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BEGRABE "KOMUNIST" STOPPING UP ITS SHOARDLES AGAINST MOUNTAINLAND SATELLITES

Summary: The latest issue of the Yugoslav Central Committee weekly *Komunist* carries a dozen articles attacking the invasion of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet Union and its four East European satellites. The tenor of all these articles is that never in the history of socialism has such a tremendous blow been inflicted upon the Communist movement as by the aggression against Czechoslovakia. The Soviet leaders are accused of being chiefly responsible for this pro-Stalinist action against Czechoslovakia and are said to be people of very bad character. However, the Yugoslav paper says, no tanks or bayonets can stop the democratization in Communist countries.

Soviet leaders in the Kremlin and their Polish, East German, Hungarian and Bulgarian satellites "will forever bear upon themselves the shameful stigma of being the first socialist aggressors and invaders in the whole history of socialism. History and future generations will remember them only by this fact." This is only one of many statements published in the latest issue of the Yugoslav Central Committee theoretical weekly *Komunist* in connection with the Warsaw Pact states' invasion of Czechoslovakia.

Komunist published a series of articles strongly protesting against "Stalinist disciples," as Kile Gasula, a top Macedonian

1) *Komunist*, Belgrade, 29 August 1968.

* 284-cha-187.

writer, calls the rulers in Moscow. Casale is also the author of the statement mentioned above. In attacking Brezhnev and his colleagues, Casale said that they believe "the world begins and ends with them." Casale added that "their large-moustached teacher Stalin died believing that, with him, the world had also died." Said Casale:

By having occupied Czechoslovakia, his disciples have proven not only their imitative attitude toward him, but also the crudeness of their character, as well as the sterility of their illusions. For they, as descendants, possess neither Stalin's intellect nor his strength. Nor is this era his Stalinist era. Here lies the greatest proof of the temporary nature of their action and of their feebleness.

In Casale's opinion the Soviet leaders and their East European satellites will one day be compelled to admit what a horrible deed they have done. For the occupation of a socialist country by several other socialist countries is both "a reality" and "history which nobody can erase." Casale added that "it is quite irrelevant whether this admission of an error would be made by them while still in power or after they had abdicated power; or even after they had been ousted." Along with the anti-Communists "on the capitalist and imperialist side," there are now anti-Communists "on the socialist side." Said Casale:

Just like their large-moustached teacher, they would like to compel the world not only to be horrified by their strength, but also to bow before the altar of their religion. It seems that they feel most at ease while wearing the vestments of supreme priests. They would like to make of Communism a religion and of Communists sad and sterile believers, people without any intellect, without heart and without desire to resist. They would like to create believers who, like the believers in Bulgaria, for instance, would be extremely happy and proud of being the invaders! I believe in Czechoslovakia; I believe in the Revolution; I believe in Communism. For if one today accepted the claim that the people who inspired and who have carried out the crime of the occupation of Czechoslovakia are the only true believers of socialism, or if one today fell prey to desperation and loss of perspective (as in 1945), then that would mean an acceptance of the omnipotent power of bureaucrats and statistes. To break one's own backbone before the boogymen of socialism would mean today, more than at any time before, to betray not only oneself, but also the past, present and future.

Democratization Cannot Be Stopped

In his article protesting against the invasion, Sergej Kraigher, the Chairman of the Slovenian National Assembly, sees the chief reason for the Warsaw Pact countries' aggression against Czechoslovakia in the fact that "the settling of accounts with the roots of Stalinism has been carried out in the socialist states and in the international Communist movement only superficially." This is the reason, Kraigher added, why the Yugoslav Communists "have carried out their independent policies aimed at supporting all progressive forces in the world." He called the invasion of Czechoslovakia "an action by conservative forces in socialism which do not respect the sovereignty and equality of nations and parties." These forces are "reactionary forces" which have undermined the strength of socialism. For this reason "the resistance and struggle against them is the duty of the workers' movement and of revolutionaries everywhere, in each individual country." Said Kraigher:

The aggression against and occupation of Czechoslovakia has only confirmed how correct the policies of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and of our state and its ideological basis have been. The crude reality of invasion unmask daily, to an ever greater extent, the invaders' aggressive nature; it unmask their "ideological reasons," their "concerns for the security and future of the socialist system," "the protection of the Soviet's vital interests," and similar "justifications" which have nothing in common with socialism; they do not differ a bit from any other greater-state imperialism.

After having said that the invasion of Czechoslovakia "has inflicted indescribable damage on the Communist movement," Kraigher added that "the occupation has revealed the real roots of Stalinism, the roots of inhuman and non-socialist relationships among nations, states and individuals." It appears now that "the personality cult has not been the chief cause and source of deformities and weaknesses in the European socialist states, but rather the bureaucratic, statist character of the relationships and of the political system as such."

In Kraigher's opinion the occupiers have attempted to stop the process of democratization in Czechoslovakia, "a process also on the increase in other socialist states." However, "the aggression can slow down this process, but it cannot stop it." The bureaucrats in Eastern Europe have always believed they can "identify the socialist system throughout the world with the system of the socialist states" ruled by the Communists. These state bureaucrats in the Soviet Union and other East European countries "have been blind and deaf to the historical processes" leading to separate roads to socialism. Said Kraigher:

Because of the influence of conservative forces in socialist countries, there have always existed various pressures aimed at subjugating other states. Communist Parties and progressive movements throughout the world to one's own views and interests. This is why the characteristics of a policy of force have always been present.

Kraigher further said that "the occupation of Czechoslovakia at the present moment is a turning point for world peace and the development of socialism as well as for the destiny of humanity in general." In conclusion he said that the "reactionaries" in Eastern Europe have always considered "Yugoslavia's self-managing socialism a thorn in their side." He added that for this reason "we can now expect that the attacks against Yugoslavia will become more systematic, manifold, sometimes veiled and more subtle, but also open and crude."

Soviet Leaders Without Common Sense

The Slovenian writer Blazko Kranjec⁷ accused the Soviet leaders as well as the leaders of the four other Warsaw Pact states which invaded Czechoslovakia "of ignoring both history and common sense." If this is not the case, said Kranjec, "why have they repeated the tragic and fatal attack on Czechoslovakia by Hitler which took place 30 years ago?" What is the difference between Hitler's and Brezhnev's attack on Czechoslovakia? Here is Kranjec's answer:

This time the chief role has been played by the Soviet Union and Germany, but by "democratic" Eastern Germany, rather than West Germany, which they have always feared; this "democratic" Germany has occupied only a section of the Sudetes. The Hungarians this time have marched into Etoice and even into Bratislava. Even Poland, which in its history had been torn apart so many times, has joined the occupiers. In order to have the orchestra complete, Bulgaria has also come to help; the Bulgarians are probably firmly convinced that in further conquests they would be given a rich booty after Yugoslavia is invaded, because since the war Bulgaria has always had an eye on Macedonia.

Kranjec posed the question: "What does the Soviet Union, with its four allies, look for in Czechoslovakia?" Has it not been precisely the Soviet Union which hitherto preached and propagated non-interference, "although one sometimes had to close both eyes at some of its actions." Small nations, Kranjec said, "have always believed in Moscow's protection" which listening to the "revolutionary drums" banged in Moscow. By having

occupied Czechoslovakia the Soviet Union "has lightly gambled away" the confidence set in it by other nations and parties. This is so harmful for the socialist movement throughout the world "that it will not be easy to correct." In a very direct blast at the Soviet leaders, Kramiec said:

With such politicalness the Soviet Union could not, in the near future, regain the reputation it has thus far enjoyed in the international workers' and progressive movement. By having occupied Czechoslovakia, the Soviet Union has definitely started marching along the road of a world power which, within its "territory," can irresponsibly do what it likes. The leaders of the Soviet Union have exchanged the power of ideas for the power of weapons, the power of spirit for the power of crude force. In certain periods of world history there were little men who had lightly and in an extremely irresponsible way gambled away the precious spiritual capital created by their great ancestors, sometimes through blood and with very human sacrifices. We are now witnessing such a process where Ulbricht, Gomułka, Khruščov, and even Kadar, directed by the Soviet leaders, have brutally trampled down the principles of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Dimitrov and the others.

Why have they done so, asked Kramiec? Because they have feared democratization. "It is sterile to refer to the alleged danger of counterrevolution within the country and to the danger from abroad," said Kramiec. Like Kraigher, he also insists that the process of democratization cannot be completely stopped. "Sooner or later even the Soviet Union will face all these problems of democratization in its own country." Kramiec is disgusted with the hard-liners in the Kremlin. He finds them unworthy of Lenin and his ideas. Said Kramiec:

What sort of socialism could be constructed by people who no longer trust people but rather try to carry out this great task by employing force and terror and by subjugating the free will of the people? How can they construct socialism when they have made a scheme according to which socialism must be developed, a scheme which has nothing in common with life?

As for the accusations that everything which is not in accordance with Keesse's views is "counterrevolution," Kramiec said that "not every idea born in man's head is reactionary simply because we do not agree with it; neither is each of our notions with which somebody disagrees -- blindly convinced that only he is right -- counterrevolutionary." Then Kramiec continued:

Only power-thirsty and blind people could today call the Czechs and Slovaks counter-revolutionaries, because these people were until yesterday considered loyal and brotherly people; this can be done only by extremely callous and conceited people, people who no longer understand the process of the human mind and of life in general.

Kranjec, on the other hand, defends the people of the Soviet Union, "this fatherland of Lenin," because in that country "not even today do people know anything about what has been going on in Czechoslovakia; they are as poorly informed as they were" in 1948. Kranjec's conclusion is rather pessimistic:

It is true today that the leaders of this country (the Soviet Union), aware of their power and under the disguise of defending socialism and destroying the counter-revolution, may, tomorrow or the day after tomorrow, invent something similar and invade any other country. This is not only a dangerous thing but it has nothing in common with socialism. Such an action borders on imperialism.... Such a way is the wrong way; socialism must be defended by people who believe in it, who believe in the strength of honest people.

Soviet Aggression & Political Defeat

In its two editorials, Pravda strongly attacked the invasion of Czechoslovakia, saying that the forces behind it have "suffered a great ideological and political defeat." The first editorial presented full-fledged support for Dubcek and his colleagues also in the future. In addition it stressed again that the Yugoslavs would defend their country with all available means against anybody who would dare to attack it. In the second editorial it is said that "no tanks and bayonets" can stop "a creative implementation of Marxism and Leninism."

A member of the 500,000-strong Hungarian minority in Yugoslavia, Dr. Spala Ujevic of Serbia, said the following in his letter to the editorial board of Pravda:

Finally, as a Hungarian, I personally think that the Hungarian people (I mean the population of Hungary) mostly condemn such an action of their government and Party leaders. Another detail: Neither I nor my friends here listen any longer to the news broadcast by Radio Budapest. They either keep silent concerning the events, or wrongly inform the public.

In an article entitled "Nobody Has the Right to Force Other People to Enter Paradise by Using a Stick," Professor Fero Banjanovic of Zagreb said that the working class would never forget what the invaders of Czechoslovakia have done. He quoted many of Lenin's thoughts in which things similar to what is presently transpiring in Czechoslovakia are condemned, e.g., the subjugation of an independent nation (for instance, the Ukrainians) by the Communists. "The most tragic thing," Professor Banjanovic said, "is that this sad role is now being played by the sons and grandsons of the famous fighters of Lenin's October." For this reason "the guilt the Soviet leaders and the leaders of other countries must bear is ever greater."

Stjepan Stanjovic 17