

Contents

WORD OF INTRODUCTION <i>Juraj Liška, Minister of Defence of the Slovak Republic</i>	9
A SHORT HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION <i>Major General (ret.) Hartmut Foertsch</i>	11

PART I – CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Major General (ret.) Ing. Svetozár Nadovič

About the Author	24
Introductory Word <i>Václav Havel, former President of the ČSFR</i>	25
CHAPTER 1	26
The Commander behind the Horizon	
The “Brethren” Alighted from the Clouds	
The Raped Diplomacy	
Historical Fact and Situation	
Where Wise Words are not enough, Arms Begin to Speak	
The West Kept “Honest” Silence	
My August 1968	
View of a Military Analyst	
CHAPTER 2	42
The Minister on the Line	
The Post of the Chief of ESW	
CHAPTER 3	46
The First Stage of Withdrawal	
Anti-Soviet Moods	
The Authority of Václav Havel and Alexander Dubček	
Emotional Explosions	
The Fourth Estate – a Great Help	
“Just So They Are Away”	
Pictures of Disaster	
“Black” Buildings for Sale	
The August Toll – 277 Czech and Slovak Casualties	
The Parliamentary Commission	
Nuclear Weapons	
A “Cipher” to Moscow	
The Mirror of Statistics	
CHAPTER 4	59
The Second Stage of the Withdrawal	
Hungarian, German and Polish Visitors	
Free Slovakia	
Facts and Numbers about the Second Stage	
CHAPTER 5	68
The Third Stage of the Withdrawal	
“Good-bye, Czechoslovakia”	
“The Greatest Ammunition Warehouse in Europe”	

A Non-Agreement about an Agreement	
The Day with the Capital D	

CHAPTER 6	76
------------------	-----------

Political Deliberations about the Departure of the Intervention Troops	
<i>Immediate Negotiations after 21st August 1968</i>	
<i>Discussions at the National Assembly</i>	
<i>Negotiations during the Times of Disengagement (Perestroika)</i>	
<i>Negotiations after November 1989</i>	
<i>Preparations of Deliberations at the Government of the National Understanding</i>	
<i>First Round of Negotiations ČSSR – USSR, January 1990, Prague</i>	
<i>Second Round of Negotiations, February 1990, Moscow</i>	
<i>Third Round of Negotiations, February 1990</i>	
<i>The Agreement about the Withdrawal</i>	
<i>Solving of Property-juristic and Financial Problems after the Withdrawal</i>	

DOCUMENTATION APPENDICES	87
---------------------------------	-----------

Chronology of the Withdrawal	
Survey of the Displaced Troops and Equipment	
Survey of the Displaced Technical Material	
Survey of the Displaced Rear Material	
Organizational Structure of Solving the Withdrawal of Soviet Troops from the ČSFR during the Period February 1990 – August 1991	
Deployment of the Soviet troops in Czechoslovakia during the years 1968 – 1989	
Text of the Agreement between the Government of ČSSR and the Government of the USSR from 27. 2. 1990 in Prague	
Media about the Ending of the Withdrawal and Protocol about the Ending of the Withdrawal	

ABBREVIATIONS	97
----------------------	-----------

LITERATURE	97
-------------------	-----------

SOURCES	98
----------------	-----------

AUTHOR'S REMARKS	98
-------------------------	-----------

PICTURE APPENDICES	99
---------------------------	-----------

PART II – GERMANY

Major General (ret.) Hartmut Foertsch

About the Author	116
------------------	-----

Introductory Word <i>Volker Rübe, former Minister of Defence of the FRG</i>	117
---	-----

INTRODUCTION	119
---------------------	------------

CHAPTER 1 – The Preparation Phase 1989 – 1990	121
--	------------

Consideration about Contract Negotiations	
Results of the Negotiations in the New Political Environment	
Dates and Facts on the Withdrawal	
Contractual Bases in the GDR	
Existing Structures of Organization	

CHAPTER 2 – Liaison	135
----------------------------	------------

The German Liaison Detachment Soviet Forces in Germany	
Liaison to the Western Group of Forces	
Beginnings of the Co-operation	

CHAPTER 3 – The Withdrawal from 1990 to 1994	139
---	------------

New Conditions for the Stay of the Soviet Forces	
The Withdrawal	
Training	

CHAPTER 4 – Other Questions of Importance	146
The Housing Programme	
Real Estate system	
Situation of Environment	
Memorials and Tradition	
FINAL CONSIDERATIONS	151
DOCUMENTATION APPENDICES	154
A. Enclosures	154
B. Other Treaties, Agreements, Declarations.....	184
C. Other Sources.....	184
D. Abbreviations	185
PICTURE APPENDICES	187

PART III – HUNGARY

Major General (ret.) Imre Karácsony

About the Author	200
Introductory Word <i>Árpád Göncz, former President of the Republic of Hungary</i>	201
Dedication	202

CHAPTERS FROM THE HISTORY OF THE PRESENCE OF SOVIET FORCES IN HUNGARY

CHAPTER 1	203
Soviet Military Presence in Hungary	
Soviet Military Intervention – 1956	
CHAPTER 2	209
Negotiations Concerning the Withdrawal of Forces	
Antecedents and Contents of the Hungarian-Soviet Agreement on the Withdrawal of Soviet Troops Signed in 1990	
Creating the Constitutional Conditions for the Negotiations	
Issue of the Military-operative Withdrawal of Troops	
CHAPTER 3	215
Preparation of the Economic and Financial Settlement of Accounts, Contents of the Negotiations on this Theme	
Agreement on the Mutual Renouncement of Claims	
Possibilities and Methods of Utilization of Real Estates used by the Soviet Troops	
Issue of the Environmental Damage Ensued in the Course of the Presence of Soviet Troops in Hungary	
SUMMARY	227
PICTURE APPENDICES	229

PART IV – POLAND

Major General (ret.) Zdzisław Ostrowski

(in cooperation with Mariusz Lesław Krogulski and Cezariusz Skuza)

About the Author	236
Introductory Word <i>Janusz Onyskiewicz, former Minister of Defence of the Republic of Poland</i>	237
IN LIEU OF INTRODUCTION	238

CHAPTER 1 – Polish Situation at the End of WW II and during the Creation of the Communist Government	239
Agreements Signed by Big Powers Leaders in Tehran, Yalta, and Potsdam Concerning Poland	
Strengthening the Communist Influence in Poland (1944 – 47)	
The Role of NKVD, the Red Army and the Polish Security Apparatus in Strengthening the Communist System	
CHAPTER 2 – The Soviet Army in Poland the Presence was to be Temporary	244
Soviet Military Command Posts	
The Concept and Extent of War Trophy	
Northern Group of Forces – Status, Number of Troops and Resources	
Supply of Soviet Units	
Public and Accommodation Benefits	
Burdensome “Ally”	
a) Theft, Devastation and Illegal Use of Property	
b) Other Criminal Acts of Soviet Soldiers	
CHAPTER 3 – Declaration of Claims – Laws Versus Reality	253
The Economic Committee of the Council of Ministers (Representation of the Government) in Legnica	
The Office of the Polish Republic Government Plenipotentiary for the Presence of the Soviet Troops in Poland	
Polish-Russian Mixed Committee	
CHAPTER 4 – Withdrawal of the “Fraternal Army”	258
Impact of Political Turning Point in Europe at the End of the 1980s on Poland	
First Reduction of Soviet Troops in Eastern Bloc	
Wave of Changes	
Difficult Negotiations	
Big March Out	
The Soviet Army Legacy	
BIBLIOGRAPHY	268
Documents and Materials	268
Memoirs	268
Articles and Studies	269
APPENDICES	271
Commanders of the Northern Group of Forces	271
The USSR Plenipotentiaries for the Soviet Army Presence in Poland	271
The PPR/RP Plenipotentiaries for Soviet Troops Presence in Poland	272
Financial Values Related to Soviet Troops Presence in Poland for Base Year 1993	273
Timetable of Russian Federation Troops Withdrawal from Individual Garrisons	274
DOCUMENTS	276
Treaty between the Republic of Poland and the Russian Federation on the Withdrawal of the Russian Federation Troops from the Territory of Poland	276
The Protocol between the Government of the Republic of Poland and the Government of the Russian Federation on Settlement of Property, Financial and Other Matters Related to the Withdrawal of the Russian Federation Troops from the Territory of Poland	277
The Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Poland and the Government of the Russian Federation on Transportation Matters Related to the Withdrawal of the Russian Federation Troops from the Territory of Poland	278
THE LIST OF MOST IMPORTANT ABBREVIATIONS	284
PICTURE APPENDICES	285