

SVITAK SAID HE WAS A MARXIST BECAUSE MARX WAS A "HUMANIST PHILOSOPHER." HE SAID: "SOCIALISM WITHOUT HUMANISM IS NO SOCIALISM AT ALL . . . WHAT HAPPENED WITH MARXISM WAS A TRANSFORMATION INTO A FORM OF OPERATION NOT CONNECTED WITH THE AUTHENTIC MARX."

HE SAID HE THOUGHT THE WRITERS REMAINING IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA WOULD REFUSE TO COMPROMISE. "THERE CAN'T BE ANY DEMOCRATIZATION PROCESS GOING ON WITH TANKS, THERE CAN'T BE ANY HUMANISM."

ASKED WHETHER HE WOULD SEEK ASYLUM IN THE U.S., HE SAID: "I AM A CITIZEN OF THE CZECHOSLOVAK SOCIALIST REPUBLIC AND I WANT TO COME BACK IMMEDIATELY WHEN IT WILL BE POSSIBLE FOR ANY INTELLECTUAL TO WORK THERE. THE SIMPLEST THING WOULD BE TO ASK FOR ASYLUM HERE. IF I BELIEVE WE CAN WIN, WHY SHOULD I ASK FOR ASYLUM."

HOWEVER, HE SAID, HE PLANS TO STAY HERE FOR THE TIME BEING. "I CAN'T RETURN IMMEDIATELY BECAUSE I WOULD BE ARRESTED AT THE FRONTIER." ASKED ABOUT WHICH SOVIET LEADERS HAD FAVORED THE INVASION OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA, HE SAID THAT ACCORDING TO WHAT HE KNEW OF THE CIERNA AND BRATISLAVA CONFERENCES, SOVIET PARTY LEADER LEONID BREZHNEV WAS NOT THE ONE WHO TOOK A HARD LINE AGAINST CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

"IT WAS KOSYGIN AND PODGORNÝ AND THE GENERALS, THE TECHNOCRATS AND THE MILITARY CLIQUE MORE THAN THE PARTY. THE INTERVENTION WAS A WARNING TO THE RUSSIAN INTELLECTUALS. IF WE HAVE A HOPE, IT IS A HOPE THAT MUCH GREATER CHANGES MIGHT OCCUR IN THE SOVIET UNION. IF THIS HAPPENS, IT WILL BE THE END OF SOVIET IMPERIALISM AND COLONIALISM.

"THE INVASION WAS AN ACT OF FEAR OF THE SOVIET BUREAUCRATIC AND MILITARY ELITE, AN ACT AGAINST THEIR OWN PEOPLE, AGAINST THEIR OWN INTELLIGENTSIA."

FOLLOWING IS THE TEXT OF THE VIENNA MANIFESTO:

"WE, CZECH AND SLOVAK ARTISTS, SCIENTISTS AND JOURNALISTS, ENTHUSIASTICALLY ACCEPTED AND SUPPORTED THE PROGRAM OF DEMOCRATIC REFORMS OF THE CZECHOSLOVAK SOCIALISM. IN THE FATEFUL HOURS OF THE OCCUPATION OF THE SOVEREIGN COUNTRY OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA, WE CONSIDERED NECESSARY TO PROCLAIM CERTAIN BASIC CONVICTIONS WHICH WE HOLD IN COMMON AS INTELLECTUALS, AS CZECHS AND SLOVAKS, AS CITIZENS OF THE CZECHOSLOVAK SOCIALIST REPUBLIC.

"WE BELIEVE THAT AS INTELLECTUALS WE HAVE ONE BASIC DUTY TO OUR NATION: TO SPEAK THE TRUTH. WE REFUSE TO COMPROMISE WITH TRUTH AND WE SHALL NOT PUT EXPEDIENCY ABOVE TRUTH. THE CODE OF TRUTH DOES NOT TOLERATE EXCEPTIONS.

"WE TRUST THE STRENGTH OF IDEAS AND WE DISTRUST POWER AND REFUSE TO FOLLOW ITS DICTATE. WE HAVE NO WEAPONS BUT WORDS AND IDEAS, YET WE ARE CONVINCED THAT NO FORCE OF OPPRESSION CAN WITHSTAND THE THRUST OF THOUGHT; TODAY MORE THAN EVER, WE REALIZE THAT AN ATTACK ON IDEAS IS AN ATTACK ON MAN HIMSELF.

"PEOPLE MAY BE DEPRIVED OF ALL ITS CIVIL RIGHTS BUT IT CANNOT BE DEPRIVED OF ITS FREEDOM TO THINK, TOTALITARIAN DICTATORSHIPS MAY ROB PEOPLE OF EVERYTHING EXCEPT THEIR WILL TO RESIST. TANKS CAN OCCUPY TERRITORY BUT NOT THE MINDS OF MEN.

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