

The Democratic Revolution in Czechoslovakia: Its Precondition, Course, and Immediate Repercussions, 1987-89

An International Conference
14-16 October 1999
Prague, Hotel Duo

Briefing Book



Photo Michal Doležal

Organized by

The National Security Archive, Washington D.C.
The Czechoslovak Documentation Centre, Prague (Dobřichovice)
The Institute of Contemporary History, Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic

Cooperating Institutions

Historical Institute of the Slovak Academy of Science, Bratislava
The Milan Šimečka Foundation, Bratislava
The Czech-Russian Commission of Historians and Archivists

With Additional Financial Support from

The Open Society Fund
The Konrad Adenauer Foundation
The Heinrich Böll Foundation
The Simons Foundation, Vancouver

Project on Openness in Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union

The Democratic Revolution in Czechoslovakia: Its Precondition, Course, and Immediate Repercussions, 1987-89

A Chronology of Events and a Compendium of Declassified Documents

Briefing Book for an International Conference, Prague, 14-16 October 1999

Edited by Vilém Prečan with Derek Paton

Chronology

Compiled by Jiří Suk

Translated and edited by Derek Paton

Contributions to the Chronology were made by

Jaroslav Cuhra, Milena Janišová, František Koudelka, Vilém Prečan, Zdeněk Sládek

Documents

Compiled by Vilém Prečan with František Koudelka, Catherine Nielsen, Alena Nosková,
Zdeněk Sládek, Jiří Suk, Oldřich Tůma

Documents translated by

A. G. Brain (Alice and Gerald Turner), Todd Hammond, Malcolm Leighton,
Derek Paton, Svetlana Savranskaya, Jana Váchová, Vladislav Zubok

Translations edited by

Derek Paton

Assistance

Marie Lisová, Radek Schovánek, Kateřina Volková

No part of this publication may be reproduced or transmitted in any form
without the written permission of the copyright holders

© National Security Archive, Czechoslovak Documentation Centre,
Institute of Contemporary History, Prague
Prague 1999

Dear Conference Participants,

This Briefing Book for the Prague Conference 1999 aims to mirror the particular nature of the Czechoslovak approach to democratic revolution. Its basic feature was the confrontation between the Czechoslovak Communist establishment and the centres of nascent civil society. From little grouplets of independent persons emerged the loose structure of the opposition before the behaviour of the broader public turned round after November 17, 1989. The confrontation here lasted a particularly long time, well after dialogue and negotiations were taking place between the régimes and the oppositions in Hungary and Poland.

A marked feature of the Czechoslovak situation was the "1968 syndrome", that is to say the results of the policy of "normalization", which led the Communist Party into a cul-de-sac and the whole country into a profound political and moral crisis. For reasons related to its very future existence, the Czechoslovak Communist Party leadership fought tooth and nail to ensure that there would be no revision of the official Brezhnevite view of the 1968 reforms and the Soviet-led intervention. This was true even fifteen years later, when it became clear that they should be undertaking the glasnost and perestroika being pushed for in the Soviet Union. Similarly to the leadership of the German Democratic Republic, the leadership of Czechoslovakia could not openly refuse the ideas of Gorbachev, yet nor could they allow themselves to begin the democratization — within the limits of perestroika and glasnost — which those reforms entailed.

The régime-opposition confrontation, the omnipresence of the year of 1968, and the unwillingness of the régime to budge when faced with a society that was slowly awakening and freeing itself of fear can clearly be seen in the first fifty-one Documents selected for the Briefing Book.

Similarly, one can readily discern how, the moment the turnaround in the broader public arrived (from apathy to open activity), the Civil Forum and the Public Against Violence quickly emerged out of the loose structures of

the opposition, went on to become the representatives of an increasingly confident public, and soon afterwards constituted the decisive political factor in Czechoslovakia. We have tried to provide a selection of documents that illustrate the day-by-day developments (see Documents 52–100).

Within three weeks Czech and Slovak democrats were capable of providing the core of a new Government, which soon led the country to its first free elections in 44 years. With the election of Václav Havel to the Presidency the first stage of the democratic revolution was concluded. The systemic changes were irreversible, and were considered such by the vast majority of the public (and also by the US Embassy in Prague – see Document 113).

The last group of documents illustrates the important role that undoing the effects of 1968 played in the foreign policy of the new Czechoslovak Government. For this reason the selection of documents goes slightly beyond the boundary of the presidential elections.

We have tried to present the full range of kinds of primary sources. The Briefing Book includes documents related to dissident activity from Czechoslovak samizdat collections, from the CPCz Central Committee records, SED memoranda of conversations with their Czechoslovak counterparts, CPSU-CPCz negotiations, the available relevant documents on Soviet foreign policy towards Eastern Europe, including Czechoslovakia. To complete the picture of the Soviet context of the democratic revolution in Czechoslovakia, we have included excerpts from the memoirs of Vadim Medvedev, Valeri Musatov, and Georgi Shakhnazarov (none of which have yet appeared in English), and from the other side, Robert M. Gates, Robert L. Hutchings, and Jack F. Matlock (bearing in mind especially the non-American scholars for whom these works are frequently unavailable).

The Briefing Book also provides a representative selection of official statements by the Civic Forum and the Public Against Violence sessions, from the first three weeks of their existence, as well as select transcriptions of audio-recordings made during closed sessions of the Civic Forum and the Public Against Violence. The transcription documents make clear the importance of this source when researching the Czechoslovak 1989 revolution, which is so far only available in Czech (see, for example, Document 104).

We have also drawn extensively on the National Security Archive Soviet Flashpoints set, by selecting telegrams from the Embassy in

Prague, sent in November and December 1989. They were made available through a Freedom of Information Request by the National Security Archive, and were kindly provided to us by Catherine Nielsen. They constitute an exceptionally important primary source. They offer not only an opportunity to observe events in Prague through the eyes of American diplomats but in addition yield a lot of insider information; the telegrams concerning talks with Soviet diplomats, for instance, present first-rate new testimony.

In preparing the Prague Briefing Book it has been our good fortune to have had at our disposal the work of other scholars in the Project on Openness in Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union. Apart from the Budapest conference on Political Transition in Hungary, 1989–1990, the Musgrove Briefing Book (May, 1998), compiled by the National Security Archive, was especially useful; from it we have selected six important documents.

Work on the Prague Briefing Book reminded us of the importance of ensuring that far more Czech and Slovak language sources become accessible to readers without those languages, in order to enrich the debate and enable more informed comparative study on the East European emancipation from Communist rule and Soviet domination.

Vilém Prečan
Czechoslovak Documentation Centre
Prague (Dobřichovice)

Oldřich Tůma
Institute of Contemporary History
Academy of Sciences, Prague

The Cuban Road to Democratic Revolution
A Summary of the Main Political Events,
March 1933-December 1959

11 March 1985

Charter 77 issued the document Pražská výzva [Prague Appeal], which sought to bring attention to the causes of the division of Europe after World War II and to the possibilities of overcoming that division as part of European unification based on respect for human and civil rights. The Prague Appeal evoked a considerable response throughout democratic Europe.

4 April 1985

In a speech marking the 40th anniversary of the Government Programme in Košice the Federal Premier Lubomír Štrougal demanded boldness and courage in the search for new ways of running the economy and a revaluation of 'some of today's opinions and concepts'. He remained isolated among the leaders of the Communist Party and the state.

23-24 May 1985

French diplomats who accompanied French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas on his state visit to Czechoslovakia met at their own initiative with Charter 77 signatories Anna Šabatová, Petr Uhl, and Jiří Hájek. Further meetings between French diplomats and independent Czechoslovak activists were prevented by the StB.

29 May 1985

The Federal Assembly of the ČSSR elected Gustáv Husák President of the Republic for his third consecutive five-year term.

30-31 May 1985

Moscow. Secretary General of the CPCz CC, Gustáv Husák, and the top Soviet leader, Mikhail Gorbachev, signed the 'Soviet-Czechoslovak Programme for Long-term Economic and Scientific Cooperation for the period 1985-2000'.

7 July 1985

About 100,000 Christians went on a traditional pilgrimage to Velehrad to mark the 1100th anniversary of the death of St Methodius. With booing, hissing and whistling during the speech by Czech Minister of Culture Milan Klusák, some of them expressed their dissatisfaction with the situation of the Roman Catholic Church in Czechoslovakia.

20 August 1985

Charter 77 issued a statement marking the 17th anniversary of the Warsaw Pact intervention in Czechoslovakia. The statement came out in support of continuing the political reforms that had been interrupted by the occupation and for the gradual withdrawal of Soviet troops from Czechoslovakia as part of the European process of détente. In the days just prior to the August anniversary the StB stepped up acts of repression against Charter 77 signatories.

2 September 1985

The StB carried out searches at the independent arts association the Jazz Section and in the homes of its members Vladimír Kouřil, Joska Skalník, Karel Šrpf, and Vlastimil Drda.

The house searches were part of a series of repressive acts carried out by the police and the courts, whose intent was to suppress all signs of existence of an independent cultural sphere.

22-23 October 1985

Sofia. At meeting of the Political Advisory Committee of the Warsaw Pact, the top Czechoslovak leader, Gustáv Husák, supported the 'new impulses' outlined by Mikhail Gorbachev in his address there, calling them 'extraordinarily inspirational' for the CPCz.

28 October 1985

In an interview for the West German weekly *Der Spiegel*, CPCz CC member Vasil Biľak commented on international problems, relations in the Soviet bloc, the events of 1968, and economic and political problems in Czechoslovakia. The interview was given in the old spirit, and Biľak gave no indication of the 'change in thinking' that he would, two months later, begin to push for.

The CPCz weekly *Rudé právo* ran an editorial devoted to the CPSU programme. The authors stated that the Soviets' 'creative approach to problems and tasks is beneficial and inspirational' also for the CPCz, because the Czechoslovak Communist Party was also working on the same tasks, namely intensive development of the economy, together with greater efficiency and quality of production. Official Party documents and speeches by Party leaders remained on the level of generalities till December 1986.

21 November 1985

At a Prague meeting of General Secretaries of the Central Committees of Communist parties of the Warsaw Pact member countries, Mikhail Gorbachev informed his partners about the results of his meeting with US President Ronald Reagan in Geneva, on 19-21 November.

8 December 1985

Prague. At Grand Prior Square (Velkopřevorské náměstí) several hundred people, mostly young, met to commemorate the fifth anniversary of the death of singer-songwriter John Lennon. After a solemn memorial ceremony, those attending the demonstration set out on a march through Prague, where they chanted slogans for peace. The march was dispersed by police units that evening.

14 December 1985

The Moscow paper *Pravda* published the article 'An Important Political Legacy', to mark the fifteenth anniversary of the publication of the essay 'Lessons of the Crisis', which had become the ideological canon in Czechoslovakia for interpreting the events of 1968 and the post-occupation policy of the CPCz.

7 January 1986

Charter 77 spokesmen Jiří Dienstbier, Eva Kantůrková, Petruška Šustrová were succeeded by Martin Palouš, Anna Šabatová, and Jan Štern.

22 January 1986

Václav Havel was awarded the distinguished Erasmus Prize from the Netherlands for his contribution to the preservation of European culture.

9 February 1986

In Prague American Senator Daniel P. Moynihan (Democratic Party) met at his own initiative with Charter 77 spokesmen Martin Palouš and Anna Šabatová as well as with two other signatories, Miloš Rejchrt and Petr Uhl.

25 February to 6 March 1986

In Moscow the 27th Congress of the CPSU was held. Among the guests was CPCz General Secretary and Czechoslovak President Gustáv Husák, who had been invited for private talks by top Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev.

6 March 1986

Charter 77 issued the document 'Room for the Young Generation', which was inspired by the December demonstration at the symbolic grave of John Lennon in Prague's Malá Strana quarter. Shortly after the document had been sent out, the Charter 77 spokesmen were detained and interrogated by the police.

24-28 March 1986

In Prague the 17th Congress of the CPCz took place, and approved new Party statutes and the document 'Main Trends in Economic and Social Development in the CSSR, 1986-90, and the Prospects to the Year 2000'. General Secretary Gustáv Husák noted that a developed socialist society in Czechoslovakia now faced the task of 'accelerating the strategy of economic and social development based above all on the application of scientific and technological progress'. While the Congress was being held, the StB stepped up its surveillance of some Charter 77 activists.

27 March 1986

At its first session the CPCz CC elected a Presidium, Secretariat, and Secretaries. The Presidium membership remained unchanged from the previous: Gustáv Husák, Vasil Biľak, Peter Colotka, Karel Hoffmann, Alois Indra, Miloš Jakeš, Antonín Kapek, Josef Kempný, Josef Korčák, Jozef Lenárt, and Lubomír Štrougal. Gustáv Husák was elected General Secretary. The composition of the Secretariat also remained unchanged.

10 April 1986

In Prague a joint session of the Central Committees of the Czechoslovak, Czech, and Slovak National Fronts was held, and unanimously approved the nominations of candidates in the general elections for the Federal, Czech, and Slovak legislatures.

29 April 1986

In the evening radio and television broadcasts the Czechoslovak public first heard officially of the accident of the Chernobyl atomic energy plant in the Ukraine, which had taken place 26 April. The amount of information and recommended measures for the public

were far less than was provided in the neighbouring states. According to subsequent sociological research, almost half of the population gave preference to information and instructions from foreign mass media. Charter 77 sent a letter to the Federal Assembly and the Czechoslovak Government, appealing to state organs to provide the public with full and frank information on the nuclear disaster.

9 May 1986

A four-member delegation of four People's Party deputies of the Austrian parliament visited Charter 77 signatory Václav Benda in Prague to discuss religious life in Czechoslovakia and the activity of independent initiatives here.

13 May 1986

Charter 77 had issued the document 'The Right to Vote', recommending that there be a choice of several candidates and that voters be allowed to fill in the lists themselves.

23-24 May 1986

Elections took place to the three legislatures (the Federal Assembly, the Slovak and the Czech National Councils) and the National Committees (local organs). The run-up to the elections, the elections themselves, and their results followed a scenario by then typical of Communist dictatorship: 99.39 per cent of the electorate turned out to vote; 99.94 per cent of them cast their ballots for the carefully selected candidates of the National Front.

4 June 1986

The third session of the CPCz CC debated nominations for top-level positions in the Federal Assembly, the two national legislatures, and the governments. Three new ministers appeared in the Federal Government, seven in the Czech, and five in the Slovak.

1 July 1986

Chairman of the US Senate's Subcommittee on European Affairs Larry Pressler, on an official visit to Czechoslovakia, met with the spokesmen and some signatories of Charter 77 to discuss human rights and freedoms in Czechoslovakia. The StB prevented further meetings between the Senator and Czechoslovak dissidents.

20 August 1986

Charter 77 issued a statement marking the 18th anniversary of the Warsaw Pact occupation of Czechoslovakia, in which it pointed out that the occupation and the presence of Soviet troops in Czechoslovakia was the chief obstacle to the enjoyment of the 'right to national self-determination'.

2 September 1986

Following house searches, seven members of the independent arts and culture organization the Jazz Section were taken into custody and accused of the crime of doing business without a licence. This repression was met with a wave of protests abroad, and many institutions and persons concerned with politics and the arts expressed their solidarity with the unjust arrests.

12-13 September 1986

The StB organized an extensive operation of repression against Charter 77 activists, which was based on repeated house searches and being called in for interrogations lasting several hours. In recent months the number of various acts of police and judicial persecution aimed against independent Roman Catholic activists, as well as against supporters and members of the Jazz Section, had also markedly increased.

10-11 November 1986

Moscow. After a working meeting of leading representatives of the COMECON states Mikhail Gorbachev invited CPCz CC General Secretary Gustáv Husák for private talks.

20 November 1986

VONS (the Committee in Defence of the Unjustly Prosecuted) published information on its members and a survey of almost 600 cases that it had registered since its establishment in 1978, and about which it had informed the public at home and abroad.

5-6 December 1986

At its Fourth Session the CC CPCz debated a bill on the Eighth Five-Year Plan. In a speech General Secretary Gustáv Husák expressed his support and sympathy for the 'revolutionary restructuring [i.e., perestroika] of all aspects of the life and work of the Soviet people'.

6 January 1987

Charter 77 introduced its new spokesmen, Jan Litomiský, Libuše Šilhánová, and Josef Vohryzek, and, to mark the tenth anniversary of its founding, organized a press conference that was attended by seventeen correspondents from the foreign media.

In its document 'A Word to Our Fellow Citizens', Charter 77 expressed the view that throughout the Soviet bloc, including Czechoslovakia, the social and political climate was gradually moving towards 'greater democracy', and it called upon Czechs and Slovaks to be conscientiously involved in public affairs and to call problems and their causes by their real names in every day life. It also issued the 'Letter to Signatories of Charter 77', proposing careful consideration and discussion of several basic principles of Charter organization. The responses to the 'Letter' highlight some of the burning problems of the Charter, above all the problem of different generations and the question of relations between the Charter in Prague and outside the city. Both documents were prepared by the six spokesmen of Charter 77 from the years 1986 and 1987, together with Václav Havel and Jiří Hájek, who had stood at the head of the Charter when it was founded.

To mark the tenth anniversary of its establishment, greetings were sent to Charter 77 by US President Ronald Reagan, West German Social Democratic Party Chairman Willy Brandt, the International Committee of the Labour Party of Great Britain, and other persons and organizations.

2-3 February 1987

As part of his official visit to Czechoslovakia British Undersecretary of State Timothy Renton met with Charter 77 spokesman Libuše Šilhánová and representatives of VONS Václav Malý and Anna Šabatová. The next day American Deputy Secretary of State John C. Whitehead met with Charter 77 representatives Libuše Šilhánová, Jan Litomiský, Radim Palouš, and Anna Šabatová. The StB detained eleven active signatories of Charter 77, and some of them were thus unable to attend the meetings with foreign diplomats to which they had been invited. (A meeting of Charter 77 representatives, US Congressmen, and representatives of the Helsinki Watch Committee took place in Prague, on 17 February, under similar circumstances.)

4 February 1987

The Presidium of the CPCz CC discussed the conclusions of the January session of the CPSU CC. The discussion, which continued on 18 and 26 February, constituted in essence the first basic talks on changes in CPCz policy since Gorbachev's accession to power. The conclusions of the January session of the CPSU CC were on the whole positively received, though with certain reservations: the CPCz was not willing to reevaluate the events of 1968 or to submit to criticism its policies in the 1970s and 1980s. The Presidium assigned its members and CC Secretaries twenty tasks inspired by perestroika.

2 March 1987

At Prague meeting of functionaries and leading economists, which focused on the tasks of 'restructuring of the economic mechanism', Czechoslovak Premier Lubomír Štrougal delivered a reform-oriented speech.

10-11 March 1987

The District Court for Prague 4 sentenced representatives of the independent arts organization the Jazz Section: Vladimír Kouřil was given a sentence of ten months in jail and Karel Srp one year and four months; Joska Skalník, Čestmír Huňát, and Tomáš Křivánek were given suspended sentences.

18-19 March 1987

The fifth session of the CPCz CC was devoted to the 'acceleration of scientific and technical development'. In a report of the Presidium of the CPCz CC Miloš Jakeš came out in favour of perestroika as the 'revolutionary programme of social restructuring'. The CC elected Ladislav Adamec to the Presidium and Karel Hoffmann Secretary of the CC.

The Central Council of Trade Unions elected Miroslav Zavadil the new Chairman of the Revolutionary Trade-Union Movement (ROH).

20 March 1987

The Presidium of the Czech National Council called for the resignation of Czech Premier Josef Korčák, and replaced him with First Deputy Premier Ladislav Adamec.

23 March 1987

In a letter, Charter 77 appealed to Mikhail Gorbachev to withdraw Soviet troops and remove nuclear weapons from Czechoslovakia. Charter 77 also wrote to representatives of the Czechoslovak state, asking them to initiate talks with Gorbachev to find a solution to these issues.

24 March 1987

Charter 77 issued a statement entitled 'Stop the Political Trials!', reacting to the intensified judicial repression in recent months.

8-11 April 1987

Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev visited Czechoslovakia, where he was welcomed by thousands of Czechoslovaks who saw his visit as a sign of hope for dynamic changes in policy and politicians. In his speeches here, however, Gorbachev talked about Czechoslovakia as a country with a high standard of living, and supported the current CPCz leadership and its post-occupation policies.

14 April 1987

At the US Embassy in Prague, representatives of Charter 77 met with US Senator Sam Nunn.

30 April 1987

Charter 77 issued the document 'So That We Can Breathe Here', drawing attention to the catastrophic state of the natural environment in Czechoslovakia and to possible ways to improve it.

4-5 May 1987

At the Fourth Congress of the Czech Dramatic Arts the popular actor Miloš Kopecký made a speech expressing doubts about whether the CPCz leadership intended to push through genuine perestroika and the democratization of society; he called for the resignation of those who espoused change but embodied immobility and stagnation.

17 May 1987

Nine representatives of Charter 77 met in Prague with members of the delegation of the Australian Foreign Minister William G. Hayden, who informed them about human rights in Czechoslovakia and other social issues.

10 June 1987

In the Prague flat of Dana Němcová the first Charter 77 forum on a single topic took place, attended by about fifty people, to discuss current environmental issues. One of the results of the forum was the activation of an independent environmental conservation movement, which led to the establishment of the Environmental Conservation Society (Ekologická společnost) headed by Charter 77 signatory Ivan Dejmal. The Society issued a *samizdat* journal, *Ekologický bulletin*.

2 July 1987

The spokesman of Charter 77 and some signatories met in Prague with a delegation of the Bundestag led by Philippe Jenninger (of the Christian Democratic Union). They discussed the task of defending human rights in the process of international cooperation.

17 July 1987

During an official visit to Czechoslovakia the Austrian Vice Chancellor and Foreign Minister, Alois Mock, met with Václav Havel for a short discussion in the residence of the Austrian Ambassador. It was the first time since 1977 that a visiting minister of foreign affairs publicly received a Charter 77 signatory.

18 July 1987

The CPCz daily, *Rudé právo*, published a bill on state-owned enterprises, which was intended for "public discussion".

1 August 1987

Charter 77 issued a statement on the nineteenth anniversary of the occupation of Czechoslovakia by the troops of five Warsaw Pact states. The statement expressed four basic demands: the release of political prisoners, the possibility for all, according to ability, to work in the occupation of one's choice and to study; a solution to the problem of exile; and the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Czechoslovakia.

13 September 1987

Charter 77 spokesmen held a memorial service at the cemetery in Láňy to mark the fiftieth anniversary of the death of the first President of Czechoslovakia, Tomáš G. Masaryk.

17 September 1987

French Secretary of Foreign Affairs Didier Bariani received Charter 77 spokesmen Jiří Hájek and Petr Uhl for an hour-long talk in the French Embassy, Prague.

18 September 1987

Founders of the independent citizens group Democratic Initiative, in the name of fifty Czechoslovak citizens, sent a letter to deputies of the Federal Assembly of Czechoslovakia, calling for the beginning of democratization of public and political life. The Democratic Initiative proclaimed itself the bearer of the Czech democratic and liberal traditions that went back to the mid-nineteenth century, and of the thousand-year-old Christian tradition. In several statements it formulated proposals for political reform, including a proposal for the creation of a transitional period of liberalization, in which basic civil and human rights would be realized and lead to the organization of free elections. The Democratic Initiative published the *samizdat* periodical *Pohled spotřebitele* [The View of the Consumer]. (On 11 November 1989 the Democratic Initiative, which by then had about 2,000 supporters, proclaimed itself an independent political party, and demanded the Czechoslovak authorities allow it to register. In 1988-89 it worked closely with other independent civil associations.)

25 September 1987

The US Ambassador to Prague, Julian M. Niemczyk, organized a gala evening to mark the 200th anniversary of the declaration of the American Constitution, and invited Charter 77 spokesmen signatories Václav Havel, Jiří Dienstbier, Václav Malý, Anna Šabatová, Petr Uhl, and Zdeněk Urbánek to attend.

2-4 October 1987

At its Fourth Congress, the Union of Socialist Youth elected Vasil Mohorita Chairman.

22 October 1987

In the evening and night, members of the StB raided the homes and work places of several Charter 77 signatories and confiscated a large number of items including documents, books, typewriters, video cassettes, and tape-recorders.

2-3 November 1987

A Czechoslovak delegation led by CPCz CC General Secretary Gustáv Husák attended a commemorative session to mark the seventieth anniversary of the October Revolution. Husák informed Mikhail Gorbachev of his intention to open the way for 'promising' young Communists to the leadership of the Party, and expressed his support for the current Federal Premier, Lubomír Štrougal.

Early November 1987

Mikhail Gorbachev's *Perestroika and New Thinking* was published in Czech translation in Czechoslovakia.

15 November 1987

During his stay in Prague, Martin Wenick of the US State Department invited Charter 77 spokesmen and signatories Libuše Šilhánová, Josef Vohryzek, Václav Benda, and Jan Štern to a meeting.

15-16 November 1987

At the invitation of Soviet Premier Nikolai Ryzhkov Czechoslovak Premier Lubomír Štrougal visited Moscow, where he was received by Mikhail Gorbachev for talks about the situation in the CPCz leadership and the future approach to perestroika in Czechoslovakia.

19 November 1987

At the impetus of Vasil Biľak, the Presidium of the CPCz CC discussed a proposal for the division of the office of General Secretary of the Communist Party from the office of President of the Republic. The separation of these two offices was proposed by Ladislav Adamec, arguing that Gustáv Husák could not stand at the head of the new political orientation, because Husák was body and soul connected with the past. Adamec proposed that Miloš Jakeš replace him. Husák called the proposal a plot and an attempt to thwart his intention to get younger functionaries into the top echelons of the Party leadership. In a long discussion, those present agreed that the division of functions must be initiated

a re-evaluation of the recent past, or with blaming him for past failures. Members of the Presidium agreed that the proposal would not be presented to the Central Committee and that the discussion should be kept secret.

22 November 1987

Members of the StB broke up a meeting of Charter 77 spokesmen, which was attended by 27 people, in the flat of a current Charter 77 spokesman, Libuše Šilhánová.

28 November 1987

The second forum of Charter 77 took place in Prague, attended by seventy signatories; it discussed the activity of Charter 77, its internal problems, and the organization of a peaceful demonstration to mark International Human Rights Day, on 10 December.

29 November 1987

The Joint Pastoral Letter of Bishops and Elders of Bohemian and Moravian Dioceses was read in Czech churches to mark the year of the Blessed Agnes of Bohemia. The Decade of Spiritual Renewal was declared, prepared by the Roman Catholic Church together with Roman Catholic underground organizations.

The same day saw the Moravian petition 'Impetuses from Roman Catholics for a Solution to the Situation of Christians in the CSSR', which addressed 31 issues, including a demand for the full recognition of religious freedoms and the separation of Church and state; it was initiated by the Roman Catholic layman, Augustin Navrátil. (The petition, which received the support of František Cardinal Tomášek on 4 January 1988, was signed by more than 600,000 Czech and Slovak believers during the coming months. The initiator of the petition was systematically persecuted and harassed by the police.)

November 1987

Lidové noviny, which had been publishing once a month since January 1988, issued its second preliminary edition. It soon became one of the most widely read *samizdat* periodicals.

8 December 1987

Prague. On Grand Prior Square (Velkopřevorské náměstí) a commemorative gathering took place to mark the seventh anniversary of the murder of the singer-songwriter John Lennon. In the presence of police, up to 500 people, predominantly young, attended. Some of them were taken into custody for several hours by the regular police and the StB.

9 December 1987

At a meeting of the Presidium of the CPCz CC, Gustáv Husák announced that at a session of the CPCz CC he would resign the office of General Secretary and would recommend Miloš Jakeš to take his place.

10 December 1987

Prague. In response to an appeal by Charter 77, about 2,000 people demonstrated on Old Town Square to mark International Human Rights Day. Several hundred police, in uniform

and undercover, were present, and selectively arrested demonstrators and took them in for questioning.

17-18 December 1987

In Prague the seventh session of the CPCz CC took place. At the meeting, Gustáv Husák resigned from the office of General Secretary, and upon his proposal, Miloš Jakeš was elected to the head of the Party. In his inaugural address, Jakeš came out in favour of 'complex restructuring and the intensification of socialist democracy.'

December 1987— January 1988

More than 100 members and supporters of the Bratislava-based Slovak Union of Environmental Protection published *Bratislava nahlas* [Bratislava aloud], in which they sought to bring attention to environmental, urban-planning, social, and arts problems facing the Slovak capital. The publication later met with a considerable response among the Slovak public and in the mass media abroad. The official press of the Czechoslovak régime called the environmental initiative an attempt to destabilize the political situation, and soon subjected its organizers to persecution by the police and courts. (Among the authors and organizers of *Bratislava nahlas* were activists who, after 17 November 1989, founded the Public Against Violence movement (including Ján Budaj, Juraj Flamík, Fedor Gál, Eugen Gindl, Marián Huba, Gabriela Kaliská, Peter Kresánek, and Peter Tatár.)

2 January 1988

Stanislav Devátý, Miloš Hájek, and Bohumír Janát became the new Charter 77 spokesmen.

11 January 1988

General Secretary of the CPCz CC Miloš Jakeš visited the Soviet Union. At a meeting with the foremost Soviet representative, Mikhail Gorbachev, he voiced in the name of the CPCz full support for Soviet policy, and reported on the situation in the leadership of the CPCz. Another subject of discussion was the attitude towards 1968. Gorbachev told Jakeš that Italian Communists were demanding a constructive re-evaluation of the role of Alexander Dubček, but agreed with Jakeš's view that such a re-evaluation would destabilize the CPCz, and should therefore be avoided; he also rejected the frequently expressed view that the Prague Spring of 1968 was the precursor to the current Soviet policy of perestroika.

17 January 1988

On the agenda of the third Charter 77 forum was discussion of the current political situation, the possibilities of improving it, and the role of the Charter and other independent initiatives in this process. The forum was meant to be attended by nearly sixty Charter signatories, but was disrupted by an extensive StB operation launched two days earlier.

18 January 1988

During an official visit to Czechoslovakia, several members of a delegation from the US Congress met with Charter 77 signatories Zdeněk Urbánek, Jiří Ruml, Rudolf Zeman, Jan Čtrný, Petr Uhl, Miroslav Dvořák, and Václav Malý.

26-27 January 1988

Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany Helmut Kohl, on an official visit to Czechoslovakia, met with Czechoslovak Premier Lubomír Štrougal, CPCz CC General Secretary Miloš Jakeš, and Czechoslovak President Gustáv Husák. During talks it was agreed that, among other things, Czechoslovak would cease to jam Czech broadcasts of the Deutschlandfunk radio station (this was implemented 4 February 1988). The StB prevented Charter 77 spokesmen and other signatories from attending a meeting to which they had been invited with members of the Kohl delegation in the Embassy of the Federal Republic.

7 February 1988

While in Prague, American Deputy Secretary of State John C. Whitehead met with Charter 77 representatives Václav Benda, Václav Havel, Václav Malý, and Jan Štern.

8 February 1988

The General Secretary of the CPCz CC, Miloš Jakeš, attended talks in Warsaw with the First Secretary of the Polish United Workers' Party, Wojciech Jaruzelski, where they discussed the situations in their countries and mutual cooperation. (Jakeš then visited East Germany on 10 March, Hungary on 7 April, and Rumania on 22 April, for the same purpose.)

13 February 1988

The Society of Friends of the USA, which the Czechoslovak authorities had refused to register as a lawful organization, renamed itself the Community of Friends of the USA, and declared itself an informal citizens' initiative.

19 February 1988

The Academic Board of the Faculty of Natural Sciences, at the University of Bologna, conferred an honorary doctorate on Alexander Dubček.

5 March 1988

The British authorities sent stern protests to the Czechoslovak Government after the StB prevented some Charter 77 signatories from participating in talks with representatives of the Czechoslovak public who had been invited to meet with Permanent Undersecretary of State at the British Embassy, Prague.

The StB prevented members of the steering committee of the Tomáš G. Masaryk Society from organizing a meeting of members of this new, independent initiative.

6 March 1988

In St Vitus's Cathedral, Prague, a special mass for people on a pilgrimage was held in honour of the Blessed Agnes of Bohemia. (Agnes, or Anežka Přemyslovna [d. 1282], was the sister of Václav I, king of the Bohemian lands; she devoted her life to charitable work, introduced two European orders, the Franciscans and the Clares into Bohemia, and founded the only originally Bohemian order, the Knights of the Cross with the Red Star.)

Despite feverish attempts by the StB to prevent them from attending the mass, about 8,000 people managed to make their way into the Cathedral. Some representatives of Charter 77 and other independent initiatives were taken into custody or kept under house arrest. People attending the mass then demonstrated for about an hour in front of the Archbishop's Palace for genuine recognition of religious freedoms.

16 March 1988

The Soviet armed forces, as part of Soviet-American agreements, completed its withdrawal of SS-12 strategic missiles from Czechoslovak territory.

25 March 1988

On Hviezdoslav Square, Bratislava, several thousand Roman Catholics (mostly Slovak but also many from Bohemia and Moravia) with lighted candles met to demonstrate their desire for religious freedom, the respecting of human rights in Czechoslovakia, and the filling of vacant bishoprics. The demonstration was organized by representatives of the independent Roman Catholic groups in Slovakia. Police used batons and water cannons to break up the demonstrations. Several high-level representatives of the state and the Party in Slovakia watched from the windows of the Carlton Hotel. The police opened investigations to discover who the organizers of the demonstration were.

5 April 1988

Six US Senators, led by John Glenn, met in Prague with Charter 77 signatories and former spokesmen Ladislav Lis, Eva Kantůrková, and Václav Malý.

8-9 April 1988

The CPCz CC, at its ninth session, debated personnel questions. It resolved to replace Ján Feješ with Ján Pješčák in the function of Prosecutor General of the CSSR, and to coopt ten young Party members into the CC (Jan Gajdošík, Rudolf Hegenbart, Ivan Knotek, Vladimír Kunovjánek, Otto Liška, Václav Pátek, Štefan Rybák, Ondrej Šaling, Miroslav Štěpán, and Miroslav Zajíc). It relieved Antonín Kapek of his position in the Presidium and Josef Haman, Josef Havlín, and Jindřich Poledník of their functions as secretaries of the CPCz CC. It elected Jan Fojtík and Ignác Janák to the Presidium, and Vasil Mohorita and Miroslav Štěpán (who also replaced Antonín Kapek in the function of Head Secretary of the Municipal Committee of the CPCz in Prague) to the Secretariat.

10 April 1988

The StB broke up a meeting of Charter 77 spokesmen, which was being held in a private Prague flat and attended by 29 Charter 77 representatives.

12 April 1988

While on an official visit to Czechoslovakia, a delegation of the Standing Committee for Foreign Relations of the Lower House of the Estates General of the Netherlands, led by J. J. P. de Boer, met with Charter 77 signatories Miloš Hájek, Václav Havel, Martin Palouš, Petr Uhl, and Alexandr Vondra.

14 April 1988

Jozef Lenárt was relieved of his function as First Secretary of the CC of the Communist Party of Slovakia, and Ignác Janák was named in his place. The new Secretary of Ideology of the CPS CC was Gejza Šlapka, replacing Lubomír Pezlár.

16 April 1988

The Independent Peace Association–Initiative for the Demilitarization of Society (Nezávislé mírové sdružení-Iniciativa za demilitarizaci společnosti or NMS-IDS) issued its first statement, introducing itself as an informal community of people, not associated with any political party, ideology or religion, and trying to bring about open discussion on all questions in society, particularly those related to arms and the military. The *samizdat* periodical *Bulletin NMS-IDS* became its organ. The movement took part in public discussions, and called upon citizens to participate in demonstrations against the régime.

20 April 1988

As part of the changes in the structure and content of the work of the central authorities (carried out according to the 42nd Amendment to the Constitution, ratified 19 April 1988) a number of changes were effected in the Federal Government. Seven ministers left the Government; Marián Čalfa was named Minister for Legislative Affairs; the number of members of the Government was reduced from 26 to 20. (Later, on 3 May, the Federal Assembly approved the Government's Programme Statement.)

21 April 1988

The Presidiums of the Czech National Council and the Slovak National Councils (the Czech and Slovak legislatures) accepted the resignation of five members of the Czech Government and five members of the Slovak Government. Two new members of the Czech Government and two new members of the Slovak Government were named in their place, thus reducing the number of members of the Czech Government from 20 to 17, and of the Slovak Government from 18 to 15.

22 April 1988

The Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Netherlands, Hans van den Broek, met in Prague with Charter 77 signatories (including former spokesmen), Jiří Hájek, Václav Havel, Ladislav Hejdránek, Václav Malý, Jan Dus, and Petr Uhl, and Jazz Section representative Karel Šrám.

23 April 1988

Cardinal Tomášek sent Czechoslovak Premier Lubomír Štrougal a letter in which he protested against how public officials and the state-controlled mass media were reporting on the activities of Christians in the country. He also demanded a change in the authorities' attitude towards the Church. About 3,000 people gathered in front of the Archiepiscopal Palace in Prague, after the pontifical mass to commemorate St Adalbert (Vojtěch), to pay homage to Cardinal Tomášek and his guest, Secretary of the Polish Episcopate Jerzy Dąbrowski.

29 April 1988

The Presidium of the CPCz CC approved the draft of a letter that was intended for the basic organizations of the CPCz and warned against the 'activation of the forces of the internal and external adversary.' After the Presidium's session, these basic organizations were 'to decide on the approach to be taken within the sphere of their jurisdiction.' (The letter was sent out by teletype on 10 May 1988.)

3 May 1988

Charter 77 issued an obituary, several letters of protest, and a statement on the death of human-rights activist Pavel Wonka, who died in the Hradec Králové prison on 26 April 1988, at the age of 35, a 'victim of unlawful judicial and prison practices.' (Wonka's death was later to become the impulse for the establishment in February 1989 of the Club of Legal Support, whose aim was to ensure legal awareness among the public, to seek justice, and to provide legal aid in cases of state organs breaking the law.)

14 May 1988

Charter 77's fourth forum on the political situation in the country, the establishment of new independent initiatives (including political ones), and the means of their working together with Charter 77, was attended by about fifty signatories. Shortly after it began, the meeting was broken up by a large number of police, both in uniform and plainclothes. The Chartists issued a communiqué advocating the creation of a 'community for democracy' as an open political movement that would consider an alternative political programme and create the basis for the free political association of citizens.

23-31 May 1988

General Secretary of the CPCz CC Miloš Jakeš visited China, North Korea, and Mongolia.

28 May 1988

The newly established independent initiative Bohemian Children published its manifesto in support of royalist and Christian values and the traditions of the Kingdom of Bohemia. The Bohemian Children, similarly to the Independent Peace Initiative and the John Lennon Peace Club (whose predominantly young members became active opponents of the régime), organized public discussions in the streets and squares, and from August 1988 appealed regularly to citizens to join in demonstrations against the régime. The Bohemian Children issued the *samizdat* journal *Koruna*.

14 June 1988

The Federal Assembly passed the State Enterprises Act (which was to come into force on 1 August 1988). In the first stage of its drafting, the Bill was radically worded and resembled a proposal by CPCz reformist leaders in 1969. It was, however, gradually redrafted, and the inclusion of the clause on the leading role of the Communist Party in particular limited the originally broader competencies of any enterprise doing business. (The next day, legislation was enacted on agricultural cooperatives, housing, and producers' and consumers' cooperatives. These three Acts were intended to form the

17—19 June 1988

Charter 77 and the Independent Peace Association convened an international seminar on peace, 'Praha 88', which was to discuss the function of human rights in the securing of democratic peace, in the surmounting of the influence of military and police ideology and its machinery, the rights of soldiers, and the possibilities of alternative national service. 40 peace activists from 17 countries of Western and Eastern Europe came to Prague for the seminar. Both the arrival of participants and the seminar itself were repeatedly disrupted by the StB.

23 June 1988

While in Czechoslovakia, D. Mallor of the British Foreign Office met with Charter 77 representatives Pavel Bratinka, Jiří Dienstbier, Stanislav Devátý, Miloš Hájek, Václav Havel, Bohumír Janát, Martin Palouš, Anna Šabatová, and Petr Uhl, and with Chairman of the Jazz Section Karel Srp.

28 June 1988

During an official visit to Czechoslovakia by Austrian Chancellor Franz Vranitzky, members of his delegation met in Prague with Charter 77 signatories Václav Benda, Jiří Hájek, Václav Havel, Petr Uhl, Roman Catholic activist Marie Kaplanová, and Chairman of the Jazz Section Karel Srp.

30 June 1988

Two apparatchiks, appointed by the CPCz CC, met in Bratislava with former First Secretary Alexander Dubček. According to their report, which they sent to the Presidium of the CPCz, Dubček was insisting on a constructive evaluation of the politics of the reforms being carried out under his leadership in 1968. The apparatchiks rejected both Dubček's complaint about systematic StB interference in his personal freedom and his demand that he be allowed to express himself openly in the state-controlled mass media. They recommended also that no more talks be held with Dubček.

4 and 8-9 July 1988

Soviet Premier Nikolai Ryzhkov, on a state visit to Czechoslovakia, was received by Czechoslovak Premier Lubomír Štrougal, General Secretary of the CPCz CC Miloš Jakeš, and Czechoslovak President Gustáv Husák.

14 July 1988

In its statement marking the 20th anniversary of the Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia, Charter 77 called upon Czechoslovaks not to be afraid and to express freely their views on the military operation and the destructive policies that had followed in its wake.

15-16 July 1988

Warsaw. At a meeting of the Political Council of the Warsaw Pact, General Secretary of the CPCz CC Miloš Jakeš expressed his unconditional support for the proposals of Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, and also praised the resolutions of the recent Nineteenth

21 August 1988

Prague. On Wenceslas Square a demonstration took place to mark the twentieth anniversary of the Soviet military intervention in Czechoslovakia. In response to an appeal by the independent initiatives the Bohemian Children and the Independent Peace Association several thousand people assembled in the centre of town, demanding the withdrawal of Soviet troops from the country, as well as the lifting of censorship, free elections, the release of political prisoners, the observance of human rights, the legalization of independent initiatives, and access for these groups to the mass media. Police units dispersed the demonstrators, and brutally beat some activists. More than 100 people were taken into custody for short periods of time, and criminal charges were brought against 13 of them. The demonstrations had been preceded by extensive persecution (including house searches and even physical torture) particularly of younger activists from the Independent Peace Association and the Bohemian Children.

28-30 August 1988

Czechoslovak Minister of Foreign Affairs Bohuslav Chňoupek visited the Federal Republic of Germany.

5-9 September 1988

In the Soviet Union, CPCz CC Presidium member Jozef Lenárt talked with Soviet Politburo member Nikolai Slyunkov, Gosplan Chairman Iurii Masliukov, and others.

17 September 1988

As part of his official visit to Czechoslovakia French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas met with Charter 77 spokesman Miloš Hájek and signatories Jiří Hájek, Václav Malý, and Petr Uhl at the French Embassy in Prague. They discussed the respecting of human rights, the status of Christians in Czechoslovak society, and the changes that had been taking place in Eastern Europe in recent years.

20 September 1988

The StB moved against eleven representatives of four independent citizens' initiatives (the Democratic Initiative, the Independent Peace Association, Charter 77, and the Community of Friends of the USA), which had met to take part in preparations for the 'Czechoslovakia '88' symposium planned for 11-13 November 1988.

24-25 September 1988

A state-wide trade-union conference took place in Prague, which approved proposals for, among others things, changes in the Labour Code and the statutes of the state-controlled Revolutionary Trade-Union Movement.

8 October 1988

The independent, non-political Initiative for Social Defence (Iniciativa sociální obrany, ISO) was established in Prague. This organization was formed to protect Czechoslovaks against political, religious, and other discrimination in employment. The Initiative

publicized individual cases of discrimination, and intervened on their behalf at state offices, organizations, and institutions.

10-11 October 1988

At its tenth session the CPCz CC debated matters of ideology and personnel, and, in secret ballot, passed resolutions on changes in the composition of the Government and some Party organizations. Lubomír Štrougal and Peter Colotka were dismissed from the Presidium of the CPCz CC, and František Pitra, Miroslav Štěpán, Ivan Knotek, Karel Urbánek, and Miroslav Zavadil were elected to replace them. The CPCz set up the Committee for the Direction of Party Work in Bohemia and Moravia (which was to be led by Karel Urbánek), and also elected chairmen for the standing committees of the CPCz CC.

10 October 1988

The Federal Government under Premier Lubomír Štrougal resigned. (Later, on 12 October the President of the Republic named a new Government under Ladislav Adamec. Pavol Hrivnák became First Deputy Premier, Bohumil Urban Deputy Minister, and Karel Juliš Minister of Mines, Machine-Tool Industry, and Electrical Engineering. The cabinet shuffle also affected the ministries of foreign affairs, the interior, finance, agriculture, fuel and energy, transportation and communication.)

The independent initiatives Charter 77, the Bohemian Children, the Democratic Initiative, the Independent Peace Movement, and the Community of Friends of the USA announced that to mark the seventieth anniversary of the creation of Czechoslovakia, on 28 October, they would be organizing a peaceful demonstration on Wenceslas Square, Prague. (The local National Committee in Prague 1, however, did not grant their request and placed an explicit ban on the demonstration.)

12 October 1988

The Presidium of the Czech National Council (the Czech legislature) accepted the resignation of Premier Ladislav Adamec and four ministers, and named František Pitra Czech Premier and Miroslav Toman First Deputy Premier. The Presidium of the Slovak National Council appointed Ivan Knotek Premier and also named two new ministers.

15 October 1988

With the publishing of the 'Democracy for All' manifesto the politically oriented independent initiative the Movement for Civil Liberty (Hnutí za občanskou svobodu, HOS) was established. Consisting of activists from Bohemia, Moravia, and Slovakia, the Movement for Civil Liberty came out in support of the national democratic tradition, political and economic pluralism, renewal of the legal order, protection of the natural environment, freedom of confession, separation of Church and State, national independence, and the drafting of a new, democratic Constitution. The manifesto was signed by 126 activists, against whom the StB immediately began an extensive series of repressive measures. The Movement for Civil Liberty, which published two *samizdat* periodicals, *Zpravodaj HOS* [The Movement for Civil Liberty bulletin] and *Alternativa*,

worked closely with other independent initiatives, and spoke out on current political and social affairs. (Later, in 1989, three streams could be identified within it — social democratic, civil-democratic, and Christian democratic. Towards the end of 1988, about 1,000 activists took part in the work of the Movement for Civil Liberty.)

On an official visit to Czechoslovakia, American Deputy Secretary of State John C. Whitehead met in Prague with representatives of the independent civil initiatives Charter 77, the Democratic Initiative, the Initiative for Social Defence, the Independent Peace Association, the Community of Friends of the USA, and the Committee for the Defence of the Unjustly Prosecuted.

27 October 1988

Czechoslovak President Gustáv Husák declared an amnesty to mark the 70th anniversary of the founding of Czechoslovakia. On the basis of the amnesty 4,665 prisoners were released, 630 had the unserved part of their sentences pardoned but were not released from prison, and criminal proceedings were dropped or suspended against 15,339 persons at home and 50,000 émigrés. About 50 activists of independent initiatives were amnestied.

28 October 1988

In response to an appeal by the independent initiatives and in some cases simply on their own incentive, several thousand people gathered on Wenceslas Square, Prague, in the afternoon, for a peaceful demonstration to mark the 70th anniversary of the establishment of Czechoslovakia. The day before the StB had launched an operation of repression, which led to dozens of democratic activists being detained for several days. A campaign of intimidation was launched in the state-controlled mass media. Shortly after the demonstration began, police attacked, using batons, water cannons, armoured transport vehicles, and dogs to disperse demonstrators. The police arrested more than 100 people; most were released later that day, but charges were filed against others.

29 October 1988

The Czechoslovak Premier was in Moscow for talks with Soviet Premier Nikolai Ryzhkov and Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev.

October 1988

The independent initiative Open Dialogue was founded in a university club in Brno, as an informal association of various kinds of artists. It had no rules of organization, and was concerned predominantly with organizing forums to discuss various topics. Its introductory statement was written by Petr Oslzlý, Joska Skalník, Jaroslav Kořán, Petr Rezek, Karel Steigerwald, Petr Kofroň, Jan Šimek, and Pavel Váša. (Beginning in May 1989 it organized events in Prague. The irregularly published *Dopisy* [Letters] became its bulletin.)

5 November 1988

The Czechoslovak Helsinki Committee was established in Prague in support of the principles and resolutions of the Helsinki Final Act of the Conference on Security and

Cooperation in Europe (signed on 1 August 1975) and of the follow-up meetings of the CSCE related to human rights and civil liberties. One of the first three Charter 77 spokesmen, Jiří Hájek, became head of the Prague Committee. The Czechoslovak Helsinki Committee issued a *samizdat* publication, *Informační zpravodaj* [Information Bulletin].

9-20 November 1988

At the invitation of the Italian Communist Party, Alexander Dubček visited Italy. In Rome he met with its General Secretary, Achille Occhetto, and with the Chairman of the Socialist Party, Bettino Craxi, and was invited to a private audience with Pope John Paul II. At the University of Bologna, on 13 November, Dubček was awarded an honorary doctorate of political science.

11-12 November 1988

Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jaromír Johanes was in Moscow for talks with his opposite, Edward Shevardnadze, and with Soviet Premier Nikolai Ryzhkov.

11-13 November 1988

In a series of repressive operations the StB caused considerable disruption to the international symposium 'Czechoslovakia 88', which had been organized to discuss the four watershed years in Czechoslovak history—1918, 1938, 1948, and 1968. Despite extensive repression the symposium continued with impromptu debates in private homes and the cells of Ruzyně Prison. For the participants from abroad, who had been unable to attend the event, a parallel conference was organized in Vienna. The actions of the Czechoslovak authorities elicited a considerable response in the mass media abroad, and the Czechoslovak Government was sent protests by the governments of several European countries.

12-16 November 1988

CPSU Politburo member Alexander Yakovlev was on a working visit to Czechoslovakia.

8 December 1988

The John Lennon Peace Club was established as a non-state organization that aimed 'to achieve peace by using all accessible humanitarian means'. The Club decided to act as an informal association unbound by rules of organization. Among its founding members were Ota Veverka, Stanislav Penc and Heřman Chromý.

8-9 December 1988

French President François Mitterrand paid an official visit to Czechoslovakia, and met with Czechoslovak President Gustáv Husák, Czechoslovak Premier Ladislav Adamec, General Secretary of the CPCz CC Miloš Jakeš, and others. To the displeasure of Czechoslovak representatives of the Party and the state, Mitterrand expressed his admiration for the Prague Spring of 1968 and criticized the violation of human rights in Czechoslovakia. At the French Embassy on the morning of 9 December he received representatives of Charter 77 and other independent initiatives, headed here by Václav Havel, and talked to them about changes in Eastern Europe (particularly the danger of

the creation of a conservative Berlin-Prague-Bucharest axis aimed against genuine perestroika and glasnost), and about the state of human rights in Czechoslovakia.

9 December 1988

The Presidium of the CPCz CC expressed its agreement with the termination of the jamming of broadcasts of Radio Free Europe. CPCz CC Secretary Jan Fojtík confirmed this viewpoint in an interview for the UPI press agency. (On 16 December 1988 the jamming of broadcasts did in fact end.)

10 December 1988

The Czechoslovak authorities granted the request of five independent initiatives (the Bohemian Children, the Movement for Civil Liberty, the Independent Peace Association, and the Committee for the Defence of the Unjustly Prosecuted) to organize a demonstration on International Human Rights Day. Consequently, at Škroup Square in the Prague district of Žižkov, several thousand people gathered and heard speeches by representatives of the independent initiatives, whom they supported with loud expressions of agreement. At the end of the demonstration a petition was signed, demanding the release of political prisoners, an end to the persecution of activists in independent initiatives, the introduction in Czechoslovakia of a legal order that comported with international treaties on human rights, the commencement of dialogue between the state and the churches, and a public discussion on a new constitution. (In the days to come, the state-controlled mass media condemned the demonstration, saying it was aimed against the state and against socialism. On 22 December the authorities informed representatives of the independent initiatives that similar events were undesirable and would not be allowed.)

To mark International Human Rights Day the state-organized Forum of the Czechoslovak Public was held, and elected the Committee of the Czechoslovak Public for Human Rights and Humanitarian Questions, which had 68 members and was led by Zdeněk Dienstbier.

15-16 December 1988

At its twelfth session the CPCz CC discussed the report by General Secretary Miloš Jakeš on the activity of the CPCz Presidium, as well as the report by Czechoslovak Premier Ladislav Adamec on meeting the targets of the 1988 economic and social development plan. The CPCz CC resolved that the 18th Congress of the CPCz would take place in May 1990, and dismissed Vasil Biľák and Josef Kempný from the Presidium and Mikolaš Beňo from the function of Secretary.

December 1988

After several months of cooperation with independent journalists from the countries of the Soviet bloc, the East European Information Agency (Východoevropská informační agentura - VIA) was established independent of the state. VIA operated in the Soviet Union, Hungary, and Poland, and was represented in Czechoslovakia by Petr Uhl, Jan Urban, and Petr Pospíchal.

15 January 1989

Vienna. As part of the Helsinki process, a document was approved, which bound signatory states once again, but more concretely than before, to respect human rights and civil liberties.

15-21 January ('Palach Week') 1989

In response to an appeal by independent Czechoslovak initiatives a memorial assembly was organized to be held on Wenceslas Square in Prague to mark the twentieth anniversary of the self-immolation of Jan Palach, the student who died after setting himself alight to protest the Soviet occupation of Czechoslovakia. The authorities did not grant permission for the event, and before the memorial assembly commenced the square was completely sealed off by police cordons. Although a number of representatives of independent civil initiatives were detained on their way to the square and the event could not take place at the intended location, spontaneous anti-régime demonstrations were held on the square and in nearby streets, but were soon brutally broken up by the police. In the days that followed, spontaneous meetings repeatedly took place on the square, coming to a head with a pilgrimage to Palach's grave in the town of Všetaty. Each, with the exception of the gathering on 18 January, was brutally dispersed by the police and the People's Militia. Similarly, a memorial gathering at Palach's grave was blocked by police. The police action was accompanied by a disinformation campaign in the state-controlled mass media. As early as 16 January a number of representatives of independent organizations, including Václav Havel, were held for questioning. Various acts of police and judicial persecution affected hundreds of other Czechoslovaks. (Havel was arrested and put on trial on 21 February 1989)

The brutal police action against demonstrators on Wenceslas Square and the subsequent arrests of representatives of independent initiatives were immediately commented on in the international mass media and by a number of important persons in the arts and politics, as well as by international organizations, governments, parliaments, and political parties. Protests were heard also in countries of the Soviet bloc, particularly Poland and Hungary, but in the Soviet Union as well.

20 January 1989

The supreme representative of the Church in the Bohemian Lands, Cardinal Tomášek, sent Czechoslovak Premier Ladislav Adamec a letter in which he expressed disagreement over the régime's attitude to the demonstrations held in the period 15-21 January. Their participants, he wrote, were expressing the 'thinking of our people and its desire for freedom.' Premier Adamec wrote a negative reply, which was then approved by the Presidium of the CPCZ CC, and published the next day (27 January 1989) in the Party's daily newspaper, *Rudé právo*. The state-controlled mass media, however, did not make public the Cardinal's letter.

24 January 1989

The Presidium of the CC of the Czechoslovak National Front debated a proposal for 'perfecting the system of general elections'. It recommended 'multi-seat electoral districts'

(in which more than one candidate could be elected), 'expanding the democratic nature of the selection of candidates', but elections would remain limited to the legitimate political parties and organizations in the National Front. (The Presidium of the CPCz CC debated the same proposal on 3 April).

26 January 1989

The Initiative of People Working in Culture (Iniciativa kulturních pracovníků) was established, and sent Czechoslovak Premier Ladislav Adamec a statement signed by 692 important persons active in Czechoslovakia's state-run arts and culture. The statement protested the arrest of Václav Havel, and called on the régime to begin a dialogue with the public. (In the days and weeks that followed hundreds of other artists, scholars, and scientists signed the statement, raising the number of signatories to more than several thousand.

Early February 1989

With the same intensity as before, protests continued throughout February (and March) by persons in the arts and politics in Western Europe, calling for the release of Václav Havel and other political prisoners in Czechoslovakia. On 3 February US Congressmen Dennis De Concini and Steny H. Hoyer nominated Václav Havel for this year's Nobel Peace Prize. On 15 February Czechoslovak independent initiatives established a committee to lobby for the Nobel Peace Prize for Václav Havel. By 15 July, it had gathered 4,377 signatures. Numerous theatres in Western and Eastern Europe made Havel's plays part of their repertoires.

A group of former members of the CPCz, including leading representatives, founded the Klub pro socialistickou přestavbu, Obroda [Rebirth—the Club for Socialist Restructuring]. Its steering committee, chaired by Vojtěch Mencl, applied to register at the Ministry of the Interior, and sent out its programme statement, in which it voiced its support for "humane, ethical, and social values of a socialistically organized society". The statement was also sent to European Socialist and Communist parties. (In issue No. 4/89 [June 1989] Rebirth published a samizdat journal, *Dialog*.

2 February 1989

The new independent initiative Petition of Czechoslovaks on the Events of 15-21 January informed the Federal Assembly, the Czechoslovak President, the Czechoslovak Premier, and other state institutions, that by 31 January their petition had been signed by more than 2,100 persons. (By 16 February it had another 1,266 signatures.)

7-9 February 1989

CPCz CC Secretary Jozef Lenárt visited the Soviet Union, and held talks with Politburo member and CPSU CC Secretary Nikolai Slyunkov on mutual economic relations and the forthcoming meeting of economics secretaries.

12 February 1989

In a letter to Czechoslovak Premier Ladislav Adamec 670 experts from 70 scholarly institutions, in particular the Academy of Sciences, in Prague, Brno, and Bratislava, condemned police measures against the demonstrations in January and the repression that followed. In response to the petition the StB began a search for its authors and organizers.

14 February 1989

"In the interest of maintaining public order" the Presidium of the Federal Assembly of Czechoslovakia passed a resolution on legal measures that substantially increased the possibilities of police and judicial repression against manifestations of political non-conformity. (Three days later the Presidia of the Czech and Slovak National Councils passed similar legislation.)

16-18 February 1989

The General Secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, Károly Grósz, was on an official visit to Czechoslovakia.

Czechoslovak Premier Ladislav Adamec was on an official visit to the Soviet Union, where he met with Soviet Premier Nikolai Ryzhkov to discuss economic cooperation; he was also received by General Secretary of the CPSU CC Mikhail Gorbachev.

21 February 1989

The District Municipal Court for the Third District of Prague sentenced Václav Havel to nine months in prison. (The next day another show trial sentenced Jana Petrová, an activist in the Independent Peace Association, to nine months in prison and Ota Veverka of the John Lennon Peace Club to twelve months in prison; charges against a small number of activists were dropped. During February and March a number of other repressive measures were taken, including house searches, arrests, interrogations, and politically motivated trials.)

8-11 March 1989

CPSU Politburo member and CC Secretary Yegor Ligachov visited Czechoslovakia, where he met with CPCz CC General Secretary Miloš Jakeš and CPCz CC Secretary for Agriculture František Hanus.

13 March 1989

Police arrested a worker on the factory floor of the TOS lathe company in the Prague district of Hostivař for having put his name to a petition protesting police brutality. The petition, signed by 38 members of the state-controlled Revolutionary Trade-Union Movement, had emerged in reaction to an appeal by the state authorities to workers, asking them to sign a document condemning the activity of independent groups. Incidents of this sort were occurring at other Prague factories; a similar petition, for instance, was signed by 272 workers in the industrial and mining region round Ostrava.

20 March 1989

Eight independent initiatives sent a letter to the Federal Assembly of Czechoslovakia, appealing to deputies not to vote for legislative measures that had been proposed by the Presidium of the Federal Assembly on 14 February, and thereby cause them to be null and void.

21 March 1989

The Municipal Court of Prague deliberated in the trial of appeal of Václav Havel, and mitigated the sentence to eight months in prison. The trial was attended by correspondents of several press agencies and television companies from abroad. Several hundred Czechoslovaks demonstrated their solidarity with Havel by making their presence in the courthouse clearly heard.

22 March 1989

The newspaper of the Italian Communist Party, *L'Unita*, published a letter of greeting from Alexander Dubček to the Congress of the Italian Communist Party.

30-31 March 1989

The thirteenth session of the CPCz CC took place in Prague, and devoted itself to questions of the Czechoslovak school system. In his report on the activity of the Party Presidium, General Secretary Miloš Jakeš condemned the activity of 'opposition groups' and praised the work of the security forces. He mentioned that in the CPCz CC Presidium's statements to mark the 41st anniversary of the 'Victorious February' takeover of power 'broad sectors of the population' had expressed their support for the policy of the Communist Party.

5 April 1989

The Committee for the Defence of Václav Havel was established; its members consisted mostly of people involved in the state-controlled arts and culture. The Committee was formed on the basis of the extensive 'Initiative of Cultural Workers' petition, which received widespread support from people in the arts and sciences.

11 April 1989

The Czechoslovak mass media broadcast the press conference called by Czechoslovak Interior Minister František Kincl, at which the Minister accused the independent civil initiatives that were forming round the 'core of Charter 77' of terrorist acts.

14 April 1989

After a thirty-day hunger-strike the Charter 77 signatory and co-founder of the Friends of the USA Society, Stanislav Devátý, was released from custody.

17 April 1989

Hungarian television broadcast the first part of a long interview with former CPCz CC First Secretary Alexander Dubček. (Part II was broadcast on 26 April.) In the interview Dubček defended the Czechoslovak reforms of 1968 and Gorbachev's perestroika. The Czechoslovak mass media immediately launched a campaign against Dubček with an

article in *Rudé právo* titled 'He let us down then, he's letting us down now', and condemned Hungary of 'unacceptable meddling in the internal affairs of Czechoslovakia'.

CPCz CC General Secretary Miloš Jakeš flew to Moscow for a short visit. At a press conference there he rejected the idea of rehabilitating Alexander Dubček, whom he called a 'private individual' who could not hope 'to return to politics'. Jakeš also rejected any similarity between the Czechoslovak reforms of 1968 and today's perestroika, stating that the CPCz was not counting on introducing a pluralist political system.

17-18 April 1989

Czechoslovak Premier Ladislav Adamec visited East Germany, where he met with West German Premier Willy Stoph and top SED leader Erich Honecker.

20 April 1989

The Federal Government passed a resolution on 'measures to ensure the realization of the conclusions of the Vienna follow-up meeting of the CSCE'. The resolution contained 68 suggestions for measures in a wide variety of areas, by which Czechoslovak legislation should be brought to conform with the international documents it had signed.

24 April 1989

At the instigation of the International Charter 77 Committee, the 24th of April 1989 became 'Václav Havel Solidarity Day'.

1 May 1989

Fearing that it might otherwise become the site of anti-régime demonstrations, the authorities untraditionally organized May Day celebrations on Wenceslas Square. Nevertheless a large group of supporters of independent initiatives gathered in the upper part of the square (at the monument), and unfurled banners mostly demanding that political prisoners be released. The police brutally squeezed this group out of the square, and loaded those remaining into a bus and took them to the outskirts of town. In the middle of the square police brutally moved against people holding banners with the words 'Let the Young Have Their Say'. Among those detained were five foreigners: a BBC correspondent, two Finns, and two West Germans.

4 May 1989

The International Society for Human Rights published a report in Frankfurt on Main, which discussed the systematic and extensive violation of human rights in Czechoslovakia.

13 May 1989

Hungarian Foreign Minister Gyula Horn invited the Czechoslovak Ambassador to Hungary to a special audience, where he told him that the Hungarian Government had decided immediately to stop construction on the hydro-electric plant in Nagymaros, which had hitherto been part of the Czechoslovak-Hungarian energy project known as 'Gabčíkovo-Nagymaros'. The Czechoslovak Government announced that this step was in contravention of the bilateral agreement between the two countries. (Later, on 31

October, the National Assembly of Hungary voted to cease, once and for all, construction of the dam on its territory.)

17 May 1989

The District Court for Prague 4 ruled for the conditional discharge of Václav Havel after he had served half his sentence. The impulse to the court's decision was provided by Havel's family and 3,385 people who had signed a petition demanding his conditional discharge. (In the months that followed his release Havel gave many interviews to television and radio stations, newspapers and magazines, in which he stated his views on the current situation in Eastern Europe and on the possibilities of political change in Czechoslovakia. He and other leading dissidents repeatedly emphasized that they were possibly the last generation of opposition that was willing to engage in dialogue with the compromised régime.)

The leader of Rumania, Nicolae Ceaușescu, flew to Prague for an official visit.

30-31 May 1989

At the initiative of the Czechoslovak Government a conference took place in Prague to discuss problems of the natural environment in central Europe. It was attended by ministers of the environment from neighbouring countries, who jointly issued a seven-point memorandum at the end of the conference.

30 May-23 June 1989

The CSCE Conference on the Human Dimension of the Helsinki Process was held in Paris, attended by delegates from the USA, Canada, and all the European countries except Albania. The governments of Czechoslovakia, Rumania, and Bulgaria were criticized there for not meeting their international obligations in the area of human rights and civil liberties. The Czechoslovak Foreign Minister assured the Conference that his Government was endeavouring to bring about the 'profound restructuring and democratization of all areas of life in society'. Several representatives of Czechoslovak independent initiatives had also been invited to the conference, but the Czechoslovak authorities made it impossible for them to leave the country.

1 June 1989

Czechoslovak police dispersed a meeting of seventy activists of the Movement for Civil Liberty, which was being held in a Prague restaurant.

The Christian Union for Human Rights, which called itself a community of all Christians endeavouring to rectify the human-rights situation, issued its main statement.

4 June 1989

In a five-minute time slot on state-run Polish television, Polish Solidarity broadcast a short interview with Václav Havel. (A little more than three weeks later, on 28 June, Hungarian Television broadcast a longer interview with Havel.)

6-7 June 1989

Member of the Presidium of the CPCz CC Karel Urbánek was in Havana to take part in a meeting of secretaries of Communist parties, which was being held to discuss political and organizational work.

9 June 1989

Cardinal Tomášek sent a letter to Czechoslovak President Gustáv Husák, which contained the position of the Roman Catholic Church on the framing of a new Czechoslovak Constitution. The Cardinal came out in favour of abandoning the article on Marxism-Leninism as official state ideology.

14-15 June 1989

The fourteenth session of the CPCz CC took place in Prague. It was concerned with the situation in the mining, machine-tool, and electrical-engineering industries. At the session, Slovak Premier Ivan Knotek was elected CPCz CC Secretary for Economic Affairs, and Pavol Hrivnák was elected Slovak Premier and also became a candidate for the CPCz CC Presidium. Miroslav Zajíc was elected a Secretary of the CPCz CC, and Miloslav Hruškovič was relieved from his position as Candidate of the CPCz CC Presidium.

15 June 1989

In a Radio Free Europe commentary, Pavel Tigrid, the leading figure of Czechoslovak democrats in exile, appealed to Václav Havel to accept the political role that the times were calling upon him to assume, and to place himself unequivocally behind the political programme of the opposition, the core of which comprised 'freedom, democracy, and independence'.

19 June 1989

Prague. After 4.00 p.m., the 'Promenade for Human Rights' took place in Na Příkopě street (a pedestrian zone), organized by six independent initiatives. About 2,000 Czechoslovaks, accompanied by both regular police and the StB, walked, several abreast, in a large circle, to express their dissatisfaction with the state of human rights in Czechoslovakia.

20-22 June 1989

Stockholm. Charter 77 signatory Jiří Hájek and a representative of the Czechoslovak émigré periodical *Listy*, Zdeněk Hejzlar, attended the Congress of the Socialist International.

21 June 1989

Prague. In Stromovka Park a demonstration of environmentalists was held to demand the park's protection. The 250 or so people attending, most of them young, were brutally dispersed by the police. One of the organizers of the demonstration, Petr Placák (of the Bohemian Children initiative), was taken by the police to the woods outside Prague, where he was brutally beaten and then left alone to fend for himself.

22 June 1989

Pavol Hrivnák became the new Slovak Premier.

23 June 1989

Alexander Dubček sent an open letter to the CPCz CC and the Presidium, in which he defended the reformist policies of the CPCz in 1968 and called upon the Party to commence a dialogue with its former members and 'other democrats from the independent groups'.

24 June 1989

In Prague, the StB moved against a meeting of the spokesmen of Charter 77 held that afternoon. Sixteen of the people attending, including Václav Havel, were then detained for several hours. In conjunction with this, police searched the homes of the detainees.

29 June 1989

In Radio Free Europe and other mass media abroad the petition 'Several Sentences' (Několik vět) was made public. The petition called upon the leadership of the Czechoslovak state to carry out 'thorough changes in the system', and to begin 'free and democratic discussion'. Among the initiators and organizers of the petition were Václav Havel, Jiří Křížan, Alexandr Vondra, and Stanislav Devátý. The 1,800 people who had signed so far it were demanding the release of political prisoners, unlimited freedom of assembly, the legalization of the independent initiatives, full, honest and accurate information in the mass media, the respecting of religious freedom, protection of the natural environment, and the beginning of free discussion on the chief problems facing Czechoslovakia since the end of W.W. II. The petition was open to anybody who agreed with its content, and all the independent initiatives supported it. An article in *Rudé právo* titled 'He who sows the wind shall reap the whirlwind' called the initiators of the petition 'disrupters of perestroika, who strive for a return to capitalism'. Many signatories of the petition were subjected to searches of their homes, penalties related to employment, fines, and other forms of police and judicial persecution. (By the end of the month more than 10,000 people signed the petition, and by the end of August the number grew to about 20,000. By the end of September another 10,000 signed, so that by the time of great changes beginning in mid-November 'Several Sentences' bore about 40,000 signatures.)

1 July 1989

Celebrations of the 90th birthday of Cardinal Tomášek culminated in a special mass in St Vitus's Cathedral, Prague. The celebrations were attended by many important people from abroad, and Václav Havel and Alexander Dubček personally wished the Cardinal a happy birthday. The mass was followed by a short demonstration in front of the Archiepiscopal Palace.

3 July 1989

Representatives of independent civil initiatives (Charter 77, the Democratic Initiative, the Independent Peace Association, the Club for Legal Support, the John Lennon Peace Club, the Czechoslovak Helsinki Committee, the Movement for Civil Liberty, the Friends of the

USA Society, the Bohemian Children, and the Christian Union for Human Rights) sent a letter to the premiers and houses of deputies of Bulgaria, Hungary, East Germany, Poland, and the Soviet Union, demanding that they officially distance themselves from the military intervention in Czechoslovakia in 1968. (The next day Rebirth—the Club for Socialist Restructuring sent a similar letter to the same addressees.)

7-8 July 1989

Bucharest. The Political Advisory Board of the Warsaw Treaty Organization held a session. During the meeting of 'leading delegations only' an intense debate over the current political situation in the Soviet bloc took place between supporters and opponents of reform.

13 July 1989

On an official visit to Czechoslovakia, West German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher met also with Charter 77 signatories Václav Havel and Jiří Hájek, and with Cardinal Tomášek.

20 July 1989

On a working visit to Hungary, Czechoslovak Premier Ladislav Adamec held talks with Hungarian Premier Miklós Németh chiefly about the completion of the Gabčíkovo-Nagymaros hydro-electric dam. He also met with Chairman of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party Rezső Nyers.

25 July 1989

In his message to the congregation Cardinal Tomášek mentioned the steps he had recently taken in defence of the rights of the Church and the public.

1 August 1989

A city-wide assembly of leading functionaries of the People's Militia and the State Police (SNB) was convened in Prague. At the assembly, First Secretary of the Municipal Committee of the CPCz Miroslav Štěpán called the 'Several Sentences' petition a 'pamphlet and an anti-perestroika, counter-revolutionary programme', and said that units of the People's Militia, the State Police, and if necessary the Armed Forces would be deployed to maintain public order. In connection with the up-coming anniversary of the occupation of Czechoslovakia by five countries of the Warsaw Pact, on 21 August 1968, the StB had the month before stepped up its persecution of representatives of independent civil initiatives. The state-controlled mass media sought to give the impression that the independent initiatives were trying to bring about a violent confrontation with the state authorities.

6-9 August 1989

On an official visit to Rumania, Secretary of the CPCz CC Jozef Lenárt held talks with Secretary of the Rumanian Communist Party CC Ion Stoian and General Secretary Nicolae Ceauşescu.

9 August 1989

Three independent initiatives (the Movement for Civil Liberty, the Democratic Initiative, and the T. G. Masaryk Association) issued a statement in which they called upon Czechoslovaks to join an hour-long promenade of protest on the pedestrian zone in Prague and on town squares throughout Czechoslovakia on 21 August. The promenade began with two minutes of silence.

10 August 1989

Charter 77, the Independent Peace Association, the Bohemian Children, the John Lennon Peace Club, the Friends of the USA Society, and Polish-Czechoslovak Solidarity issued their statement 'A Word about the August Anniversary', in which they expressed fears about a potential brutal police action against people taking part in the protest in the centre of Prague on 21 August 1989. Consequently, they recommended that people express dissatisfaction by going on a peaceful walk in the centre of their own town and by boycotting public transport during that period.

15 August 1989

In a broadcast on Radio Free Europe Václav Havel discussed the different positions held by two groups of independent initiatives regarding the demonstrations planned for 21 August. He stated that many feared the authorities would high-handedly provoke a confrontation and try once and for all to settle accounts with the independent initiatives and the emerging civil consciousness. He called street demonstrations an extreme form of resistance, and said the time was not yet ripe for great risks and great sacrifices.

17 August 1989

The Movement for Civil Liberty and the Democratic Initiative reacted negatively to the statement by the other independent initiatives and to the private statement of Václav Havel concerning the anniversary of the August occupation of Czechoslovakia. They said that to emphasize the danger of potential confrontations between the state authorities and demonstrating members of the public — which the independent initiatives were in fact not calling for — was to run against current public opinion.

In Poland, one week after the Upper House of the Sejm had condemned the intervention by five countries of the Warsaw Treaty Organization in Czechoslovakia in August 1968, the Lower House followed suit. The Czechoslovak régime rejected this as 'undisguised meddling in the internal affairs of Czechoslovakia'.

Following house searches of four Slovak democrats, the Chief Inspector of the District Department of the State Police in Bratislava initiated proceedings against Ján Čarnogurský, Miroslav Kusý, Anton Selecký, and Hana Ponická (later, charges were also brought against another Slovak activist, Vladimír Maňák) for sedition, because they had called upon Slovaks to take part in peaceful demonstrations to mark the anniversary of the Soviet intervention in August 1968. Čarnogurský and Kusý were taken into custody. The persecution of the 'Bratislava Five' evoked another great wave of protests and manifestations of solidarity in Slovakia, Bohemia and Moravia, and abroad.

21 August 1989

Prague. On Wenceslas Square and the adjacent pedestrian zone several thousand people gathered in the late afternoon to commemorate the Soviet intervention of August 1968. Political activists from Hungary, Poland, East and West Germany, and Italy took part in the demonstration. Police brutally attacked the demonstrators, then arrested more than 300 Czechoslovaks and about 50 demonstrators from abroad including nine members of the Hungarian Union of Young Democrats, FIDESZ.

25 August 1989

A Rumanian proposal to the Warsaw Treaty Organization countries that they not adopt a position allowing for Solidarity representatives at the head of the Polish Government was rejected by the Presidium of the CPCz. The Presidium added that who ever stood at the head of the Polish Government was a matter 'within the sovereign competence of the Polish people'.

27 August 1989

The Movement for Civil Liberty, the Democratic Initiative, and the T. G. Masaryk Association issued a statement in which they claimed that their appeals for Czechoslovaks to take part in the August demonstrations were in accord with the opinions of much of civil society. In their view, all independent initiatives were now entering a new phase in the struggle for the creation of a democratic, pluralist society, in which their united approach would be the decisive factor.

28-31 August 1989

Top-level employees of the Czechoslovak Ministry of the Interior, under František Kinel, were in the Soviet Union for talks with leading representatives of the KGB and the Interior Ministry of the Soviet Union.

31 August 1989

CPCz CC Secretary for Economic Affairs Ivan Knotek visited Rumania (and then East Germany on 4 September, and the Soviet Union on 6 September) to discuss economic cooperation in connection with the forthcoming Prague meeting of economic committees of Communist parties and the COMECON talks in Sofia in December.

5-6 September 1989

On an official visit to Rumania Czechoslovak Premier Ladislav Adamec met with Rumanian Deputy Premier Ion Dinca and General Secretary of the Rumanian Communist Party Nicolae Ceaușescu.

9 September 1989

Czechoslovakia normalized diplomatic relations with Albania.

12 September 1989

Czechoslovak Minister of National Defence Milán Václavík began an official visit to China.

16 September 1989

Radio Free Europe broadcast comments by CPCz CC General Secretary Miloš Jakeš at an action-group meeting of Party functionaries of the west Bohemian region held at Červený Hrádek. They had been secretly taped by someone at the meeting and then sent abroad. Jakeš's incoherent and fragmentary statements consisting of Communist functionary clichés and outmoded ideological phrases immediately became the subject of numerous jokes and innuendos in Czechoslovakia. The General Secretary's speech thus became an unintended but welcome political cabaret. The form of his impromptu remarks provided a prime example of the dismal intellectual and political qualifications of the supreme representative of the Communist Party; its content demonstrated the continued isolation that the Czechoslovak state and Party leadership were ever more clearly falling into.

20 September 1989

Twenty-two organizers of the 'Several Sentences' petition sent Czechoslovak Premier Ladislav Adamec a letter in which they wished to bring attention to the fact that the many tens of thousands of people who had so far signed the petition formed a considerable social force, and that the authorities should begin discussion on the demands formulated therein. The signatories pointed out that Cardinal Tomášek, the supreme representative of the Roman Catholic Church in Czechoslovak, had offered to mediate in this matter. The Premier did not react to the letter.

25 September 1989

First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party Mieczysław Rakowski was in Prague on a working visit.

Late September-early October 1989

During the last week of September several thousand East Germans gathered at the West German Embassy in Prague, trying to emigrate to West Germany. On the night of 30 September West German Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher came to Prague to tell them that now, on the basis of an agreement between the two German states, they could legally leave for West Germany. After an agreement with the Czechoslovak authorities a special train set out immediately for West Germany. In early October, however, another 1,000 East Germans gathered in the West German Embassy and nearby, and were then also allowed to go to West Germany. The exodus continued in smaller waves throughout October. (According to official statistics, by 6 November approximately 13,000 East Germans had left the country for West Germany by way of Czechoslovakia, by 7 November 33,000, and by 8 November a total of about 42,000.)

1 October 1989

New York City. In the UN General Assembly the Czechoslovak Foreign Minister was able to talk with his American opposite for the first time in 11 years. US Secretary of State James Baker told Jaromír Johanes that better relations between their two countries depended on greater respect for human rights in Czechoslovakia. Baker also presented Johanes with a partial list of political prisoners, and expressed the view that economic reform would not be successful without commensurate changes in the political sphere.

11 October 1989

Hungarian Premier Miklós Németh met in Prague with Czechoslovak Premier Ladislav Adamec to discuss economic, scientific, and technological cooperation.

11-12 October 1989

The 15th session of the CPCz CC took place in Prague, and discussed environmental issues. In the CPCz CC Presidium report, General Secretary Miloš Jakeš called the political situation in the country stabilized, and added that Party policy enjoyed the support of the people.

12 October 1989

The Editor-in-Chief of the popular *samizdat* monthly *Lidové noviny*, Jiří Ruml, and his Assistant Editor, Rudolf Zeman, were imprisoned and accused of sedition. (Throughout the rest of October and the first half of November more than 200 journalists, mostly those from the state-controlled mass media, signed the petition demanding the release of the two detained men and the respecting of human rights.)

In the Černý pivovar restaurant in Prague a meeting took place of representatives of four politically-oriented initiatives (Rebirth, the Independent Peace Association, the Movement for Civil Liberty, and the Democratic Initiative). About twenty minutes after it started, however, the meeting was broken up by the StB, and its participants were detained, searched, interrogated; several hours later they were released. (Later, on 19 October, the StB similarly prevented activists of the Czechoslovak Helsinki Committee from meeting with representatives of the International Helsinki Federation.)

14 October 1989

In Prague a meeting was held by 73 representatives of the 'revival stream' of the Czechoslovak People's Party. It elected six spokesmen, who, in the name of the 12,000 members of the People's Party, demanded that a congress be convened in June 1990.

15 October 1989

In Frankfurt on Main, with West German President Richard von Weizsäcker and Chancellor Helmut Kohl in attendance, Václav Havel was awarded the 1989 Peace Prize of the German Booksellers. As the Czechoslovak régime had made it impossible for him to leave the country, Havel was unable to accept the award personally.

20 October 1989

The CPCz CC Presidium, which since February 1989 had convened eight meetings to debate the draft of a new constitution, decided to publish the draft in March 1990, and, following a public discussion, to send it to the Federal Assembly for approval in October or November 1990.

25 October 1989

At a press conference during his official visit to Austria Czechoslovak Premier Ladislav Adamec stated that Charter 77 signatories, in particular the two spokesmen Václav Havel and Jiří Hájek (Czechoslovak Foreign Minister in 1968), were 'political nobodies'.

28 October 1989

In a joint statement dated 23 October the independent initiatives Charter 77, the Movement for Civil Liberty, the Democratic Initiative, Rebirth, and Independent Peace Association called upon Czechoslovaks to take part in the peaceful demonstrations in Prague and other towns to mark the 71st anniversary of the establishment of Czechoslovakia. On the afternoon of the 28th a spontaneous demonstration took place on Wenceslas Square, Prague, with about 10,000 people expressing their dislike of the Czechoslovak Communist régime. The demonstration was brutally broken up by armed units of the Interior Ministry and the People's Militia.

The October edition of the *samizdat* monthly *Lidové noviny* ran an article by Václav Havel, which was titled 'Between Bankrupt and Politician' ('Hodina mezi zkrachovancem a politikem'). In the article Havel expressed the conviction that Czechoslovak independent initiatives had a long way to go before they transformed themselves into a genuine political opposition. He also appealed for political realism: these initiatives, he said, should not become euphoric simply because people attended demonstrations they organized or perceived the initiatives as a political alternative. Havel cautioned against overestimating the importance of the anti-régime demonstrations and underestimating the everyday small-scale political work that the independent initiatives were calling for.

31 October 1989

The Slovak National Council debated a bill by a group of Federal Assembly deputies to legislate the means of adopting new constitutions for the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic. The bill presumed the constitutional amendment of all basic relations between the Federation and the two republics in the form of a single document (a three-in-one constitution). Some deputies of the Slovak National Council expressed their disagreement with the bill, and called for greater autonomy for the national republics, which would be guaranteed in their own separate constitutions.

Late October 1989

On the anniversary of the founding of the Czechoslovak state, the Independent Student Association, Ribbon [Nezávislé studentské združení Stuha], was established. Its founders called for the active participation of students in the democratization of society, the renewal of independent academic life, an end to the criminal prosecution of students for activity in independent initiatives, the creation of a student organization independent of the Socialist Youth Organization, and an end to discrimination against students when being considered for acceptance to institutions of higher learning.

31 October to 5 November 1989

Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jaromír Johanes was on an official visit to China.

3-5 November 1989

The Polish-Czechoslovak Solidarity association held an international conference on the arts and culture of central Europe in Wrocław, Poland, in conjunction with a festival where

Czechoslovaks active in independent arts and cultural activity at home and exile met. The festival was attended by about 4,000 people from Czechoslovakia, despite the Czechoslovak authorities having taken measures at the Polish-Czechoslovak frontier to make it difficult or impossible for them to attend.

6 November 1989

Hungarian television broadcast a short interview with Václav Havel.

12 November 1989

Rome. The Blessed Agnes of Bohemia was canonized, with representatives of the Roman Catholic Church in Czechoslovakia, the Czechoslovak state, and several thousand Czechs and Slovaks from home and abroad in attendance.

11-17 November 1989

In the north Bohemian towns of Teplice, Litvínov, Most, and Děčín, spontaneous demonstrations took place at which people protested against the catastrophic state of the natural environment in this region. Local Communist functionaries promised demonstrators they would commence public and open discussions on these problems.

17 November 1989

In the afternoon a demonstration, with the permission of the authorities, was held in Prague to mark the 50th anniversary of the death of the Czechoslovak student Jan Opletal, a victim of Nazi persecution during the German occupation of Bohemia and Moravia. About 25,000 people met at the Albertov street campus of the university, and made clear their dissatisfaction with the current régime and their desire for freedom and democracy. Shortly after the official part of the demonstration within the walls at Vyšehrad, a procession spontaneously formed and headed back towards Wenceslas Square in the centre of town. The procession was joined by other people, and their numbers grew to about 50,000. At Národní třída (minutes from Wenceslas Square), the procession was blocked by a police cordon. Many of the demonstrators fled before the crowd was hemmed in, and others were allowed to leave. Then the police moved in and, using large batons, severely beat many of the 2,000 or so peaceful demonstrators who had remained. The police action provoked an immediate reaction. Some students escaped to various theatres in the city to inform the actors of the situation and to demand support for a protest strike in the near future.

18 November 1989

Prague. Post-secondary school students, actors, and other people active in the arts agreed this afternoon on a week-long strike of protest, and proposed a general strike to take place from 2 to 4.00 p.m. on Monday, 27 November 1989. In the course of the day other theatres outside Prague (including ones in Slovakia) joined them, cancelled all performances for the week, and made their theatres available for public meetings. In the centre of Prague several thousand people joined in a spontaneous demonstration. Meanwhile, the news soon spread that at Friday's demonstration a student named Martin Šmíd had been killed. (By Sunday evening the Czechoslovak mass media were denying these reports.)

19 November 1989

In the Prague theatre Činoherní klub, in the late evening, Civic Forum was established, which united all independent initiatives, as well as representatives of the Churches, artists' unions, and other Czechoslovaks who desired a change of régime. In its statement the Civic Forum supported the appeal for a two-hour general strike, which had been called by the students and actors for Monday, 27 November 1989, and demanded the resignation of the eight main representatives of the state leadership, the release of political prisoners, and the setting up of a parliamentary commission to investigate the police action at last Friday's student demonstration. The statement was signed by the 18 activists who formed the first Coordinating Committee of the Civic Forum. In Bratislava, at a public gathering of artists' unions, cultural and arts institutions, and post-secondary schools, the Public Against Violence movement was established; the following day it joined in solidarity with the Civic Forum, announced similar demands, and called for dialogue with the state authorities.

20 November 1989

Prague. More than 100,000 people spontaneously gathered on Wenceslas Square to demonstrate their dissatisfaction with the régime. At the same time, large demonstrations took place in Brno, Ostrava, and Bratislava.

21-27 November 1989

Every afternoon in Prague, Bratislava and other towns throughout the country hundreds of thousands of people took part in peaceful demonstrations organized by Civic Forum in Bohemia and Moravia and by the Public Against Violence in Slovakia. On Saturday, 25 November, a pilgrimage took place in honour of St Agnes of Bohemia, who had been canonized in Rome slightly more than a fortnight ago. About one million people gathered at Letenská pláň park and parade grounds, Prague, for a demonstration organized by the Civic Forum. After the general strike on Monday, 27 November, the Civic Forum announced the end of the large daily popular demonstrations and the beginning of dialogue with the state authorities, which it had been calling for throughout the week. During their first week of existence the Civic Forum and the Public Against Violence were joined by various organizations, interest groups, industrial enterprises, and institutions in the arts and culture.

22 November 1989

Evening. The CPCz leadership called back units of the People's Militia, which had, by order of the General Secretary, been sent into Prague during the past few days from various parts of the country.

23 November 1989

In the General Staff of the Czechoslovak People's Army preparations were completed for a military strike against centres of opposition and demonstrators. (At a session of the CPCz CC the next day, Czechoslovak Minister of National Defence Milán Václavík offered to provide special forces. The CPCz leadership, however, decided not to use the armed forces and chose to solve the situation by 'political means'.)

24 November 1989

At an extraordinary session of the CPCz CC, General Secretary Miloš Jakeš and the whole CPCz Presidium resigned. Karel Urbánek, hitherto Head of Party Work in the Czech Republic, was elected General Secretary. The composition of the newly elected Presidium and Secretariat precipitated a storm of resistance among the public, because compromised people, including Miroslav Štěpán, Miroslav Zavadil, and Jozef Lenárt, remained in positions of power. (Consequently, other personnel changes were implemented at another extraordinary session of the CPCz CC on 26 November.)

26 November 1989

Political talks began between a delegation of the Civic Forum, led by Václav Havel, and Czechoslovak Premier Ladislav Adamec. At the talks the Civic Forum insisted on the basic demands of 19 November (see above) and invited Adamec to attend the afternoon demonstration at Letenská pláň. Adamec's speech there was interrupted by demonstrators' whistling and chants of disapproval.

27 November 1989

A general strike took place throughout the country from 2.00 to 4.00 p.m., with the participation of the vast majority of Czechoslovaks either individually or as part of a larger body, such as an enterprise or organization. The Civic Forum and the Public Against Violence indicated that the general strike is tantamount to an 'informal referendum on the Communist Party's leading role in society'. The slogans most heard during the general strike were 'The end of one-party rule!' and 'Free elections!'

28 November 1989

In the second round of talks between Czechoslovak Premier Ladislav Adamec and the joint delegation of the Civic Forum and the Public Against Violence, led by Václav Havel, the joint delegation increased its demands to the Communists, presenting five: the immediate resignation of the Federal Government and the creation of a temporary caretaker government of experts; the immediate dropping of three articles of the Constitution, namely those on the Communist Party's leading role in society and the political system of the National Front, and on Marxism-Leninism as the state ideology; the resignation of Czechoslovak President Gustáv Husák by 10 December 1989; the release of political prisoners; and, lastly, the legalization of the Civic Forum, the assignment to it of buildings for its work, and space in the mass media. The Civic Forum and the Public Against Violence also stated they would not take part in the formation of a new Government. Premier Adamec rejected the demand that the Government resign, but promised a fundamental cabinet shuffle by Sunday, 3 December.

29 November 1989

The Federal Assembly of Czechoslovakia voted to amend the Constitution by dropping the articles on the Communist Party's leading role in society and in the National Front, and the article on Marxism-Leninism as the state ideology. A parliamentary commission was set up to oversee the investigation into the events of 17 November 1989, and it was

to include representatives of the striking students. Leader of the Federal Assembly Alois Indra resigned his post.

30 November 1989

The Slovak National Council accepted the resignation of its Chairman, Viliam Šalgovič, and in secret voting elected Communist Party member Rudolf Schuster to take his place.

3 December 1989

The reshuffled Federal Government was presented to the public. Its composition (15 Communists, 1 Socialist, 1 member of the People's Party, and 3 men without party affiliation) immediately brought about a wave of resistance and disapproval. The public began to organize a protest petition and meetings. The Civic Forum and the Public Against Violence also rejected the reshuffled Government and called upon Premier Ladislav Adamec to rearrange it again, but this time more thoroughly, by 10 December.

4 December 1989

Czechoslovak Premier Ladislav Adamec and General Secretary Karel Urbánek left for Moscow to meet with representatives of the Warsaw Treaty countries.

Gatherings of hundreds of thousands of people took place in Prague, Bratislava and other towns throughout the country, at which the public, led by the Civic Forum and the Public Against Violence, protested against the composition of the Federal Government. The representatives of the five states that had taken part in it, declared the intervention of August 1968 a contemptible interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign state. The Soviet Government called this act unjustifiable and mistaken.

5 December 1989

The Presidium of the Czech National Council named a new Government of the Czech Socialist Republic, which was composed of eight Communists, two Socialists, two members of the People's Party, and five men without party affiliation. The Civic Forum accepted the challenge of the Chairman of the Czech National Council, František Pitra, nominated several representatives without party affiliation, and then with certain reservations supported the new Government.

The Civic Forum decided to designate six persons to lead key ministries of the Federal Government. The Ministers from the Civic Forum and the Public Against Violence were to monitor economic reform, legislation and the security apparatus, state finance, foreign policy, labour and social affairs, and minority affairs. The Civic Forum presented its proposal for the composition of the Federal Government to Premier Ladislav Adamec in the third round of talks. Adamec rejected the proposal, saying he intended to resign, and demanded support from the Civic Forum and the Public Against Violence in his candidacy for the office of Czechoslovak President.

Representatives of the Civic Forum and the Public Against Violence agreed on the candidacy of Václav Havel for the office of Czechoslovak President and also agreed to inform the public about this at the appropriate moment.

6 December 1989

After the fourth round of talks with Czechoslovak Premier Ladislav Adamec the delegation of the Civic Forum and the Public Against Violence, led by Václav Havel, presented its proposals for the composition of the Federal Government. The delegation proposed Vladimír Dlouhý (of the CPCz) as Deputy Premier entrusted with economic affairs, Ján Čarnogurský as Deputy Premier entrusted with legislation and home affairs, Václav Klaus as Minister of Finance, Petr Miller as Minister of Work and Social Affairs, and Gyula Popely as Minister of Minority Affairs. The delegation also pointed out that it would not support Adamec's candidacy for the office of Czechoslovak President.

7 December 1989

Premier Adamec resigned. The Civic Forum and the Public Against Violence accepted his proposal that the current Deputy Premier, Marián Čalfa, a Slovak Communist, should become Czechoslovak Premier, providing he accepted the proposals of the Civic Forum and the Public Against Violence concerning the composition of the Czechoslovak Government, and that the Czechoslovak President be a Czech without any party affiliation.

8 December 1989

Prague. The first 'roundtable' talks with the 'decisive political forces' was held to discuss the Federal Government. Representatives of the Civic Forum and the Public Against Violence, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the Socialist Youth Organization, the Czechoslovak Socialist Party, the Czechoslovak People's Party, the Party of Slovak Rebirth, and the Party of Freedom (also Slovak), agreed on the composition of the new Federal Government. The delegation of the Civic Forum and the Public Against Violence, led by Václav Havel, successfully pushed through all its demands without meeting any resistance.

9 December 1989

Premier designate Marián Čalfa led talks with representatives of the Communist Party, the Socialist Party, the People's Party, Rebirth—the Club for Socialist Restructuring, the Civic Forum, and the Public Against Violence. The outcome of the talks was an agreement on the formation of a Federal Government, known as the 'Government of National Understanding'. The total of 21 ministerial posts were now held as follows: The Civic Forum and the Public Against Violence sent six representatives (Valtr Komárek [still a member of the Communist Party] and Ján Čarnogurský took the posts of the two First Deputy Premiers; Vladimír Dlouhý [still a member of the Communist Party] became Deputy Premier and Chairman of the State Planning Committee; Jiří Dienstbier became Foreign Minister, Václav Klaus became Minister of Finance, and Petr Miller became Minister of Work and Social Affairs). The composition of the Federal Government was now as follows: the CPCz now held nine ministerial posts and the premiership; the People's Party and the Socialists each received two ministerial posts; and independents received seven.

10 December 1989

At Prague Castle, Czechoslovak President Gustáv Husák named the new Government and resigned. At a demonstration on Wenceslas Square, the Civic Forum and the Public Against

Violence announced the candidacy of Václav Havel for the office of Czechoslovak President.

11 December 1989

Civic Forum representatives Václav Havel and Petr Pithart appointed a sixteen-member 'council of the Coordinating Centre of the Civic Forum' led by Pithart. The Civic Forum defined itself as a civil political movement that would go into the elections with its own list of candidates and enable non-party members to be involved in politics even after the elections.

Additional candidates were announced for the office of Czechoslovak President — Alexander Dubček (supported by Slovak state institutions), Ladislav Adamec (supported by the Communist Party), and Čestmír Císař (supported by the Socialist Youth Organization).

During the second 'roundtable' talks among the 'decisive political forces' the CPCz proposed the popular election of the President. The Civic Forum (led by Petr Pithart) rejected the proposal, and came out in favour of the election of the President in accordance with the Constitution, that is to say, by the Federal Assembly and within a fortnight. Also taking parts in the talks were representatives of the People's Party, the Socialist Party, the Socialist Youth Organization.

12 December 1989

The Presidium of the Slovak National Council named the Government of the Slovak Socialist Republic at the proposal of Premier designate and current Slovak Minister of Justice Milan Čič (a CPCz member). The Slovak Government was composed of six Communists and nine people without party affiliation. The Public Against Violence sent only Deputy Premier Vladimír Ondruš as an 'observer, who will provide information on the situation in the Slovak Government'.

13 December 1989

Disputes in the Federal Assembly over the way in which the President would be elected came to a head. The Communist deputies, who had an absolute majority in the Federal Assembly, presented a Bill on a referendum, part of which included the election of the Head of State by popular vote.

In the third session at the 'roundtable' the 'decisive political forces' did not reach an agreement on the means of electing the President. Participating in the talks were representatives of the CPCz, the Socialist Party, the People's Party, the Socialist Youth Movement, the Civic Forum, and the Public Against Violence.

15 December 1989

Czechoslovak Premier Marián Čalfa initiated a secret meeting with Václav Havel, at which he offered to help Havel in his candidacy for the presidency. Čalfa promised to see to it that the Federal Assembly would accept Havel as the only presidential candidate while

voting for Alexander Dubček (in view of Slovak public opinion) as Leader of the Federal Assembly. Both elections were to take place in 1989.

16 December 1989

Václav Havel in a speech broadcast on Czechoslovak Television gave a concise assessment of the changes that had been achieved since 17 November 1989, and, referring to the forthcoming election of the President, stated that if he were elected President, Alexander Dubček must stand at his side in some other top-level state office.

18 December 1989

The Czech National Council elected Jaroslav Šafařík (of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party) Chairman. A new Presidium was also elected, in which the Communists did not have a majority.

19 December 1989

Czechoslovak Premier Marián Čalfa, at a meeting of the Federal Assembly, presented the programme of the 'Government of National Understanding', and, in the name of the Government, nominated Václav Havel for the office of Czechoslovak President. The Assembly approved the programme.

20 December 1989

Moscow. Czechoslovak Premier Marián Čalfa and Foreign Minister Jiří Dienstbier took part in talks on relevant questions of economic cooperation. Čalfa met with Mikhail Gorbachev.

Prague. A two-day extraordinary congress of the CPCz opened. It elected Ladislav Adamec Party Chairman and Vasil Mohorita Secretary. General Secretary Karel Urbánek became Chairman of the Central Auditing Board.

22 December 1989

In the fourth 'roundtable' talks, the 'decisive political forces' reached an agreement on the filling of the offices of President of the Republic and Leader of the Federal Assembly, whereby the only candidates for these offices would be Václav Havel and Alexander Dubček. The ratio of Czechs to Slovaks in occupying the vacant seats in the Federal Assembly and the principles for further reshuffling of the legislative committees were also decided.

23 December 1989

Prague. The first Conference of the Civic Forum was held, attended by representatives of the regional Civic Forums. Its agenda included the question of the internal structure and programme orientation of the movement. At the proposal of Václav Havel the Conference, by large majority, approved the definition of the Civic Forum. Havel proposed that the Civic Forum should not become a political party or a coalition of several parties, but a political movement that would represent the large part of the public that was without party affiliation, and be a guarantor of reform.

28 December 1989

At a meeting of the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly the first round of cooptation was carried out to fill the seats from which the most compromised deputies had resigned. Among the 23 coopted members was Alexander Dubček, whom the plenum quickly elected Leader of the Federal Assembly. The Presidium of the Federal Assembly was also reshuffled so that the CPCz lost its majority there. The passage in the Presidential Oath of Office which declared loyalty to socialism was dropped.

29 December 1989

Prague Castle. At a special, ceremonial session of the Federal Assembly of Czechoslovakia Václav Havel was unanimously elected President of Czechoslovakia.

30 December 1989

After consulting with Czechoslovak Premier Marián Čalfa, President Václav Havel appointed Minister without Portfolio Richard Sacher (of the Czechoslovak People's Party) to the position of Federal Minister of the Interior.



A List of Abbreviations

BBC	= British Broadcasting Corporation
BFWG	= Business Facilitation Working Group
BPR	= Bulgarian People's Republic
CC	= Central Committee
CC VPN	= Coordinating Committee of the Public Against Violence
CF	= Civic Forum
CF CC	= Civic Forum Coordinating Committee
CFE	= Conventional Forces in Europe
CIA	= Central Intelligence Agency
CKD	= ČKD = Českomoravská Kolben-Daněk factory in Prague
CMEA	= Council for Mutual Economic Assistance
CODELS	= Congressional Delegations
COMECON	= CMEA
CONOFF	= Consular Officer
CP	= Communist Party
CPCz	= Communist Party of Czechoslovakia
CPS	= Communist Party of Slovakia
CPSU	= Communist Party of the Soviet Union
CSL	= ČSL = Czechoslovak People's Party
CSS	= Czechoslovak Socialist Party
CSSR	= ČSSR = Czechoslovak Socialist Republic
CSR	= ČSR = Czech Socialist Republic
CTK	= ČTK = Czechoslovak Press Agency
ČNR	= Czech National Council (i.e., Parliament of the Czech Republic)
ČSAV	= Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences
DCM	= Deputy Chief of Mission
DF	= Democratic Forum
ECONOFF	= Economic Officer
EMBOFF	= Embassy Officer
FA	= Federal Assembly
FIDESZ	= Hungarian Federation of Young Democrats
FIDH	= International Federation for Human Rights
FMZV	= Czechoslovak Ministry of Foreign Affairs
FRG	= Federal Republic of Germany
FS	= FA

GATT	= General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
GDR	= German Democratic Republic
GOC	= Government of Czechoslovakia
HAWG	= Humanitarian Affairs Working Group
HOS	= Movement for Civil Liberty
HPR	= Hungarian People's Republic
HSWP	= Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party
ICP	= Italian Communist Party
IMF	= International Monetary Fund
ITN	= Independent Television Network
KC OF	= Coordinating Centre of the Civic Forum
KC VPN	= Coordinating Committee of the Public Against Violence
KCS	= Czechoslovak crown (currency)
KGB	= Soviet secret police
KSC	= KSČ = CPCz
MFA	= Ministry of Foreign Affairs
MFN	= Most Favored Nation
MSDS	= HSWP
NATO	= North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NBC	= National Broadcasting Corporation
NF	= National Front (Czechoslovak)
OKD	= Ostravsko-karvinské doly (North Moravian coal mines)
PAV	= VPN
POLEC	= POL/EC = Political-Economic officer
PPR	= Polish People's Republic
PRC	= People's Republic of China
PUWP	= Polish United Workers' Party
RCP	= Rumanian Communist Party
REF	= Reference
REFTELS	= Reference telegrams
RFE	= Radio Free Europe

SED = United Socialist Party (East German Communist Party)
SEPTTEL = Separate telegram
SNP = Slovak National Uprising (1944)
StB = Czechoslovak secret police

UN = U.N. = United Nations
US = U.S. = United States
USA = United States of America
USD = American dollar
USG = Government of the United States
USIA = United States Information Agency
USIS = United States Information Service
USSR = Soviet Union
VB = regular Czechoslovak police
VIA = East European Information Agency
VONS = Committee for the Defence of the Unjustly Prosecuted
VPN = Public Against Violence
WP = Warsaw Pact
WTO = World Trade Organization



The Democratic Revolution in Czechoslovakia:

Its Preconditions, Course, and Immediate Repercussions, 1987-89

List of Documents

- Document 1** Prague, January 6, 1987 11
Statement by Charter 77 on civil courage
- Document 2** [Moscow, November-December 1987] 17
Excerpt from memoirs (1994) of Vadim A. Medvedev, on the situation within the Czechoslovak leadership.
- Document 3** Prague, November 19, 1987 21
Address by Ladislav Adamec at CC CPCz Presidium meeting, on separation of functions of General Secretary of the CPCz and President of the CSSR
- Document 4** Moscow, January 11, 1988 25
Memorandum of conversation between Mikhail Gorbachev and Miloš Jakeš, excerpt concerning the rejection of a possible re-evaluation of 1968
- Document 5** Moscow, April 12, 1988 27
Memorandum of conversation between Mikhail Gorbachev and Gustáv Husák, excerpt concerning rejection of possible re-evaluation of 1968
- Document 6** Prague, Brno, and Bratislava, October 15, 1988 29
Manifesto of the Movement for Civil Liberty
- Document 7** Berlin, November 29, 1988 39
Memorandum of conversation between Erich Honecker and Vasil Biľak held on November 24, 1988, (excerpts)
- Document 8** Prague, December 1, 1988 43
Samizdat article by Václav Havel, on the crystalization of régime-dissident relations and the 'Democracy for All' manifesto
- Document 9** Prague, December 8, 1988 47
Memorandum of conversation between President François Mitterrand and President Gustáv Husák (excerpts)
- Document 10** Prague, January 21, 1989 49
Letter from Cardinal Tomášek to Czechoslovak Premier Adamec, on the state-organized violence against peaceful demonstrators
- Document 11** Prague, January 22, 1989 51
Statement by Charter 77
on violent police action against demonstrators during 'Palach Week'
- Document 12** Moscow, January 29, 1989 55
Message from Yelena Bonner, Andrei Sakharov, Larisa Bogoraz, and Lev Timofeyev to the heads of state attending the CSCE, on the violent police action against Prague demonstrators Prague during 'Palach Week'

Document 13	Prague, February 2, 1989	57
	Covering letter to a petition by Czechoslovak citizens' on events in Prague, January 15-21, 1989 (excerpt)	
Document 14	Prague, February 16, 1989	59
	Letter from petition organizers to the Czechoslovak Press Agency and editors of <i>Rudé právo</i> , on the latest number of petition signatories protesting police violence, January 15-21, 1989 (excerpt)	
Document 15	Moscow, February 1989	61
	Memorandum from the International Department of the Central Committee CPSU to Alexander Yakovlev, on the strategy of relations with European socialist countries	
Document 16	Moscow, February 1989	71
	Memorandum from the Bogomolov Institute to Alexander Yakovlev, on changes in Eastern Europe and their impact on the USSR	
Document 17	Bonn, March 16, 1989	85
	Resolution adopted by the Bundestag, on recent human rights violations in Czechoslovakia	
Document 18	Moscow, April 1, 1989	87
	Report by Vadim Zagladin on his conversation with Chairman of the Czechoslovak Association for the UN, Deputy Chairman of the Committee for European Security, Jan Pudlák, on the current situation in Czechoslovakia	
Document 19	Prague, May 3, 1989	89
	Memorandum of conversation between Miloš Jakeš and Erich Honecker, excerpts of Jakeš outlining current Czechoslovak problems	
Document 20	Prague, May 3, 1989	93
	Memorandum of conversation between Gustáv Husák and Erich Honecker, on good Czechoslovak-East German relations	
Document 21	Moscow, May 5, 1989	95
	Report by Vadim Zagladin on his conversation with former Czechoslovak Minister of Foreign Affairs Bohuslav Chňoupek	
Document 22	Prague, May 5, 1989	97
	Information from the CC CPCz Secretariat to Party and state functionaries and lower-level Party organizations, on activities of the 'internal and external enemy' (excerpts)	
Document 23	Prague, June 1989	99
	Petition statement "Several Sentences" by Devatý, Havel, Křížan, Vondra et al, calling upon the state leadership to implement fundamental changes	
Document 24	Prague, July 7, 1989	101
	Internal information for lower-level Party organizations, with cover letter by CC CPCz Secretary Jan Fojtík, on the petition statement 'Several Sentences' (excerpts)	
Document 25	Bucharest, July 8, 1989	105
	Speech by Miloš Jakeš to top-level members of the Political Advisory Council of the Warsaw Pact, containing CPCz views on perestroika and Czechoslovak opposition groups (excerpts)	
Document 26	Prague, July 13, 1989	107
	VIA (an independent news agency) report, on meetings between Hans-Dietrich Genscher, Václav Havel, and Jiří Hájek	

Document 27	Prague, July 24, 1989	111
	VIA (an independent news agency) report on Solidarity activists' meetings	
Document 28	Prague, July 27, 1989	113
	VIA (an independent news agency) report on talks between Polish activists of Polish-Czechoslovak Solidarity and the Czechoslovak group Democratic Initiative	
Document 29	Prague, August 1989	115
	<i>Information on Charter 77</i> report on the arrest of Polish-Czechoslovak Solidarity spokesman by Czechoslovak police	
Document 30	Prague, August 19, 1989	117
	Statement by presidia of both chambers of the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly, protesting the Polish legislature's condemnation of the August 1968 intervention	
Document 31	Prague, August 19, 1989	119
	Charter 77 address to the International Conference on the Rights of Nations to Self-determination and Equality, Riga, August 21 and 22, 1989	
Document 32	Prague, August 26, 1989	121
	Letter from Charter 77 to Federation of Young Democrats, Budapest, thanking them for their presence at the Prague demonstration, August 21, 1989	
Document 33	Bratislava, September 7, 1989	123
	Open letter from Milan Šimečka to Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR Mikhail Gorbachev, appealing to him to condemn the Soviet intervention of 1968	
Document 34	Prague, September 14, 1989	125
	Statement by Charter 77, on East German refugees at the Embassy of the Federal Republic of Germany	
Document 35	Prague, September 21, 1989	127
	Memorandum of a conversation between CPCz General Secretary Miloš Jakeš and SED Politburo member and CC Secretary Günter Shabowski, on East German refugees at the FRG Embassy in Prague, the situation in Hungary and Poland, and losing ground to the opposition in Czechoslovakia	
Document 36	Prague, September 21, 1989	131
	Statement by Charter 77 and the Committee for the Defence of the Unjustly Prosecuted, expressing solidarity with imprisoned activists in Leipzig	
Document 37	London, September 23, 1989	133
	Record of conversation between Mikhail Gorbachev and Margaret Thatcher, on perestroika, Eastern Europe, and German re-unification	
Document 38	Prague, October 7, 1989	135
	Article by Václav Havel on the new phase in independent activity	
Document 39	Prague, October 18, 1989	137
	Telex from General Secretary Jakeš to leading secretaries of the regional, municipal, and district committees of the CPCz and CPS, on the political situation in the country and the activities of the 'internal adversary'	
Document 40	Prague, October 19, 1989	139
	Leaflet from the independent student group STUHA, calling upon students to attend a gathering to mark the 50th anniversary of the Nazi German measures against Czech universities	

Document 41	Warsaw, October 25, 1989	141
	Interview with Edward Shevardnadze conducted by Adam Michnik in <i>Gazeta Wyborcza</i> , on Soviet Foreign Policy and Czechoslovakia 1968 (excerpt)	
Document 42	Prague, October 30, 1989	143
	Open letter from Jiří Dienstbier to Edward Shevardnadze, concerning the <i>Gazeta Wyborcza</i> interview conducted by Adam Michnik	
Document 43	Prague, November 2, 1989	145
	Telegram from the US Embassy in Prague to the US Department of State, concerning Soviet diplomat's comments on Shevardnadze's statement on 1968	
Document 44	Prague, November 3, 1989	149
	Telegram from the US Embassy in Prague to the US Department of State, on growing independent activities and judicial persecution of dissidents in Czechoslovakia	
Document 45	Moscow, November 10, 1989	153
	From the diary of Anatoly Chernyaev, on the end of an era and praise for Gorbachev	
Document 46	Prague, November 15, 1989	155
	Telegram from the US Embassy in Prague to the US Department of State, on the trial of the 'Bratislava Pětka' and its verdicts	
Document 47	Prague, November 15, 1989	157
	Telegram from the US Embassy in Prague to the US Department of State on the Czechoslovak régime's attempts to react to changes in the East bloc, with a focus on the economy	
Document 48	Moscow, November 17, 1989	161
	Memorandum of conversation between Gorbachev adviser Georgi Shakhnazarov and the Director of the Institute for State and Law, CSAS, Josef Blahož, on, among other things, the growing threat facing the Czechoslovak socialist régime	
Document 49	Prague, November 17, 1989	163
	Telegram from Ambassador of the German Democratic Republic in Prague to General Secretary Egon Krenz in Berlin, on Krenz's upcoming visit to Prague	
Document 50	Prague, November 18, 1989	165
	Telegram from the US Embassy in Prague to the US Department of State, on the large student demonstration in Prague, November 17, and its brutal suppression	
Document 51	Prague, November 19, 1989,	169
	Telex from General Secretary Miloš Jakeš to First Secretary of the Slovak Communist Party and secretaries of regional and district CPCz committees, on the situation in the country and tasks facing the Party	
Document 52	Prague, November 19, 1989	171
	Statement of the Civic Forum in Prague, announcing its founding and demands	
Document 53	Prague, November 20, 1989	173
	Telegram from the US Embassy in Prague to the US Department of State, on the apparently increased vulnerability of the Jakeš régime after the first November demonstrations	
Document 54	Bratislava, November 20, 1989	175
	Statement of the Public Against Violence, Bratislava, announcing the establishment of the movement and its basic aims	

Document 55	Prague, November 20, 1989	177
	Statement from the Civic Forum, describing its position and role and appealing for non-violence, tolerance, and dialogue	
Document 56	Berlin, November 21, 1989	179
	Circular from SED General Secretary Egon Krenz to the First Secretaries of the County and District Councils of the SED, concerning the current situation in Czechoslovakia	
Document 57	Prague, 21 November 1989	181
	Statement by Cardinal Tomášek, stating the urgent need for freedom and democratic government in Czechoslovakia	
Document 58	Prague, November 21, 1989, afternoon	183
	Statement of the Civic Forum on talks between its representatives and Premier Ladislav Adamec	
Document 59	Bratislava, November 21, 1989	185
	Statement of the Public Against Violence, on the declaration of the governments of the CSSR, CSR, and SSR, concerning events of November 17, 1989, in Prague	
Document 60	Prague, November 21, 1989, evening	187
	Letter from the Civic Forum to US President George Bush and President of the Supreme Soviet Mikhail S. Gorbachev, announcing the establishment of the Civic Forum and asking them to consider the 1968 Soviet-led intervention in Czechoslovakia at the coming summit meeting	
Document 61	Prague, November 21, 1989, evening	189
	Telegram from the Civic Forum to all democratic movements in Eastern Europe, expressing solidarity with them	
Document 62	Trnava, November 22, 1989	191
	Statement by Archbishop Ján Sokol, the Slovak Metropolitan, against violence and in support of human rights	
Document 63	Prague, November 22, 1989	193
	Statement of the Civic Forum, with instructions for the general strike called for November 27	
Document 64	Bratislava, November 22, 1989	195
	Resolution of a public gathering on SNP Square to the Slovak Premier, containing seven demands	
Document 65	Prague, November 23, 1989	197
	Telegram from the US Embassy in Prague to the US Department of State, on the continuing struggle in the CPCz leadership, the possible occupation of radio and television, and the question of a Soviet role	
Document 66	Prague November 23, 1989, 4.00 p.m.	201
	Statement read by Civic Forum representative Václav Havel at a demonstration on Wenceslas Square, containing a declaration of the movement's aims	
Document 67	Prague, November 24, 1989	203
	Telegram from the US Embassy in Prague to the US Department of State, on the political situation in Czechoslovakia on the eve of the extraordinary session of CPCz CC	
Document 68	Prague, November 24, 1989	207
	Speech by Premier Ladislav Adamec at an extraordinary session of the CPCz CC, stating his preference for a political solution to the crisis (excerpts)	

Document 69	Prague, November 24, 1989	209
	Speech by Vasil Bilák to the extraordinary session of the Central Committee of the CPCz, stating the CPCz should not voluntarily relinquish power (excerpts)	
Document 70	November 24, 1989	211
	Resolution of the CPCz Central Committee adopted at an extraordinary session of the CC CPCz, on urgent measures to cope with the current crisis	
Document 71	Prague, November 24, 1989	213
	Resolution of the Extraordinary Session of the CC CPCz, on implementation of the session's conclusions	
Document 72	Prague, November 25, 1989, 4.30 a.m.	217
	Statement of the Civic Forum, reacting negatively to the CPCz leadership changes and again calling for participation in the general strike	
Document 73	Prague, November 25, 1989	219
	Telegram from the US Embassy in Prague to the US Department of State, evaluating the outcome of the Extraordinary Session of the CC CPCz, November 24, 1989	
Document 74	Bratislava, November 25, 1989	225
	Platform statement of the civic initiative Public Against Violence and coordinating committee of Slovak university students	
Document 75	November 26, 1989, 1.00 p.m.	227
	Statement of the Public Against Violence, stressing two demands and full support for the Civic Forum	
Document 76	Prague, 26 November 1989, 6.00 p.m.	229
	Programme Aims of the Civic Forum	
Document 77	Prague, November 27, 1989	233
	Telegram from the US Embassy in Prague to the US Department of State on the CPCz's attempts to cope with the rapidly changing political situation	
Document 78	Prague, November 27, 1989	239
	Report by GDR Ambassador in Prague to SED General Secretary Egon Krenz, on two extraordinary CC CPCz sessions	
Document 79	Prague, November 27, 1989, 12.00 noon	241
	Statement of the Civic Forum, declaring its main aims are pluralism and free elections	
Document 80	Prague, November 28, 1989	243
	Telegram from the US Embassy in Prague to the US Department of State, on Soviet Embassy officer's view of Czechoslovak developments	
Document 81	Prague, November 28, 1989, 4.00 p.m.	245
	Joint-position of the Civic Forum and the Public Against Violence, on talks with Premier Ladislav Adamec	
Document 82	Moscow, November 28, 1989	247
	Draft agenda prepared by Georgi Shakhnazarov for Mikhail Gorbachev for December 4 and 5, 1989	
Document 83	Prague, November 29, 1989	249
	Telegram from the US Embassy in Prague to the US Department of State, summarizing political developments after tens days of the Velvet Revolution	

Document 84	Prague, November 29, 1989, 5.00 p.m.	253
	Joint statement by the Civic Forum and the Public Against Violence, on the political situation	
Document 85	Prague, December 1, 1989	255
	Telegram from the US Embassy in Prague to the US Department of State, on inside views of Civic Forum as expressed to visiting US Senators	
Document 86	Prague, November–December 1989	259
	Recollections (1996) of Valeri Musatov on his visit to Prague	
Document 87	Prague and Bratislava, December 3, 1989	263
	Statement of the Civic Forum Coordination Centre and the Coordinating Committee of the Public Against Violence, evaluating achievements to date and calling for the <i>de facto</i> abolishment of the ‘leading role’ of the CPCz	
Document 88	Prague, December 4, 1989, 2.00 p.m.	265
	Draft position of the Civic Forum, pushing for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Czechoslovakia	
Document 89	Prague, December 5, 1989	267
	Telegram from the US Embassy in Prague to the US Department of State, containing observations of a US Embassy official in Eastern Slovakia	
Document 90	Prague, December 5, 1989	271
	Telegram from the US Embassy in Prague to the US Department of State, expressing doubts about the CPCz’s ability to cope with the political situation in Czechoslovakia	
Document 91	Prague, December 5, 1989	275
	Proposal from the Coordinating Centre of the Civic Forum to the President of the Republic, for an extensive amnesty for political opponents of the régime who had been subjected to judicial persecution	
Document 92	Prague, December 5, 1989	277
	Telegram from the US Embassy in Prague to the US Department of State, with, among other things, a mistaken interpretation of the Civic Forum decision to delegate its representatives directly to the Federal Government, and the possibility of another general strike	
Document 93	Prague, December 6, 1989, early morning	281
	Record of session of coordinating bodies of the Civic Forum and the Public Against Violence, in which, among other things, Havel and Kocáb explain why Civic Forum has been negotiating with Premier Adamec (excerpt)	
Document 94	Prague, December 6, 1989	283
	Statement of the coordinating bodies of the Civic Forum and the Public Against Violence, urging the removal of the Prosecutors General of the CSSR and CSR	
Document 95	Prague, December 7, 1989	285
	Telegram from the US Embassy in Prague to the US Department of State containing Vaclav Klaus’s views on the Civic Forum and his own position both in it and in the next Government	
Document 96	Prague, December 7, 1989, 12.00 noon	289
	Statement of the Civic Forum Coordinating Centre and the Coordinating Committee of Public Against Violence, defending its position in the debate on solving the Government crisis	

Document 97	Prague, December 7, 1989	291
	Statement of the Civic Forum Coordinating Centre and Coordinating Committee of Public Against Violence, turning directly to the public with a proposal for the composition of the Federal Government	
Document 98	Prague, December 8, 1989	295
	Telegram from the US Embassy in Prague to the US Department of State, on the resignation of Premier Adamec and its consequences	
Document 99	Prague, December 10, 1989, 2.00 p.m.	299
	Speech by Václav Havel on Wenceslas Square, summarizing the achievements of the citizens' movements, from November 17 till the formation of the Government of National Understanding	
Document 100	Prague, December 11, 1989	301
	Telegram from the US Embassy in Prague to the US Department of State, on the new Federal Government under Premier Marián Čalfa, and on the resignation of President Gustáv Husák	
Document 101	Prague, December 11, 1989	305
	Telegram from the US Embassy in Prague to the US Department of State, containing inside views of the Civic Forum gained at an Embassy dinner party	
Document 102	Prague, December 12, 1989	309
	Telegram from the US Embassy in Prague to the US Department of State, on the issue of the Czechoslovak Presidency	
Document 103	Prague, December 15, 1989	311
	Telegram from the US Embassy in Prague to the US Department of State, on the new Czechoslovak foreign policy as outlined by new Foreign Minister Jiří Dienstbier	
Document 104	Prague, December 15, 1989	315
	Record of a meeting between Václav Havel and his closest colleagues of the Civic Forum Coordinating Centre, where Havel reported on his talks with Premier Marián Čalfa, on how to ensure Havel's election to the Presidency	
Document 105	Prague, December 16, 1989	321
	Speech by Václav Havel on Czechoslovak Television, giving an account of the programmes and achievements of the Civic Forum and the Public Against Violence, and explaining under what conditions he would be willing to accept the Office of President of the Republic	
Document 106	Prague, December 20, 1989	325
	Telegram from the US Embassy in Prague to the US Department of State, on the Czechoslovak Government Programme and its endorsement for Havel as President	
Document 107	Moscow, December 20, 1989	329
	Minutes from a meeting of the Foreign Ministers of the CSSR and USSR, Jiří Dienstbier and Edward Shevardnadze, on Czechoslovak-Soviet relations and Soviet troops in Czechoslovakia	
Document 108	Prague, December 21, 1989	335
	Statement of the delegates to the Extraordinary Congress of the CPCz to Czechoslovaks, apologizing for all wrongs committed during Communist rule	
Document 109	Prague, December 22, 1989	337
	Telegram from the US Embassy in Prague to the US Department State, devoted to Václav Havel's cross-country presidential campaign	

Document 110	Prague, December 22, 1989	339
	Telegram from the US Embassy in Prague to the US Department of State on the results of the Extraordinary CPCz Congress	
Document 111	Prague, December 27, 1989	343
	Telegram from the US Embassy in Prague to the Department of State, on the US Ambassador's meeting with new Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiří Dienstbier	
Document 112	Prague, December 27, 1989	347
	Telegram from the US Embassy in Prague to the US Department of State, concerning talks between a Soviet diplomat and a US political counselor, revealing differences between the views of the Soviets and the new Czechoslovak Government on withdrawal of Soviet troops from Czechoslovakia	
Document 113	Prague, December 29, 1989	349
	Telegram from the US Embassy in Prague to the US Department of State on the consequences of Václav Havel's election to the Czechoslovak Presidency	
Document 114	Moscow, January 5, 1990	353
	Memorandum from the International Department of the CC CPSU, on relations between the USSR and the countries of Central and Eastern Europe (excerpts)	
Document 115	Prague, January 16, 1990	357
	Minutes on the reception of Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR Ivan Pavlovich Aboimov by Minister of Foreign Affairs of the CSSR Jiří Dienstbier, concerning the 'departure' of Soviet troops from Czechoslovakia	
Document 116	Moscow, February 26, 1990	361
	Minutes from talks between the Foreign Ministers of the CSSR and USSR, on an agreement for the 'departure' of Soviet troops from Czechoslovakia	
Document 117	Moscow, February 26, 1990	367
	Memorandum of conversation between Gorbachev and Havel, excerpt in which Gorbachev reacted to Havel's insistence that a declaration on the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Czechoslovakia should be signed because the people regard them as occupation troops	
Document 118	Moscow, February 26, 1990	369
	Declaration of the President of the CSSR Václav Havel and Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR Mikhail Gorbachev, on Czechoslovakia-Soviet relations	
Document 119	Moscow, February 26, 1990	371
	Agreement between the governments of the CSSR and USSR, on the 'departure' of Soviet troops from Czechoslovakia	
Appendix	373
	Excerpts from the Memoirs of Three American Actors in the Events	
	Robert M. Gates, <i>From the Shadows: The Ultimate Insider's Story of Five Presidents and How They Won the Cold War</i> , (New York, 1996), pp. 450–1, 469–71.	375
	Robert L. Hutchings, <i>American Diplomacy and the End of the Cold War: An Insider's Account of U.S. Policy in Europe, 1989–1992</i> , (Washington, D. C., Baltimore, and London, 1997), pp. 72 and 82–4.	378
	Jack F. Matlock, Jr., <i>Autopsy on an Empire: The American Ambassador's Account of the Collapse of the Soviet Union</i> , (New York, 1995), pp. 190–2 and 193–5.	380

