the Soviet Communist party, condemned today the guiding ideas of Czechoslovakia's liberal reforms and those who implemented them.

Since the leadership in Prague remains unchanged despite the Soviet-led invasion in August, the article was regarded as an implied attack on the leaders. They face a difficult task later this week, when a plenary meeting of the policy-making Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist party is to be held.

Pro-Soviet elements in the Czechoslovak party have stepped up their activity in preparation for the meeting. The Pravda article was viewed as Soviet support for this movement.

It followed the first public and direct attacks on Alexander Dubcek, First Secretary of the Czechoslovak party, and Premier Oldrich Cernik to appear in the press of the Soviet bloc since the days immediately following the invasion Aug. 20-21.

This weekend, Neues Deutschland, newspaper of the East German Communists, published two such attacks. Throughout the conflict between Czechoslovakia and the invading powers—the Soviet Union, East Germany, Poland, Hungary and Bulgaria—East Germany has been in the vanguard of anti-Czechoslovak moves.

### Voice of Hardline Forces

Informed Eastern European sources believe that Neues Deutschland has consistently expressed the views on Czechoslovakia held by the most hardline forces in the Kremlin.

Last Friday, the East German newspaper noted that Mr. Cernik was surrounded by workers as he left the Soviet military cemetery in Prague after laying a wreath. The workers demanded, according to Neues Deutschland:

'Why don't you put your Government in order?'

"Cernik failed to give a clear answer," the newspaper said.

Yesterday, Neues Deutschland reported that on the same occasion Mr. Dubcek had been confronted for the first time by a crowd that did not applaud him and criticized his attitude toward the Soviet Union.

This weekend, Neues Deutschland also began to refer to the Czechoslovak leaders without their titles or the customary "comrade" that is attached to the name of a Communist leader. In that respect, Mr. Dubcek and Mr. Cernik are in a category that includes President Johnson and Chancellor Kurt Georg Kiesinger of West Germany, two men particularly reviled by the newspaper.

Neues Deutschland also criticized the Prague authorities for allowing youths to demonstrate against the Soviet Union on Nov. 7, the 51st anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution, and for authorizing on that very day the publication of the first issue of Listy, the new weekly of the writers' union.

It likened Listy to its predecessor, Literarni Listy, for its hostile attitude toward the Soviet Union and its allies.

Pravda's attack today was strictly ideological and mentioned no names, but observers found the target to be clearly the same. Pravda referred to the leaders of Czechoslovakia's democratization as "right-wing revisionists" and likened them to Karl Kautsky, a Marxist, but anti-Leninist German philosopher born in Prague.

Since Kautsky was excommunicated from Communism by Lenin himself, such a comparison by Pravda is a severe condemnation.

The article, by Konstantin Kuznetsov, accused the Czechoslovak reformers of denying the international validity of Leninsim and of unleashing a campaign against the very foundations of the socialist system while wearing the mask of a "genuine" and "humane" socialism. These were the favorite adjectives of Mr. Dubcek and his associates when describing their reform.

Times Nov. 12, 1968

## Brosio Says NATO Could Not Act on Invasion of Czechoslovakia

By **CLYDE H. FARNSWORTH**  
Special to The New York Times

BRUSSELS, Nov. 11—Manlio Brosio, Secretary General of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, said today that no warning by the organization could have restrained the Soviet Union from invading Czechoslovakia.

He said that the massive invasion preparations did not go unnoticed, even though he conceded that the timing was a surprise.

Mr. Brosio spoke at a meeting in Brussels of the North Atlantic Assembly, representing members of parliaments from 14 of the 15 NATO countries. Greek representatives were not invited.

Replying to criticism of the passive role of the Atlantic allies during the August invasion, Mr. Brosio said that the North Atlantic Treaty did not operate in cases of aggression against a nonmember state.

### Action Called Unwarranted

Any preventive action would have been unwarranted, he said. Even a simple warning would have given the invaders an opportunity to allege NATO interference in Czechoslovak developments, he added.

Furthermore, he said the in-

vasion of Aug. 20-21 "did not constitute, as such, a direct threat to NATO." But it increased uncertainties in Europe and made an improvement in the defenses of the Atlantic alliance necessary, he said.

The North Atlantic assembly meetings opened two days before ministers from the 15 nations are to meet at the alliance headquarters at Evère, a Brussels suburb, for the first time since the invasion of Czechoslovakia.

They are expected to chart policies to respond to the new military situation in Central Europe created by the invasion and the garrisoning of Soviet forces in Czechoslovakia near the West German frontier.

### Military Situation Reviewed

Informed sources said that one result of the ministerial session would be pledges of additional defense spending by most European members. The new figures are expected to run 6 to 7 per cent higher than current spending.

A comprehensive picture of

the new military situation in Central Europe was presented to the forum today by Senator John Sherman Cooper, Republican of Kentucky, who is chairman of the Assembly's Military Committee. His information was gleaned from alliance and American Defense Department sources.

Senator Cooper said that at the time of the invasion Soviet forces in East Germany and other Warsaw Pact countries were increased from 22 divisions to about 32 divisions. In addition, 10 Soviet reserve divisions were upgraded to replace the divisions sent to Eastern Europe, he said.

Within a period of 24 hours, the Senator said, the Soviet Union and its four Warsaw Pact allies moved 25 divisions, or approximately 250,000 men, into Czechoslovakia. Twenty-two of these were Soviet divisions.

Eight Soviet divisions were moved from East Germany, 11 from the western part of the Soviet Union and two from

Hungary, and one airborne division was flown from the Soviet Union to take over Prague's airfield and other facilities, the Senator said.

In addition, he continued, three Polish divisions and smaller units from Hungary, Bulgaria and East Germany took part in the invasion.

### Forces Were Balanced

Senator Cooper provided tables showing that in mid-1968 there was a rough balance of conventional forces in the alliance's central military region. This includes West Germany, Belgium, the Netherlands and France for the Atlantic alliance and East Germany, Poland and Czechoslovakia for the Warsaw Pact.

In the region the Atlantic alliance had 23 2-3 divisions with 389,000 men, while the Warsaw Pact had 46 divisions with 368,000 men. The total manpower of the Atlantic alliance, including support units, was estimated at 677,000 men, against 619,000 for the War-

saw Pact. The West had 2,100 deployed tactical aircraft, against 2,900 for the Warsaw Pact.

Five French divisions are included in the estimates. Though France has withdrawn from the integrated military structure of the alliance, she continues to operate as a member of the alliance's political councils.

Senator Cooper said that the movement of 10 additional Soviet divisions to advanced positions in Eastern Europe in August had upset the balance of forces.

Furthermore, he continued, the establishment of the supply and communications lines necessary to maintain Soviet forces in Czechoslovakia has provided the Soviet Union with the capability of moving additional forces to the southern frontier of West Germany. He said that six or seven Soviet divisions were already stationed along the Czechoslovak border of West Germany.

Pass Nov. 15, 1968

# Reds Hear Italy's Dissent on Invasion

By Anatole Shub

Washington Post Foreign Service

WARSAW, Nov. 14—A senior leader of the Italian Communist Party today reaffirmed his Party's differences with the Soviet Union over Czechoslovakia and its belief in the full autonomy of national Communist movements.

Addressing a Polish Party congress, the Italian delegate, Giancarlo Pajetta, in effect rejected Soviet-bloc appeals to forget the invasion of Czechoslovakia and join the bloc in "unity behind a new, hard Communist 'general line.'"

Pajetta, a top aide of ailing Italian Communist leader Luigi Longo, was the first speaker at the week-long congress here to declare clearly that differences between Western and Soviet-bloc Communists concerned Czechoslovakia.

The Italian leader said that the millions of workers who supported his Party disapproved the notion that the frontiers of communism were identical with the frontiers of the Communist countries. He said different facts in different countries, and the complexity and variety of the changes in the world, must lead to research, analysis and decisions that "in certain times and on certain subjects produce conclusions not leading to a uniform formula" by

the various Communist parties.

Pajetta said that the essential conditions for unity in the world Communist movement were "attention to specific national conditions and respect for the autonomy of every party."

He studiously ignored Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev's call here Tuesday for a world Communist summit conference "in the near future." He did back the call, by Polish chief Wladyslaw Gomulka and others, for an "open debate" in the movement.

The speeches by Pajetta and by French delegate Francois Billoux were delivered this evening after a day of uncertainty over their scheduling. The confusion was apparently connected with informal negotiations with the Soviet-bloc Parties.

The French delegate, in somewhat softer style than the Italian, also stuck to his Party's new-found resolve for autonomy. Billoux said that Communists could not separate "national and international tasks," and that "proletarian internationalism" or solidarity with the Soviet bloc should not contradict but complement "the free determination by each party" of its basic policies.

Billoux also delivered an implied rebuke on the Soviet doctrine of the Parties' "inter-

national duties." According to the Russians and their allies in the invasion of Czechoslovakia, it was their "international duty" to interfere in that country's developments, while the same duty required the Western European parties to mute their disapproval. Billoux said parties' international duty "cannot be different according to their situation."

French Communists, Billoux said, would seek to "create the most favorable conditions" for a future world Communist conference—which observers took as a rather soft commitment that left the Party's options open. The next round in the Communist discussions is next week's Budapest meeting of the "preparatory" group for the world conference.

The only spokesman for a heretic party holding power as Chivu Stoilca, Rumania's former president. He carefully outlined the consistent Rumanian position while avoiding points or language which might inflame East-bloc hardliners.

Thus he said: "Rumania is determined to strengthen steadily the defense capacity of the homeland, to fulfill her obligations as a socialist country within the Warsaw Treaty, and—if imperialism attacks Rumania or another socialist country—we shall fulfill our duty both towards our people and towards our allies."

The biggest word in the sentence, as often in Rumania, was the little "If."

vakia have been freed on probation, the East German news agency, ADN, reported today. They had their sentences suspended for showing "remorse and helping to clarify the background of their activities," ADN said.

The six—who were to serve 15- to 27-month terms—were Frank Havemann, 19, son of Prof. Robert Havemann, a dissident physicist; Thomas Brasch, 23, son of the East German deputy culture minister; Sandra Weigl, neice of Brecht's widow Helene Weigel; Rosita Hunzinger, daughter of a well-known sculptress; Erika-Dorothea Berthold, 18, daughter of the director of the Communist Party's Institute

for Marxism-Leninism, and Hans-Juergen Uzkoreit, 18, a friend of Frank Havemann and his 16-year-old brother, Florian. Sentenced by a youth court, Florian Havemann was not mentioned by ADN.