

VIENNA, AUG 24 (RFE SPECIAL/KOSTRBA)-- THE SOVIET OCCUPATION OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA WAS ANALYSED BY PRAGUE PROFESSOR IVAN SVITAK IN A FULL-PAGE ARTICLE CARRIED BY VIENNAS INDEPENDENT "DIE PRESSE" SATURDAY ISSUE.

SVITAK, FORMERLY OF THE PRAGUE UNIVERSITY, WAS EXPELLED FROM THE PARTY IN 1964 AS "REVISIONIST" AND BECAME AFTER JANUARY 1968 ONE OF THE PROMINENT REPRESENTATIVES IN THE CZECHOSLOVAK DEMOCRATIZATION PROCESS. AT THE TIME OF THE SOVIET INVASION, SVITAK WAS IN AUSTRIA AS A PARTICIPANT IN THIS YEARS INTERNATIONAL FORUM AT ALPBACH.

ACCORDING TO SVITAK, THE CZECHOSLOVAK DEVELOPMENTS HAD THEIR START WHEN IT BECAME NECESSARY TO COPE WITH A SERIOUS ECONOMIC CRISIS. THIS CRISIS DEVELOPED INTO THE CRISIS OF THE RULING SYSTEM, AND THE CRISIS OF THE STATE WAS IDENTICAL WITH THE CRISIS OF THE SOCIALIST SYSTEM IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

THE PROFOUND CRISIS OF THE WHOLE STRUCTURE TRIGGERED OFF A REVOLUTIONARY PROCESS WHICH WAS NOT PLANNED BUT SPONTANEOUS, SVITAK SAID.

AT THE SAME TIME THE ESTABLISHMENTS RESISTANCE TO THE PROGRESSIVE TRENDS MANIFESTED ITSELF IN PERSONAL INTRIGUES, LEAFLET-CAMPAIGNS AND RESOLUTIONS PASSED BY THE WORKERS MILITIA, AND CULMINATED IN NOVOTNYS ATTEMPT TO STOP THE PROGRESSIVE EVOLUTION EVEN WITH THE HELP OF THE ARMY, ACCORDING TO SVITAK.

THE PROGRESSIVE PROGRAM OF THE DUBCEK REGIME HAS MET, ON THE ONE HAND, WITH ENTHUSIASM AND APPROVAL AND MANY OF ITS ACHIEVEMENTS -- LIKE THE FREEDOM OF PRESS-- GUARANTEED A WIDE-SPREAD IMPACT THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY, HE SAID. ON THE OTHER HAND, ALL FORMS AND ASPECTS OF THE NEW FREEDOM ENCOUNTERED THE OPPOSITION OF THE CONSERVATIVES AND, AT THE SAME TIME, RECEIVED ONLY RELATIVELY WEAK SUPPORT FROM THE WORKERS, SVITAK SAID.

ACCORDING TO SVITAK, A FUNDAMENTAL CONTRADICTION WITHIN THE PROMISING DEVELOPMENT WAS THE UNBROKEN PARTY APPARATUS STILL DISPLAYING MORE POWER THAN PARLIAMENT, GOVERNMENT AND COURTS PUT TOGETHER. TO CHANGE THIS STATE OF AFFAIRS, HE SAID, NEEDED TIME, AND THERE WERE GENUINE CHANCES TO SUBORDINATE THE PARTY APPARATUS TO PARLIAMENTARY CONTROL. THE ECONOMIC BASIS OF SOCIALISM -- LIKE PUBLIC OWNERSHIP OF PRODUCTION MEANS -- HAD NEVER BEEN QUESTIONED, SVITAK SAID.

BUT, HE SAID, ALL THIS WOULD HAVE MEANT SERIOUS CHANGES IN THE POLITICAL SYSTEM, WITH SERIOUS CONSEQUENCES FOR THOSE WHO WERE PART OF THE POWER ELITE. THEREFORE, -- IN SELF-DEFENSE-- EVERY CRITICISM OF THE POLITICAL SYSTEM WAS LABELED "AN ATTACK AGAINST SOCIALISM", SVITAK SAID.

ANALYSING THE CAUSES FOR THE WARSAW PACT INTERVENTION, SVITAK SAID THAT THE DISPUTE BETWEEN THE SOVIET AND THE CZECHOSLOVAK POLITBURO WAS A DISPUTE BETWEEN THE POWER ELITES, AND AT THE SAME TIME A DISPUTE ABOUT THE BASIC CONCEPT OF SOCIALISM. THERE IS NO RPT NO DOUBT THAT THE PRAGUE POLITBURO ACCEPTED ONLY RELUCTANTLY THE PRINCIPLE OF THE PEOPLES SOVEREIGN RIGHTS BUT THE REVOLUTIONARY CZECHOSLOVAK COMMUNISTS CAME MUCH CLOSER TO THE ORIGINAL MEANINGS OF SOCIALIST HUMANISM THAN ANY OTHER COUNTRY SINCE THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION, SVITAK WROTE IN HIS "PRESSE" ARTICLE".