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October 1968

CZECHOSLOVAKIA: ITS IMPACT ON INDEPENDENT AFRICA

African reaction to the Soviet-led, Warsaw Pact invasion of Czechoslovakia on 21 August 1968 has no precedence in the brief history of that continent's independent nations. Since the late 1950's, most African nations have been too little informed or too preoccupied with developing their economies, post-independence boundary disputes, antagonistic nationalisms, and civil wars to react very strenuously to anything not bearing directly on domestic or regional interests.

Immediate responses from many African governments, leaders, political parties, and action groups were spontaneous and blunt. From most came condemnation; from a very few, approbation. The fence-straddlers who viewed the affair as intra-European, the predominantly Arab (Nasser)-oriented states, and nations whose economies are most vulnerable to Soviet pressures, were slower to respond and were far less forthright. Other governments, while maintaining an official silence, permitted their press to castigate almost at will.

Many independent African governments who cherish their own fragile viability and sense of nationalism promptly censored the Soviet Union's desecration of Czechoslovakian sovereignty -- even some having fairly close economic ties with the USSR. By 23 August official government statements condemning the USSR had been issued by: Burundi, Congo (Kinshasa), Dahomey, Ethiopia, Gambia, Ghana, Kenya, Liberia, Libya, Malagasy Republic, South Africa, Tanzania, Togo, Tunisia, Uganda, Zambia, and Zanzibar.

Among these governments, recipients of Soviet credits are Ghana (who before N'krumah's ouster ranked second among African beneficiaries of Soviet gifts and credits, including some military-related), Ethiopia (which holds over \$100 million worth of extended economic credit), Kenya, Tanzania, Tunisia, and Zambia (each holding economic credit extensions ranging from about \$100 million to slightly under \$50 million; Tanzania also holds some military aid credits).

All governments which issued immediate condemnations, with the exception of South Africa, Gambia, and Liberia, have either technical or academic trainees studying in the Soviet Union, Poland, and East Germany. All could heed the warning issued by General Mobutu when he announced his government's intention to call home the large number of Congo (Kinshasa) academic students from the countries which invaded Czechoslovakia: "We do not want the elite of tomorrow to cultivate imperialist ambitions one day and envisage the invasion of countries bordering the Congo which do not share its way of thinking, its culture, or its system of government. Colonialism and neo-colonialism, we discover with horror, reign in Eastern Europe, imposed by Moscow.... The Soviet Union cannot rehabilitate itself in the eyes of the world." When the Soviet Ambassador called on General Mobutu on 27 August to deliver his "explanatory message" from

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Also silent were the Central African Republic, Chad, the Ivory Coast, Malawi, and Niger -- not because of being politically enmeshed with the Soviet Union, but mainly because of the press of local matters. Chad, for example, was holding an ambassador's conference, expected a Japanese trade mission, and entertaining an Israeli special ambassador. Normal daily fare for the normal capital, but in Fort Lamy no one could focus on other matters. By the first of September, Sierra Leone had added its condemnation.

No African government publicly supported the Soviet Union except for Mali, which waited until 3 September to endorse the Soviets, presumably under pressure from the latter. Some government-controlled press restricted their coverage to TASS and Novosti releases -- such as Algeria, Mali, and, at first, the Sudan. In the Somali Republic where a Soviet trade mission was in Mogadiscio negotiating a new economic-technical agreement, formalized on 26 August, the press politely attempted to show both sides of the issue.

The only open support for Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia came from the Communist Party of Lesotho (described by one author as "existing but never of any importance"); the illegal Communist Party of South Africa; the Moroccan Party for Liberation and Socialism (which replaced the outlawed Communist Party), while at first expressing solidarity with the Czech people, later condoned the Soviet occupation as a "triumph of wisdom"; and the Communist Party of Sudan, which was described as "merely backing the statements issued by TASS."

African press attacks on the Soviet Union were particularly strong in Congo (Kinshasa), Kenya, Tanzania, Zambia, and Ghana. In several countries where the official voice was silent, condemnation came through the press: in Nigeria, the quasi-official voice of the government, New Nigeria, as well as other Nigerian papers contained strong anti-Soviet reflections; Gabon and the Ivory Coast restricted their criticism to press editorials; Moroccan press sentiment was almost in complete contrast to the government's aloof stance; most Sudanese media having first played TASS, did an almost about-face to support Prime Minister Mahjub's condemnation as "illustrative of his recognition of higher principles." (See attached sampling of press coverage.)

The exiled Algerian opposition issued a formal condemnation of the Algerian-Arab stand and castigated the Soviet Union. In Rhodesia, a "freedom fighter" organization (ZANU) dubbed Czechoslovakia "a good lesson for puppets." Indicative of splinter group dissensions was a break-away group within the Nigerian Trade Union Congress (NTUC) which, in a press release, disputed the "recent NTUC statement in support of Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia."

There were public demonstrations in Khartoum and Nairobi, but the largest anti-Soviet popular demonstrations erupted in Congo (Kinshasa)

and in Tanzania. In Kinshasa, a large group led by the Youth of the Popular Movement for Revolution (JMPR) demonstrated 21 August in front of the Soviet embassy. JMPR's secretary read an official statement which "invited the Soviet monsters to withdraw their armies of misfortune from Czechoslovak territory" and called for the World Federation of Democratic Youth, headquartered in Prague, to launch an appeal in support of the Dubcek liberals.

In Dar es Salaam, on 23 August, Tanzanian demonstrators shouting "to hell with the Russian fascists" poured into the Soviet Embassy compound to litter it with torn Soviet propaganda leaflets and uprooted plants. Following are excerpts from Reuters' account of the demonstration (from Nairobi):

"Some 2,000 people, led by Youth Leaguers of President Julius Nyerere's Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) party marched two miles to the embassy to proclaim their profound anger and disgust at the invasion of Czechoslovakia. Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, Chediel Y. Mgonja, was among them both as a marcher and an observer, he said.

"Big bundles of Soviet propaganda magazines and leaflets were distributed at the start. Marchers made hats out of them until they became missiles and confetti, hurled with handfuls of earth and plants at the Soviet Embassy door as it slammed behind retreating Russian officials. Armed Tanzanian riot police stood by wearing gasmasks while chanting demonstrators leaped the garden wall with banners declaring 'Russians quit Czechoslovakia' and 'Damn the satellite aggressors.' The front door remained bolted, but embassy officials finally accepted a protest letter through a steel grill at the back.

"At the Czechoslovak Embassy later, the Charge d'Affaires thanked Tanzania for supporting a people fighting for their basic rights, for their liberty, and the crowd burst into the TANU party song. Chinese officials emerged from their embassy nearby and watched in silence."

# KENYA: 'NAKED IMPERIALISM'

By NATION Reporters

THE Kenya Government yesterday branded the USSR invasion of Czechoslovakia as "a naked and brutal manifestation of the worst form of imperialism."

The condemnation was contained in one of the strongest protests ever made by Kenya on the international scene.

It was issued shortly after the Soviet Embassy in Nairobi had complained that red paint had been splashed outside the Embassy gates by persons in an unidentified car that called in the early hours.

A Russian Embassy spokesman said the paint incident had been reported to the Kenya authorities as "an act of hooliganism."

## TEXT

The full text of the Kenya Government statement — which came as neighbouring Tanzania issued its own condemnation of the Soviet invasion — read:

"The Kenya Government has noted with deep concern the occupation of Czechoslovakia by USSR and her allies. In this context, the Government

of Kenya wishes to state the following:

"1. It condemns in the strongest possible terms this invasion, which is a breach of the sovereignty, political independence and territorial integrity of Czechoslovakia.

"2. The Kenya Government unequivocally believes in the principle of self-determination of all peoples. In accordance with this principle, the people of Czechoslovakia should exercise their right to determine their future without any form of pressure from outside.

"3. The Kenya Government

condemns imperialism in all its forms and regards this aggression as a naked and brutal manifestation of the worst form of imperialism.

"4. The Kenya Government sincerely hopes the USSR and her allies will see fit to restore the sovereignty of Czechoslovakia through the immediate withdrawal of troops from Czechoslovak soil."

In Dar es Salaam, a statement from President Nyerere's office expressed profound shock at the news from Prague and added:

"This act constitutes a betrayal of all the principles of self-determination and national sovereignty which the Governments (of the Soviet Union, Poland, Bulgaria, Hungary and East Germany) have claimed to support and uphold.

"It is contrary to the most basic tenets of international law, and is in direct contravention of the UN Charter.

"The Government of the United Republic of Tanzania opposes colonialism of all kinds, whether old or new, in Africa, Europe or elsewhere."

A spokesman at the Czech Embassy in Nairobi, commenting on the Kenya Government statement, said: "We appreciate anyone offering support to the Czechoslovakian Government. It is up to the Governments of the world to judge the situation from their own points of view."

## Welcome criticism

THE strong condemnation of the Soviet-led occupation of Czechoslovakia, issued by the Governments of Kenya and Tanzania, is welcome.

It may be thought that Czechoslovakia is a long way from Africa and that imperial conquests in Europe are of little consequence for African peoples. Yet imperialism knows no boundaries. \* \* \* \* \*

\* \* \* Thus the wisest course for Africa is never to assume that those who compete for her favour have no ulterior motives.

It is not likely that non-alignment will be understood, for the competing powers do not choose to understand it. A Chinese face is seen in Tanzania and Tanzania becomes, in Western parlance, "Peking's foothold in Africa." An African leader is praised in the Western Press and he immediately becomes "a tool of imperialism." Such is the struggle to withhold from Africa freedom of thought and freedom of action.

It is only a few days since Tanzania warned the Eastern European nations against practising neo-colonialism. The wisdom of this warning has been well illustrated in Europe this week.

Unfortunately, Czechoslovakia also proves that as a moral force in the world non-alignment cannot counteract the narrow interests of the Great Powers.

But the reaction of the governments in Nairobi and Dar es Salaam does prove that the African leaders' moral sense is incorruptible and that, poor as they may be, their support and their silence is not to be bought by neo-colonialists of any ideology.

In Lusaka The Times of Zambia predicted, "Soon the disgusting sequence of secret executions and imprisonments will begin again." President Kaunda described the Russian action as naked aggression and accused the Soviet Union of imperialism.

In Tanzania, the Government party newspaper, the Nationalist, in an editorial warned the people: "Judge people and nations by their actions, not by their words."

THE NATIONAL Union of Kenya Students is planning a peaceful demonstration this weekend if Soviet troops do not quit Czechoslovakia. The invasion was yesterday condemned by the Union whose president Mr. Chibule wa Tsuma and secretary Mr. Maurice Yambo delivered in person a protest memorandum which they handed over to an official at the Russian Embassy in Nairobi.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 23, 1968

Dar es Salaam  
22 August 1968

By Our Own Reporter

### CZECHOSLOVAKIA

THE Government of Ghana yesterday vehemently condemned the invasion of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet Union and its satellites and called for the immediate withdrawal of the foreign troops now occupying the country.

THE people of Tanzania are bitterly opposed to colonialism. We stand firm for the right of all nation states to determine their own destiny. Our attention has been concentrated upon the kind of colonialism we know from bitter experience. Our demand for the self-determination of peoples has been reflected most intensely in our opposition to neo-colonialism in Africa.

In a strongly-worded statement issued in Accra by the Ministry of External Affairs, the Government further asked for the immediate release of all detained Czech leaders and allow the people of Czechoslovakia to pursue in absolute freedom the course which they had mapped for themselves in accordance with the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

"This unjustified aggression and blatant interference in the internal affairs of Czechoslovakia, reminiscent of events in Hungary in 1956, strikes a severe blow at the very founda-

But a principle is a principle in Europe as in Africa. Independence means that a nation state has the right to enter into alliances, or refuse to continue in them, according to the wishes of the people of that state as expressed by a Government responsible to them. Self-determination means that the people of a nation state will decide for themselves the internal policies followed in their country.

tion of international law and poses a serious threat to the security and territorial integrity of small nations," the statement declared.

It added that no amount of force could suppress the spirit of liberalism and freedom now prevailing in Czechoslovakia.

We are not impressed by talk of "requests for help" by "Czechoslovak leaders." Help against whom? Against the Czechoslovak people and the leader whose mass popularity has been demonstrated daily in recent weeks?

Describing the invasion as a flagrant violation of the fundamental principles of the Warsaw Pact, the Government said it would not be taken in by the pretext that Czechoslovakia had been occupied at the urgent invitation of its Government.

### CZECH LEADERS

The people of Czechoslovakia have our sincere sympathy. We understand the agony which led to their Government's decision to call for no resistance to the invasion. This would have led to even greater human suffering and death, without hope of victory for the Czechoslovak cause at this time.

It recalled that for some time now, Czech leaders had been brow-beaten and intimidated to abandon the policy of liberalisation which had enjoyed overwhelming support among the people.

"The Government of Ghana unreservedly condemns all forms of intimidation, threat or use of force against small states by big powers, the Government

The example of Czechoslovakia is another warning to the people of Tanzania. Be vigilant. Be friendly and co-operative with all peoples and all nations. But do not relax guard because some have asserted their friendship and solidarity. Judge people and nations by their actions, not by their words.

deeply deplores the invasion of Czechoslovakia an act fraught with grave consequences for world peace, and extends its sympathy to the Government and people for this ominous situation which confronts their country," the statement added.

AL ALYAM, Khartoum  
22 August 1968:

# الصغار يقولون: تعارضنا الضمير وعبرنا القلوب يقولون: نتظر تفاصيل أوفى..

AL ALYAM, Khartoum, 22 Aug 68:  
REACTION OF LOCAL POLITICIANS TO  
THE-CZECH AFFAIR

(excerpt:) Sadiq al-Mandi said "We see the issue from the view-point of national sovereignty and we support Czechoslovakia in defining her destiny without foreign intervention...we appeal to the Warsaw Pact to respect this rule...."

قال السيد عبد الحفيظ في محاضرة...  
على لسانه...  
الأول التي قامت لاحداث الامم...  
تسلمته التفاصيل...  
والغزوات...  
الحزب الشيوعي...  
وقال لنا السيد...  
كان عليه الحال في البحر...  
وارسو...  
قوت حلف وارسو...  
وقال اننا نرى في الامر من زاوية...  
حق الحكومة...  
التي...  
التي...  
التي...  
التي...

# Lesson to us all!

AUGUST 21st, 1968 would definitely go down in world history as the day when naked aggression barred its teeth to swallow a small beleaguered nation of 14 million people. The unwarranted and uncalled for invasion of Czechoslovakia in the early hours of 21st August, 1968 by the forces of the Warsaw Pact countries is nothing but sheer aggression and banditry.

It is a direct and complete violation of the territorial integrity of Czechoslovakia, and also demonstrates that the invading countries, despite the fact that they call themselves "People's Democracies", do not accept the meaning and connotation of "democracy" as applied among the "comity of civilised nations".

For what has happened in the unfortunate, invaded country is that the new leadership of the land, in urgent response to strong, public pressure and demand, have instituted a series of reforms to make Czechoslovakia more democratic, free and liberal.

As part of this liberalising programme, free speech and press freedom have lately been allowed. Although the liberalising measures did not satisfy the Czech people, at least, they were in the right direction.

Yet even the few reforms caused considerable agitation in the "corridors of power" in the Eastern world of dictatorship. For there was always the fear that the bug of freedom might spread to other communist countries. Hence the confrontation between the Czechs and the other Eastern European countries to persuade the former to stop the liberalising process.

We, for our part had been closely following events in the sad country, but had hitherto avoided making any comment on them, especially while delicate negotiations were going on. Our silence was not due to any desire not to comment on a crucial matter of international importance. For post-coup Ghana is a free country, with a free press, unlike the situation in these countries, where the newspapers are the official organs of the Communist Party and Government.

Now, just when it appeared that the cause of freedom in Czechoslovakia was making some

headway, the forces of the Soviet and other Warsaw Pact countries have moved in and occupied Czechoslovakia.

This is indeed a shocking, despicable event, which is simply unbelievable in its cruelty and callousness. The invasion of Czechoslovakia in August 1968, forcefully reminds us of the unfortunate invasion of that same country in 1939, by the fascist forces of Hitler.

## ACT OF AGGRESSION

We for our part unhesitatingly condemn this act of aggression against a small country, and hope very much that the liberal, democratic forces of the world would do everything possible for the liberation of the poor Czechs.

This is a matter which concerns us as Ghanaians, for our own country under the tyrannical, dictatorship of the erstwhile regime, was well on the road to becoming a communist satellite state, when the members of the National Liberation Council and their forces stepped in to bring the whole crazy affair to an end on 24th February, 1966.

The current events in Czechoslovakia constitute a lesson to us all in Ghana. For as the Akan proverb goes (freely translated) "If you do not know of death, look at the grave!"

We in this country do not want COMMUNISM, and those Ghanaians who think that they are too clever by half, and can outwit the communists by fraternising with them, should take a sober look at what has happened to Czechoslovakia!

The aggression of the Warsaw Pact countries has been condemned by all Western countries. Even more, it has been condemned by the Communist Parties in Italy (the largest in Europe) and in other Western countries.

For they all see in the action of the invaders a gross interference in the internal affairs of a poor country, which has not asked or invited the invaders into their country. The invasion is not only a violation of the basic principles of international law, but also constitutes a flouting of the Warsaw Pact, which guarantees mutual defence against external attack or aggression.

Rather, the Warsaw Pact countries have turned unjustifiably on one of their own members!

We join liberal, democratic voices all over the world in asking for the withdrawal of foreign troops from Czechoslovak soil.

Our full moral support goes to the Czech people in their hour of need. And for us in Ghana this grave event has been a very big lesson indeed.

DAILY GRAPHIC, August 22, 1968. Accra

### The lessons

No doubt events of this nature are lessons worth learning especially by we the young countries trying to develop. We should be careful about military pacts or flirting with some of the powerful nations which profess friendship by imposing it

Reaction from militarily powerful nations to this naked rape of Czechoslovakia has been that of "deep concern."

We hope this concern is not going to lead us to a third world war. We, the developing countries, need and want time to build our resources and live in peace with our neighbours.

The law of "might is right," the big powers should understand, is practised only by



# MALAWI NEWS

27 August 1968

## Dangers of

## Communism

ONCE again the world shudders as naked Russian imperialism goes on the march. Once again the world watches in agony as another helpless, and innocent little country is devoured by Russia. As Russian troops continue to shoot, loot and rape their way into Czechoslovakia, we here in Malawi bow our heads in sadness.

Since our President Ngwazi Dr. Kamuzu Banda returned to Malawi and took leadership of the Congress and Government, he has always warned us of this. While the rest of the world has sat back and said: "Perhaps we can get along with Moscow" or "we can have peaceful co-existence with Communism," our President has al-

STANDARD, Tanzania  
23 August 1968

## Our eyes are now open -Zanu

ways asked the entire world to hear him. "No". Time and again the Ngwazi has warned the Nations of the world of the two faces of Communism.

We are happy that when others have tried to dissuade the Ngwazi from his policy of no relations with these blood thirst villains, he has stood firm. Words, threats, enticements, none have been of any avail — he has refused and continue to refuse to do any business with the Communists.

Now as we see standing before us, with its jaw dripping with Czechoslovakian blood, the truly evil Russian Communism we can only say:

"Thank you our Dear Ngwazi for standing strong and erect and not allowing these beasts into our beautiful Malawi. Long live the Ngwazi!"

RUSSIA'S CLAIM to be the champion of the anti-imperialist struggle had been unmasked as a meaningless slogan said the Chief representative of the Zimbabwe African National Union in Dar es Salaam, Mr. Chihota.

Commenting on the Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia, he said it would serve as a good lesson to those in freedom movements who had been blinded by Russia and become puppets to the detriment of the cause for uhuru.

Mr. Chihota said Russian imperialism had all along been hidden under the cloak of socialism and communism but the latest act of aggression had exposed her. The action should be condemned by all freedom loving people. Africa was opposed to all forms of colonialism and imperialism whether old or new.

In a series of interviews carried out with the people yesterday many expressed shock at hearing that the Soviet Union, which had been regarded as being in the vanguard in the fight for equality among nations and anti-imperialism had committed such "an unforgivable crime."

Mzee Moshi Hamisi, the Kariakoo Tanu Branch Chairman said that Russia had committed an unforgivable crime against

the innocent people of Czechoslovakia who wanted nothing more than self-determination.

Mr. S. A. Pazi, a Kariakoo Market businessman said that Russia's imperialistic manners had now come to the open and suggested that the United Nations should do all it could to ensure that weak nations had a secure position.

Mr. Ibrahim Raha, of Kariakoo said African nations should condemn the Russian action.

"The Soviet Union should be bitterly condemned on her brutal step of invading Czechoslovakia in the same manner as we condemn the American presence in Vietnam," was the comment from Mr. Salumu Mohamedi, a taxi driver.

He said that the Czechs, like the Russians and all other people had a right to self-determination and independence.

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THE PEOPLE, Kampala  
24 August 1968

# WITHDRAW YOUR TROOPS

## Uganda slams Soviet invasion

**T**HE Uganda Government has told the Russians that they should unconditionally withdraw their troops from Czechoslovakia.

In a strongly-worded statement issued by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs last night the Government condemned the invasion and occupation of Czechoslovakia as a "humiliating action fraught with alarming international implications and consequences."

Uganda has thus joined a steadily growing list of countries who have come out openly against the intervention which followed the "liberalisation" policy of the new Czech Government.

Government listened to views from representatives of the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia in Kampala before declaring:

"The invasion and occupation of Czechoslovakia by Warsaw pact countries is a regrettable and a most humiliating action to the Czechoslovakian people. This action is fraught with alarming international implications and consequences.

"The first serious implication is that the action throws in doubt the assurances given by the great powers to respect the sovereignty of all nations, big or small and even the sovereignty of their weaker allies.

"The very purpose of smaller nations agreeing to be members of U.N. is the implicit understanding that great powers will respect their sovereignty.

"The implication that leadership not acceptable to the Soviet Union cannot be tolerated in Czechoslovakia is equally alarming in that the interests of Soviet Union are placed before those of the people of Czechoslovakia.

"The essence of leadership is that it must be acceptable not to the big powers but to the people they lead.

"It is, therefore, to be hoped that Czechoslovakia can be allowed to select their leaders without dictation or direction from anywhere.

"Military or any pacts entered into should be for mutual

benefits and not as instruments to threaten and subdue the weaker members. The events of the last few days would render such pacts meaningless and, therefore, not to the best interest of all the signatories.

"Because of this and other considerations, we have today informed the Embassy of the U.S.S.R. that it is the view of the Uganda Government that Soviet troops and those of her allies be withdrawn without conditions.

"We have also informed both the Soviet and the Czechoslovakian Embassies in Kampala that in the interest of international peace and understanding in their area, political discussions should be the means to settle any differences they may have."

CPYRGHT

DAILY NATION, Nairobi  
23 August 1968

## Kanu gives the Czechs unqualified support

A KANU spokesman said in Mombasa yesterday that the party strongly condemned the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia. The Russian action was a "threat to all nations once it is established that might is right."

Kanu said the Czech people and Government "deserve the sympathy and solidarity of all nations and people who believe in international order, self-determination and the principle of sovereignty among nations.

without doubt an act of aggression in an effort to direct the internal affairs and policies of

an independent and sovereign State. Not even the charter of the Warsaw Pact countries allows for such an act in the name of international Communism. One does not have to agree with the system of government in Czechoslovakia in order to give them full and unqualified support in this their hour of agony.

"Kanu condemns in the strongest possible terms the action of Russia and her Allies. If in fact a system needs to be sustained by the use of tanks and guns, it is not worth preserving.

"Tanks and guns can kill people but they cannot kill ideas. They

can delay change but they cannot prevent it. The Russians have betrayed themselves and exposed a most dangerous hypocrisy and in one move destroyed all their pretensions to believe in human rights, recognition of the right of sovereignty and the principle of co-existence.

"We in Kanu must call a halt to this callous disregard for international order. The Russians must withdraw and no excuses will satisfy the world except total withdrawal leaving the people of Czechoslovakia to decide their system of government and social

We express complete solidarity with the workers and comrades in the besieged nation and want them to know that at this time they are not alone."

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L'AFFAIRE

TCHECOS

L'ACTION

29 &amp; 30 August 1968

L'AFFAIRE

Organe du Parti  
Socialiste  
Destourien

ruris

TCHECOSLOVAQUE

par HABIB BOULARES

**N**OTRE confrère le Journal « Al Amal » a publié un article de M. Habib Boularès sur l'affaire tchécoslovaque. Il retrace l'évolution de la Tchécoslovaquie, depuis l'époque du « Front national » Benès, jusqu'au tragique mois d'août 1968.

Nous avons jugé utile de donner à nos lecteurs la traduction de cet article dont nous publions aujourd'hui la première partie.

Deux premières questions sont à l'opinion en ce qui concerne la Tchécoslovaquie au lendemain de l'invasion.

**Une interprétation  
différente de l'accord  
de Varsovie**

Certains milieux internationaux attirent ce retournement aux dissensions internes qui existent dans les milieux du commandement soviétique et au triomphe des partisans de l'intransigeance sur Kossyguine. C'est possible !...

Mais nous sommes plutôt enclins à penser que ce revirement est dû à l'insistance de Moscou pour l'application de tous les points de l'accord de

Varsovie et au refus de Prague d'interpréter cet accord selon les vues de Moscou, particulièrement la clause concernant la protection du camp communiste contre le péril allemand. Pour la Russie, la Pologne et l'Allemagne de l'Est cette clause signifie l'installation des forces du Pacte de Varsovie sur les frontières de l'Allemagne Fédérale en Tchécoslovaquie.

Cet ensemble de considérations explique la violence de la réaction soviétique sans pour le moins du monde la justifier sur le plan moral ou même sur le plan politique. N'oublions pas en effet que Dubcek et son groupe sont considérés, comme je viens de l'indiquer, comme les modérés par rapport aux autres militants et que leur modération leur a permis d'assurer l'élection d'une majorité modérée de délégués des sections au congrès du Parti prévu pour le 9 septembre.

**N**OUS avons publié hier la traduction de la première partie d'un article de M. Habib Boularès paru dans notre confrère le journal « Al Amal ». Il retrace l'évolution de la Tchécoslovaquie, depuis l'époque du « Front National » Benès, jusqu'au tragique mois d'août.

Aujourd'hui, nous vous donnons la deuxième partie de cet article.

La modération de Dubcek explique précisément les nombreuses tentatives tchécoslovaques en vue d'une entente avec Varsovie et plus particulièrement la modération de la réaction après l'invasion de son pays et les appels au calme lancés par ses partisans. Elle explique

aussi les efforts de M. Svoboda pour un règlement pacifique négocié à Moscou.

Nous comprenons les raisons qui ont suscité la violence soviétique, la colère allemande et polonaise et ont poussé la Bulgarie et la Hongrie à emboîter le pas.

Nous comprenons les raisons de l'hésitation de la Tchécoslovaquie et de la modération qui a marqué sa réaction.

Mais nous ne trouvons dans tout cela aucune justification de l'invasion. Non seulement parce qu'elle est contraire aux valeurs internationales et à la morale, mais aussi parce que la Tchécoslovaquie est définitivement perdue pour le communisme traditionnel et, depuis l'invasion pour le communisme tout court, même si Moscou réussissait à imposer à Prague un gouvernement complaisant.

Car l'explosion tchécoslovaque a établi aux yeux du monde la preuve que le pouvoir communiste traditionnel est un pouvoir tyrannique basé sur la violence. M. Dubcek et ses partisans étaient déchirés entre leur attachement au communisme et

leur conviction qu'il était nécessaire de délivrer le peuple de ses chaînes. Ils ont tenté une expérience audacieuse tendant à concilier le communisme avec la liberté. Nous ne savons si la solution de ce problème existe et si elle est possible. Mais ce qui est incontestable, c'est que l'invasion a mis un terme tragique à cette expérience que les progressistes du monde entier suivaient avec sympathie.

Cette invasion a prouvé qu'il n'y a aucun espoir pour un peuple placé dans l'orbite soviétique de se libérer de ses liens de dépendance par des moyens pacifiques, même si ses dirigeants sont communistes, indiscutablement communistes comme le groupe Dubcek.

Je ne serais pas surpris que cette conclusion soit la leçon qu'auront à méditer de nombreux partis progressistes et plus d'un pays du troisième Monde.

(FIN)

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AL MITHAQ, Khartoum  
23 August 1968**عبد الناصر صديق  
قديم لدوبشيك !**

تقول الأبناء ان الرئيس  
ناصر شخصيا يشعر بكثير من  
التعاطف مع تشيكوسلوفاكيا  
نسبة لانه صديق شخصي قديم  
لدوبشيك كما وانه معجب  
بالسياسة التحررية التي تسير  
عليها اشتراكية صديقه اليوشا  
تيتو ولا يستطيع عبد الناصر  
بالطبع اظهار تعاطفه لاعتماده  
كليا على الروس

**NASSER IS AN OLD FRIEND  
OF DUBCEK !**

It is said that because he  
is a long-time personal  
friend of Dubcek's, President  
Nasser feels great sympathy  
with Czechoslovakia. He,  
President Nasser, also appreciates  
the liberal policy of his friend  
Marshal Tito. It is sad that  
President Nasser cannot reveal  
his sympathy because he depends  
totally on the Russians.

L'ACTION, Tunis, 27 August 1968

**LES ARABES ET LE MARTYR  
DE LA TCHECOSLOVAQUIE**

par Abdelmajid Ben SLAMA

**L**A conception assez spéciale qu'ont certains dirigeants arabes dit révolutionnaires en matière de morale internationale a intrigué plus d'un observateur, profondément déçu leurs nationaux. Eux qui géignent sous le poids d'une occupation qu'ils ne cessent de dénoncer au nom de tous les principes humanitaires et de droit international, ont passé sous silence l'intervention soviétique en Tchécoslovaquie. Eux, passés maîtres dans l'art de la calomnie contre leurs frères, eux qui ont toujours battu le record de la célérité quand il s'agit de mobiliser les moyens de presse contre « l'impérialisme », n'ont pas encore appris la nouvelle de l'invasion d'un petit pays d'Europe Centrale par un « grand frère ». Sans doute le droit d'aînesse est-il reconnu dans ces parages puisque déjà il y a quelques années, un grand frère d'Egypte a pu s'emparer de la Syrie qui n'avait pas eu encore la malchance d'être Baassiste, occuper le Yémen pour sauver « un frère cadet révolutionnaire », sans parler des cas « d'insoumission » qu'il s'était vu obligé de tenter de régler ça et là en dépit du droit international, des us de fraternité et de bon voisinage.

Toujours est-il que cette attitude a pu donner une idée du degré d'influence soviétique dans cette partie du monde et de la mainmise du Bloc communiste sur les domaines les plus divers et en premier lieu, les choix et les décisions en matière de souveraineté. La presse baassiste, elle, est allée jusqu'à épouser l'argumentation sans poids de Tass et de la Pravda, soulignant que l'intervention en Tchécoslovaquie est nécessaire pour sauvegarder les acquis du socialisme et pour répondre

également aux appels de leaders du P.C. tchécoslovaque !!

La dette des Arabes vis-à-vis de l'U.R.S.S. est-elle d'une taille telle que son remboursement doive prendre la forme d'une gratitude dépassant les espérances du créancier, une gratitude au dépens du prestige national, de l'indépendance, de la déquivalence à la trahison dans l'humiliation ? Là encore, malgré des appels de sagesse qui leur viennent du grand leader d'un petit pays du Maghreb, certains dirigeants arabes s'enlisent de plus en plus dans le raisonnement erroné. Les erreurs d'appréciation continuent de plus belle. Ils n'ont pas encore compris qu'il y va de leur propre existence d'hommes libres, de faire le choix entre leurs partenaires : les vrais amis, les faux, les amis intéressés, les amis loups sous le travesti d'un agneau.

Les agissements inconsidérés et illogiques de ces leaders arabes ont permis à l'Union Soviétique de s'infiltrer en cette Méditerranée sereine et d'y lâcher une flotte importante. En échange, les Arabes croient pouvoir s'assurer de la protection urbi et orbi de l'U.R.S.S. Pourtant, les événements ont prouvé que l'Union Soviétique n'a nullement l'intention d'intervenir directement dans le conflit israélo-arabe en faveur des Arabes, préoccupée qu'elle est de cette fameuse et précaire coexistence pacifique. Le 5 juin 1967, malgré l'attente de certains chefs d'Etat arabes révolutionnaires, malgré l'Union soviétique a fait la sourde oreille. Son intervention a été morale, symbolique, sans portée

immédiate, sans effet sur les théâtres d'opération. Elle en a profité pour marquer son entrée triomphale, accueillie à bras ouverts, en Méditerranée, en expédiant quelques navires de guerre au large de Lattaquié et d'Alexandrie.

La facilité avec laquelle l'U.R.S.S. a envoyé sa force de frappe en Tchécoslovaquie ne suffit-elle pas pour se convaincre qu'ici, aux yeux de l'U.R.S.S. l'intervention est quasi vitale alors qu'au Moyen-Orient ce n'est que la continuation de cette lutte d'influence sans fin que se livrent les 2 Grands depuis 1945 en vue d'assurer un équilibre plus ou moins stable au sein de leurs zones d'influence ?

En tout cas, la neutralité de certains Etats arabes quant à l'agression des Pays du Pacte de Varsovie contre la Tchécoslovaquie est impardonnable. A ceux qui n'ont pas de mémoire, rappelons qu'en 1956, deux prises de position du P.ésideant Habib Bourguiba ont donné une idée de ce que sera la diplomatie tunisienne : défense des principes, attachement aux idéaux sublimes, indépendance vis-à-vis des Blocs. Malgré son amitié pour la France et les liens économiques très solidement établis avec ce pays, la Tunisie a dénoncé l'intervention franco-anglaise à Suez. D'autre part et toujours en 1956, malgré la gratitude que devait la Tunisie à l'U.R.S.S. pour ses prises de position en faveur de sa lutte pour l'indépendance, la Tunisie s'est prononcée sans hésitation contre l'intervention soviétique en Hongrie.

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AL UMMA, Khartoum, 22 August 1968

The Tragedy of Czechoslovakia

--Abdullahi Muhammad Ahmad (excerpt:)

# مأساة تشيكوسلوفاكيا

## بقلم: عبدالله محمد أحمد

النازقة في قلبه بعد حركات  
الإصلاح والتجديد في النظام  
الشيوعي الطغياني الذي سيطر على  
روسيا وأوروبا الشرقية أن المجهين  
بالمحاولات التجديديه التي لادهم  
يوغسلافيا ورومانيا وحاولت اتباعها  
تشيكوسلوفاكيا قد اصابتهم طيبة  
امل كبرى في ادعوات الانج...  
السوفيتي حول التجديد بعد هجاب  
ستالين ..

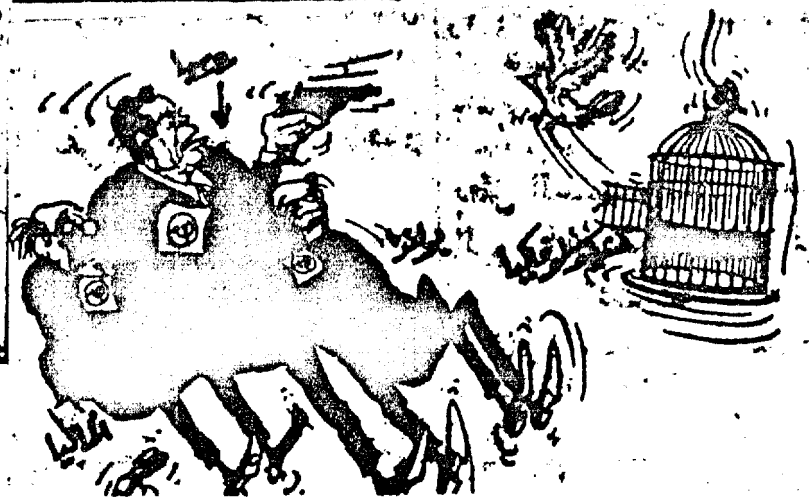
لقد كنا على حبه ق يوم رفضنا  
الاعتراف بالشيوعية في مشروع  
الدمستور العالم في الس ودان لان  
علاقات الحرب الشيوعي الطغديه

تتم القلوب  
ان النظام القم سانه في تشيكو  
سلوفاكيا قبل الغزو الروسي كان  
شدها لهما وهما وه...  
دوشيكه ميكر...  
الحرب الشيوعي ورئيس الوزراء

العربيات والر ان يسلك سياسة  
منه مع الدول في الشيوعية ولو  
مهورات تشيكين...  
في مشك...  
الحق في الاطاحه بدوشيك...  
بوسلله الحليه لان تغزا الج لاد  
بجيوش اجنبيه...  
اصدروا من بيارات وتغلا وا  
بالاسباب...  
لرعى العلم العظمي فيهم والذي كان  
عل وشك ان يظفر لهم...  
هنغاريا قبل ١٠ سنوات...  
المسلك من الاتحاد السوفيتي ومن  
هذا حلوم من الدول الشيوعي

Before the Russian invasion, the Czech regime was communist, headed by Dubcek, Secretary of the CCCP and Prime Minister.... If the Czechs had been opposed to Dubcek, they could have overthrown him without a foreign invasion. This incident shocks world opinion and no excuse will be accepted from the Russians. Those who admired the liberalization attempts of Yugoslavia and Rumania, which Czechoslovakia tried to follow, are disappointed in Soviet post-Stalin claims for liberalization... It is right that the constitution of Sudan not recognize communism. The ideological ties of the Sudanese Communist Party with Russia threaten our sovereignty. We could be invaded by any communist country if a group of communists submitted a petition asking for protection or strengthening of local communists.. We condemn this savage Russian invasion and appeal to the Russian aggressors to withdraw and to leave the Czechs alone.

مع دول شيوعية...  
وحيلاتها تشكل خطرا...  
لقد تغزونا...  
فنه من الشيوعيين...  
تطلب حمايه...  
الحقيه في...  
هنغاريا وتشيكوسلوفاكيا...  
سودان في طريق الشيوعية الاسود  
الطويل التي...  
المشرين...  
السوفيتي...  
السوفيت...  
وتركوا التشيك...  
بصورته التي ارتقبوها...  
العالم في ازمة حرب متوقعة



# SPEAKING FRANKLY

Editorial

## And why so late?

THE appeal of the Sierra Leone Government to the Soviet Union to end its conflict with Czechoslovakia, is sober, carefully thought out and well-meaning. The sincerity of purpose behind that statement issued at the week-end, should be well appreciated by the Soviet Government. But why must Sierra Leone always come last in these matters? Why has it taken that long to decide whether or not to 'interfere' in such a matter which can have grave consequences for the free world? For more than a week — nine days to be exact — we sat down and watched while Russian tanks rumbled across the border, into the streets of an independent country, and said nothing! Not good enough.

Sierra Leone, being a very small country, ought to be very concerned at the threat to the sovereignty of another small country and, believing in democracy as we do, we ought not to be afraid to speak. On such occasions, the voice of a free world must be heard outspoken, and unafraid, without hesitation of any kind. Because, while the experience of the Czechoslovak people has become a dangerous precedent, silence can also be a dangerous precedent to non-response to friends and well-wishers in times of serious threat.

There is no doubt that we have done a lot, and perhaps are doing a lot more now, to demonstrate convincingly, that our external policy is one of non-alignment. We have demonstrated that we value our friendship with the Soviet Government and the people of Russia. And there are many avenues for co-operation between our two countries which we are already exploring. Probably, it is here that we need to act with caution. But taking the statement that was finally put out, and the spirit in which it was made, there is no reason why we should not have said so earlier.

We trust however, that the Soviet authorities will grasp the full meaning of that statement, the kernel of which is that its action in Czechoslovakia has been most embarrassing — to say the least — and it has become imperative that she must do nothing to lessen the high prestige which she has enjoyed up till now, in the eyes of the younger nations. There is a lot in that statement to be properly digested. And perhaps, the hesitation with which we have spoken, may help convince the Soviet authorities of our sincerity.

People of all walks of life throughout the free world have voiced their sympathy and shock on the Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia in this Human Rights Year. You might perhaps think that all that is to be said has been said, and nothing remains to say or write on the Czech crisis. You are probably right. However, being one of the many people deeply touched by the fate of the Czechs and, to be quite frank, being one of the fervent abhorers of Communism, particularly in its Russian style, may I, through your esteemed paper, publicly express my sympathy — which I have so far held privately — on the ruthless occupation of Prague by Russia and its so-called Warsaw Pact allies. To begin with, I join, with my own tiny private world, the chorus of others in condemning the Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia's internal affairs which its liberal leaders could intelligently manage. Indeed, my sympathy extends far beyond words and resolutions!

Seen from another angle the Czech dilemma undoubtedly teaches a valuable lesson to all small nations of the world and keeps them alert that one day or one night Soviet troops — or any other mighty troops for that matter — may march into their cities and dictate ways and methods by which their governments should be run. It also is a warning bell to some African nations that preach the unholy gospel of Communism without seriously considering the consequences upon themselves.

What has probably most annoyed the Kremlin leaders is the unusual freedom of press that has, since very recently, prevailed in Czechoslovakia and which is almost non-existent in Russia and other Communist blocks. Freedom of press enables a people to express their gratuities and grievances. But expression of grievance in Russia entails heavy punishment.

It all boils down, Dear Editor, to the most unpleasant fact that any country that declares Communism as its form of government should, by all means, obey the Russian dictatorship, failing which it will sooner or later, find itself surrounded by Russian troops.

Surprisingly enough such nations as India have already found the word "condemn" too strong to be applied to Russia. I wish I was educated enough sharper than the serpent's tooth — to condemn Russia with!

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L'ACTION, Tunis, 30 August 1968

## LIBERTE DE CHOIX

Férid KACEM.

**D**ANS le concert des protestations, des désapprobations et des condamnations provoquées par l'invasion de la Tchécoslovaquie, on signale des absents. Il y a des silences beaucoup plus éloquents que les cris les plus tonitruants.

Certes, les pays qui ont approuvé ou cherché à justifier la véritable agression lancée contre la Tchécoslovaquie, n'ont pas un poids tel que les victimes de l'agression puissent s'alarmer de leur attitude, ou les agresseurs y puiser un encouragement. Mais il est frappant de constater que ces pays se dérobent à l'heure où les régimes les plus révolutionnaires, où les partis communistes qui dans le passé ont donné, au risque de se discréditer, tant de preuves de leur attachement à la ligne tracée par Moscou, se sont prononcés sans ambages. La Yougoslavie de Tito, la Roumanie de Ceausescu, les partis communistes italien et français, quoique longtemps familiarisés avec la discipline imposée par le Kremlin via Togliatti et Maurice Thorez, ont d'une seule voix déploré l'initiative des cinq. Cependant certains dirigeants du monde arabe, apprentis sorciers du révolutionnarisme mondial n'ont pas cru devoir mêler leurs voix à celles des pays et de ces partis authentiquement révolutionnaires.

On les comprend. Prisonniers de leurs slogans, enserrés dans le carcan de leurs amitiés, ficelés, pieds et poings liés, ils ne peuvent que subir. S'ils réagissent, l'état risque de les immobiliser davantage. Une fois qu'ils se sont délibérément placés dans l'orbite de leur « grand ami », que pour lui plaire, ils leur ont emprunté sans discernement leur terminologie anti-impérialiste, ils se retrouvent brouillés avec le monde entier, au bord de l'abîme. Et la seule aide, le seul appui qu'ils peuvent attendre sont ceux de Moscou qui les leur accorde avec parcimonie, au gré de ses intérêts. De son emprise ils ne peuvent se défaire, et leur subordination finit par les étouffer.

Choisir ses amitiés, dans le monde moderne, est pour les Etats un art difficile, et tout manque de discernement en la manière risque d'être catastrophique.

« Mon amitié pour les Etats-Unis ne m'empêche pas de garder ma liberté de choix. Le jour où je voudrais rompre avec les Etats-Unis, leur retirer mon amitié et me retourner contre eux, rien ne pourrait m'empêcher. Ce qui n'est pas le cas pour d'autres qui sont les amis de pays plus ou moins totalitaires et qui perdent leur liberté de mouvements ». Ainsi s'exprimait le Président Bourguiba, à Washington, au cœur même de l'Amérique, le 17 Mai dernier, et les événements, une fois de plus lui ont donné raison.

Le jugement du Chef de l'Etat se fonde sur la raison, l'expérience, et l'analyse objective. A Yalta, les alliés de la dernière guerre mondiale avaient esquissé un **Approved For Release 2005/08/17 : CIA-RDP78-03061A000400030018-7** d'influence. On sait ce qu'il est advenu hier de

la Hongrie et aujourd'hui de la Tchécoslovaquie qui, sans même renier le communisme, ont cherché à distendre leurs liens d'allégeance vis-à-vis du Bloc Communiste. « Aucune dissidence n'est tolérée dans la périphérie de Moscou ».

Par contre en ce qui concerne le Bloc Occidental tout un chacun est libre de prendre ses distances à son égard, et tel signataire du Pacte Atlantique ne s'est pas fait faute, lorsqu'il a jugé que tel était son intérêt de le quitter avec fracas, sans faire courir à son pays le moindre risque d'invasion. Dans cette même zone d'influence reconnue au monde libre, de nombreux Etats ont choisi la « liberté ». Se déclarant révolutionnaires, ils se sont placés dans le sillage du bloc soviétique. Ils n'ont été victimes d'aucune agression. Cuba, au flanc même des Etats-Unis, ayant opté pour le communisme, se permet encore, dix ans après, de lancer le défi à la plus Grande Puissance mondiale sans aucun risque pour sa sécurité et pour son existence.

De tels exemples sont fort édifiants. Ceux qui aujourd'hui approuvent « le coup de Prague » ou s'abstiennent de le dénoncer accordent une prime à l'agression. Particulièrement vulnérable, ils devraient savoir qu'ils risquent d'en être un jour les victimes. Et, ce qu'ils perdront, ce qu'ils ont peut-être déjà perdu, c'est-à-dire leur liberté de choix vaut beaucoup plus que les avantages ou les satisfactions d'amour-propre escomptés d'une soumission si dégradante.

THE STANDARD, Dar es Salaam, 22 Aug 68

## CZECH CRISIS

The Moscow statement yesterday was also in line with the renewed attacks on the Dubcek Government in the Soviet bloc Press. It claimed that Czechoslovakia was threatened by counter-revolutionary forces who had entered into collusion with foreign forces hostile to socialism. What is probably more to the mark, and certainly more honest, is the comment that this threat affected the vital interests of the Soviet Union and other socialist States. In this context we can understand the Soviet fears that a liberal Czechoslovakia would greatly weaken the Eastern chain of defence.

But, whatever the reasons, we cannot but feel sorrow for the Czech people at this hour. They have lost their freedom; they have lost their right to express themselves — to decide who should be their leaders.

We in Tanzania would object in the strongest terms if troops from Kenya, Uganda, Rwanda, the Congo, Malawi and Zambia crossed our borders to enforce a change of leadership in our country. Equally, we must condemn such actions elsewhere.

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