CONTENTS

Preface

Václav Havel

Foreword	
H. Gordon Skilling	xvii
Acknowledgements	xxiii
Acronyms and Abbreviations	xxv
Chronology of Events	xxvii
DA DE ONE	
PART ONE 'A SUN SUDDENLY RISEN'	
A PRELUDE TO THE PRAGUE SPRING OF 1968	
Introduction	1
Document No. 1 : Proceedings of the 4th Czechoslovak Writers' Congress, June 27–29, 1967, and a Follow-up Resolution by the CPCz CC Plenum, September 1967 (Excerpts)	8
Document No. 2 : Speeches by Alexander Dubček and Antonín Novotný at the CPCz CC Plenum, October 30–31, 1967	13
Document No. 3 : Remarks by Leonid Brezhnev at a Meeting of Top CPCz Officials, in Prague, December 9, 1967 (Excerpts)	18
Document No. 4 : János Kádár's Report to the HSWP Politburo of a Telephone Conversation with Leonid Brezhnev, December 13, 1967	20
Document No. 5 : Andrei Aleksandrov-Agentov's Memoir of the Pre-Crisis Period (Excerpt)	23
PART TWO	
FROM JANUARY TO DRESDEN	
Introduction	27
Document No. 6: Resolution of the CPCz CC Plenum, January 5, 1968, Electing Alexander Dubček as First Secretary	34
Document No. 7: János Kádár's Report to the HSWP Politburo on His Meetings with Alexander Dubček, January 20, 1968 (Excerpts)	37

χv

Document No. 8: Report Submitted to the CPCz CC Presidium on Alexander Dubček's Visit to Moscow, January 29–30, 1968 (Excerpts)	42
Document No. 9: "What Lies Ahead," by Josef Smrkovský, February 9, 1968	45
Document No. 10: Alexander Dubček's Speech Marking the 20th Anniversary of Czechoslovakia's "February Revolution," February 22, 1968 (Excerpts)	51
Document No. 11: Report by Czechoslovak Television Reporter on Soviet Reactions to the Events in the ČSSR, February 28, 1968	55
Document No. 12: Observations by Czechoslovak Escort-Guides on the Views of Foreign Delegations Attending the Celebrations of the "February Revolution," February 1968	58
Document No. 13: Letter from Leonid Brezhnev to Alexander Dubček Inviting a ČSSR Delegation to the USSR, March 16, 1968	63
Document No. 14: Stenographic Account of the Dresden Meeting, March 23, 1968 (Excerpts)	64
Document No. 15: Alexander Dubček's Presidium Report on the Dresden Meeting, March 25, 1968	73
Document No. 16: Open Letter from 134 Czechoslovak Writers and Cultural Figures to the CPCz Central Committee, March 25, 1968	76
Document No. 17: Soviet Reactions to Events in Czechoslovakia and the Dresden Meeting, as Assessed by the Italian Embassy in Moscow, April 1968	78
Document No. 18: Dispatch from Budapest Outlining Hungarian Concerns about Events in Czechoslovakia after the Dresden Meeting, April 6, 1968	81
PART THREE	
REVISION, REFORM, REVOLUTION?	
Introduction	83
Document No. 19: The CPCz CC Action Program, April 1968 (Excerpts)	92
Document No. 20: Cable from Andrei Gromyko for Todor Zhivkov, János Kádár, Walter Ulbricht, and Władysław Gomułka Regarding the Internal Security Situation in Czechoslovakia, April 1968	96
Document No. 21: Letter from Leonid Brezhnev to Alexander Dubček Expressing Concern about Events in Czechoslovakia, April 11, 1968	98
Document No. 22: Cable from Czechoslovak Ambassador Oldřich Pavlovský on a Conversation with Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Il'ichev, April 17, 1968 (Excerpts)	101
Document No. 23: Memoir of Andrei Aleksandrov-Agentov on Internal Soviet Deliberations about Czechoslovakia (Excerpts)	102
Document No. 24: Cable to Moscow from Soviet Ambassador to Warsaw Averki Aristov Regarding Władysław Gomułka's Views on the Situation in Czechoslovakia, April 16, 1968	103

Document No. 25: "Proposal for a Number of Major Political Measures to Facilitate the Process of Mutual Understanding in Relations with the USSR," by Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiří Hájek, April 17, 1968 (Excerpts)	105
Document No. 26: Report on Secret Discussions between the CPCz CC International Department and Egon Bahr of the West German Social Democratic Party, April 17–19, 1968 (Excerpts)	108
Document No. 27: Report by ČSSR National Defense Minister Martin Dzúr on a Meeting with Marshal Yakubovskii, Commander-in-Chief of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces, April 24–25, 1968	112
Document No. 28: Stenographic Account of the Soviet–Czechoslovak Summit Meeting in Moscow, May 4–5, 1968 (Excerpts)	114
Document No. 29: Report on the Visit of Luigi Longo, Italian CP General Secretary, to Czechoslovakia, May 5–7, 1968 (Excerpts)	126
Document No. 30: Minutes of the CPCz CC Presidium Meeting, May 7–8, 1968 (Excerpts)	129
Document No. 31: Minutes of the Secret Meeting of the "Five" in Moscow, May 8, 1968 (Excerpts)	132
Document No. 32: Cable from the Czechoslovak Ambassador to Yugoslavia, May 9, 1968, on Leonid Brezhnev's Recent Discussions with Josip Broz Tito	144
Document No. 33: Report by Czechoslovak Press Agency Correspondent Ján Riško from Moscow, May 12, 1968 (Excerpts)	145
Document No. 34: Cable from the Soviet Ambassador in Warsaw to Soviet Prime Minister Aleksei Kosygin, May 22, 1968	147
Document No. 35: Letter from Leonid Brezhnev to Alexander Dubček Informing Him about the Results of the Moscow Meeting of the "Five", May 1968	148
Document No. 36: "On the Current Situation (Some Urgent Points Regarding the USSR's International Position)," The CPSU Politburo's Dissemination of Briefing Materials on the Crisis to CPSU Members, May 27, 1968	150
Document No. 37: Alexander Dubček's Speech to the CPCz CC Plenary Session, May 29 – June 1, 1968, with Discussion by Vasil Bil'ak (Excerpts)	152
Document No. 38: KAN's Manifesto, May 1968	156
Document No. 39: Letter from Leonid Brezhnev to Alexander Dubček Proposing Another Bilateral Meeting, June 11, 1968	158
Document No. 40: "Status of the Šumava Allied Exercise," Report to Alexander Dubček by ČSSR Defense Minister Martin Dzúr, June 17, 1968	160
Document No. 41: Resolution and Letter to the Soviet People from the National Conference of the People's Militia, June 19, 1968	163
Document No. 42: "Czechoslovakia: The Dubček Pause," U.S. Intelligence Assessment of the Crisis, June 1968	166

Document No. 43: "On the Dissemination of the CPSU CC's Periodic Report on the Situation in Czechoslovakia and Certain Foreign Policy Steps of the Romanian Leadership": A Memorandum on Efforts to Provide CPSU Members with the Politburo's Latest Analysis of the Crisis, June 1968 (Excerpts)	172
Document No. 44: The "Two Thousand Words" Manifesto, June 27, 1968	177
PART FOUR	
THE JULY CRISIS	
Introduction	183
Document No. 45: Briefing on the Šumava Exercises for Alexander Dubček and Oldřich Černík by Commanders of the Czechoslovak People's Army, July 1, 1968, with Follow-up Talks between Dubček and Marshal Yakubovskii	191
Document No. 46: Letter of the CPSU CC Politburo to the CPCz CC Presidium, July 4, 1968	194
Document No. 47: Report on the Šumava Exercises by Generals I. Oláh and F. Szűcs of the Hungarian People's Army to the HSWP Politburo, July 5, 1968 (Excerpts)	199
Document No. 48: General Semyon Zolotov's Retrospective Account of the Šumava Military Exercises	202
Document No. 49: Letter from Leonid Brezhnev to Alexander Dubček Inviting a CPCz Delegation to the Warsaw Meeting, July 6, 1968	206
Document No. 50: Top-Secret Telegram from Ambassador Stepan Chervonenko to Moscow Regarding the CPCz CC Presidium's Decision Not to Attend the Warsaw Meeting, July 9, 1968	207
Document No. 51: Message from Alexander Dubček and Oldřich Černík to Leonid Brezhnev, July 14, 1968	210
Document No. 52: Transcript of the Warsaw Meeting, July 14–15, 1968 (Excerpts)	212
Document No. 53: The Warsaw Letter, July 14–15, 1968	234
Document No. 54: Press Conference with Lt. General Václav Prchlík, July 15, 1968	239
Document No. 55: Response by the CPCz CC Presidium to the Warsaw Letter, July 16–17, 1968	243
Document No. 56: Speech by Leonid Brezhnev to the CPSU Central Committee on the Proceedings and Results of the Warsaw Meeting, July 17, 1968	250
Document No. 57: Letter from Marshal Yakubovskii to Alexander Dubček on Gen. Prchlík's News Conference, July 18, 1968	259
Document No. 58: Transcript of Discussion between Alexander Dubček and Waldeck Rochet, July 19, 1968 (Excerpts)	261
Document No. 59: Letter from the French CP to Leonid Brezhney, July 23, 1968	264

Document No. 60: Soviet Government Diplomatic Note to the Czechoslovak Government, July 20, 1968	265
Document No. 61: "Problems with the Policy of Safeguarding the Internal and External Security of the State, Their Status at Present, the Basic Ways to Resolve Them," Czechoslovakia's Plans for Future Changes in Military and National Security Policies, July 1968 (Excerpts)	268
Document No. 62: Meeting Notes Taken by Chief of the Hungarian People's Army General Staff Károly Csémi on Talks with Soviet Generals in Budapest to Discuss Preparations for "Operation Danube," July 24, 1968	277
Document No. 63: "Message from the Citizens to the CPCz CC Presidium," July 26, 1968	279
Document No. 64: "On the Current Security Situation," Report by Oldřich Černík for the CPCz CC Presidium, July 27, 1968 (Excerpts)	281
Document No. 65: Speeches by Leonid Brezhnev, Alexander Dubček, and Aleksei Kosygin at the Čierna nad Tisou Negotiations, July 29, 1968 (Excerpts)	284
Document No. 66: Dispatches from Czechoslovak Ambassadors in Berlin, Warsaw, and Budapest on the Deployment of Forces along ČSSR Borders, July 29–August 1, 1968	298
Document No. 67: Alexander Dubček's Recollections of the Crisis: Events Surrounding the Čierna nad Tisou Negotiations	300
PART FIVE	
AUGUST—THE MONTH OF INTERVENTION	
AUGUST—THE MONTH OF INTERVENTION Introduction	309
	309 316
Introduction Document No. 68: Report by Soviet Ambassador to the GDR Pyotr Abrasimov	
Introduction Document No. 68: Report by Soviet Ambassador to the GDR Pyotr Abrasimov on East Germany's Position vis-à-vis Czechoslovakia, July 28 and August 1, 1968 Document No. 69: Report by Soviet Ambassador to Bulgaria A.M. Puzanov on	316
Introduction Document No. 68: Report by Soviet Ambassador to the GDR Pyotr Abrasimov on East Germany's Position vis-à-vis Czechoslovakia, July 28 and August 1, 1968 Document No. 69: Report by Soviet Ambassador to Bulgaria A.M. Puzanov on Bulgaria's Position vis-à-vis Czechoslovakia, August 1, 1968 Document No. 70: Polish Views of the Situation in Czechoslovakia on the Eve	316 317
Introduction Document No. 68: Report by Soviet Ambassador to the GDR Pyotr Abrasimov on East Germany's Position vis-à-vis Czechoslovakia, July 28 and August 1, 1968 Document No. 69: Report by Soviet Ambassador to Bulgaria A.M. Puzanov on Bulgaria's Position vis-à-vis Czechoslovakia, August 1, 1968 Document No. 70: Polish Views of the Situation in Czechoslovakia on the Eve of the Bratislava Conference, August 2, 1968	316 317 319
Introduction Document No. 68: Report by Soviet Ambassador to the GDR Pyotr Abrasimov on East Germany's Position vis-à-vis Czechoslovakia, July 28 and August 1, 1968 Document No. 69: Report by Soviet Ambassador to Bulgaria A.M. Puzanov on Bulgaria's Position vis-à-vis Czechoslovakia, August 1, 1968 Document No. 70: Polish Views of the Situation in Czechoslovakia on the Eve of the Bratislava Conference, August 2, 1968 Document No. 71: Vasil Bil'ak's Recollections of the Bratislava Conference Document No. 72: The "Letter of Invitation" from the Anti-Reformist Faction	316 317 319 320
Introduction Document No. 68: Report by Soviet Ambassador to the GDR Pyotr Abrasimov on East Germany's Position vis-à-vis Czechoslovakia, July 28 and August 1, 1968 Document No. 69: Report by Soviet Ambassador to Bulgaria A.M. Puzanov on Bulgaria's Position vis-à-vis Czechoslovakia, August 1, 1968 Document No. 70: Polish Views of the Situation in Czechoslovakia on the Eve of the Bratislava Conference, August 2, 1968 Document No. 71: Vasil Bil'ak's Recollections of the Bratislava Conference Document No. 72: The "Letter of Invitation" from the Anti-Reformist Faction of the CPCz Leadership, August 1968	316 317 319 320 324
Introduction Document No. 68: Report by Soviet Ambassador to the GDR Pyotr Abrasimov on East Germany's Position vis-à-vis Czechoslovakia, July 28 and August 1, 1968 Document No. 69: Report by Soviet Ambassador to Bulgaria A.M. Puzanov on Bulgaria's Position vis-à-vis Czechoslovakia, August 1, 1968 Document No. 70: Polish Views of the Situation in Czechoslovakia on the Eve of the Bratislava Conference, August 2, 1968 Document No. 71: Vasil Bil'ak's Recollections of the Bratislava Conference Document No. 72: The "Letter of Invitation" from the Anti-Reformist Faction of the CPCz Leadership, August 1968 Document No. 73: The Bratislava Declaration, August 3, 1968 Document No. 74: Statement by the CPCz CC Presidium after the Talks at Čierna	316 317 319 320 324 326
Introduction Document No. 68: Report by Soviet Ambassador to the GDR Pyotr Abrasimov on East Germany's Position vis-à-vis Czechoslovakia, July 28 and August 1, 1968 Document No. 69: Report by Soviet Ambassador to Bulgaria A.M. Puzanov on Bulgaria's Position vis-à-vis Czechoslovakia, August 1, 1968 Document No. 70: Polish Views of the Situation in Czechoslovakia on the Eve of the Bratislava Conference, August 2, 1968 Document No. 71: Vasil Bil'ak's Recollections of the Bratislava Conference Document No. 72: The "Letter of Invitation" from the Anti-Reformist Faction of the CPCz Leadership, August 1968 Document No. 73: The Bratislava Declaration, August 3, 1968 Document No. 74: Statement by the CPCz CC Presidium after the Talks at Čierna and Bratislava, August 6, 1968 Document No. 75: János Kádár's Speech at a Hungarian CC Plenum, August 7,	316 317 319 320 324 326 330

Document No. 77: Summary Report and Transcript of Telephone Conversation between Leonid Brezhnev and Alexander Dubček, August 9, 1968	336
Document No. 78: Cables from the Czechoslovak Ambassadors in London and Washington on U.S. Reactions to the Situation in Czechoslovakia, August 10–12, 1968	339
Document No. 79: Cables between Moscow and East Berlin Regarding the Approaching Czechoslovak–East German Meeting in Karlovy Vary, August 10–11, 1968	341
Document No. 80: CPSU CC Politburo Message to Alexander Dubček, August 13, 1968	343
Document No. 81: Transcript of Leonid Brezhnev's Telephone Conversation with Alexander Dubček, August 13, 1968	345
Document No. 82: The CPSU Politburo's Instructions to Ambassador Chervonenko for Meetings with Czechoslovak Leaders, August 13, 1968	357
Document No. 83: János Kádár's Report on Soviet–Hungarian Talks at Yalta, August 12–15, 1968	360
Document No. 84: Reports on Warsaw Pact Military Communications Exercises and Marshal Grechko's Inspection Tours, August 9–16, 1968	363
Document No. 85: Letter from Leonid Brezhnev to Alexander Dubček, and Dubček's Notes, Regarding the CPCz's Purported Failure to Carry Out Pledges Made at Čierna and Bratislava, August 16, 1968	366
Document No. 86: Summary of Alexander Dubček's Meeting with János Kádár at Komárno, August 17, 1968	370
Document No. 87: General Semyon Zolotov's Account of the Final Military Preparations for the Invasion	373
Document No. 88: The Soviet Politburo's Resolution on the Final Decision to Intervene in Czechoslovakia, August 17, 1968, with Attachments	376
Document No. 89: Draft "Letter of Warning" from the CPSU CC Politburo to the CPCz CC Presidium, August 17, 1968	384
Document No. 90: Cable Traffic between the CPSU Politburo and Ambassador Stepan Chervonenko Amending the Text and Delivery Time of the "Letter of Warning," August 17–18, 1968	388
Document No. 91: Ambassador Stepan Chervonenko's Report on His Meeting with Czechoslovak President Ludvík Svoboda, August 17, 1968	391
Document No. 92: Leonid Brezhnev's Speech at a Meeting of the "Warsaw Five" in Moscow, August 18, 1968 (Excerpts)	395
Document No. 93: Cable from Ambassador Stepan Chervonenko to the Kremlin on His Meeting with Alexander Dubček and Oldřich Černík, August 19, 1968	400
Document No. 94: Message from the CPSU CC Politburo to Members of the CPSU CC and Other Top Party Officials Regarding the Decision to Intervene in Czechoslovakia, August 19, 1968	401

in Eastern Europe Transmitting the Joint Text of an Appeal to the Czechoslovak People's Army, August 19, 1968	403
Document No. 96: Cable to Ambassador Stepan Chervonenko from Moscow with a Message for President Svoboda, August 19, 1968, and Chervonenko's Response, August 21, 1968	405
Document No. 97: Emergency Cable from the CPSU Politburo to Soviet Ambassadors around the World, August 19–20, 1968	409
Document No. 98: Invasion Warning from Czechoslovak Ambassador to Hungary Jozef Púčik, August 20, 1968	410
Document No. 99: Report by Defense Minister Dzúr, June 9, 1970, Regarding His Activities on the Night of August 20–21, 1968 (Excerpts)	411
Document No. 100: Statement by the CPCz CC Presidium Condemning the Warsaw Pact Invasion, August 21, 1968	414
Document No. 101: Report by a Czechoslovak State Security (StB) Official on the Arrest of Dubček and Other Members of the CPCz CC Presidium, August 21, 1968	416
Document No. 102: The Arrest of the CPCz CC Presidium Members, as Recalled by Josef Smrkovský's Personal Secretary H. Maxa	418
Document No. 103: Alexander Dubček's Recollections of the Invasion and Its Immediate Aftermath	420
Document No. 104: Oldřich Černík's Recollections of the Crisis (Excerpts)	424
Document No. 105: János Kádár's Recollections of Events Preceding and Following the Invasion	427
Document No. 106: The Invasion in Retrospect: The Recollections of General Ivan Pavlovskii	431
Document No. 107: The Invasion in Retrospect: The Recollections of Kirill Mazurov	433
PART SIX	
THE AFTERMATH	
Introduction	437
Document No. 108: Directive from the Commanders of the Southern Group of Soviet Forces Regarding Efforts to Disarm the Czechoslovak People's Army, August 1968	443
Document No. 109: Minutes of the U.S. National Security Council Meeting on the Soviet Invasion of Czechoslovakia, August 20, 1968	445
Document No. 110 : Cable from Czechoslovak Ambassador to Washington Karel Duda, to Prague, August 21, 1968	449
Document No. 111: Occupation Order from the Soviet Commander in Trenčín, August 21, 1968	450

Politburo, August 21, 1968	452
Document No. 113: Moscow CPSU Committee's Assessment of Local Citizens' Initial Reactions to the Invasion, August 21–22, 1968 (Excerpts)	453
Document No. 114: <i>Pravda</i> Editorial Justifying the Invasion, August 22, 1968 (Excerpts)	456
Document No. 115: Discussions Involving Certain Members of the CPCz CC Presidium and Secretariat, at the Soviet Embassy in Prague and the ČSSR President's Office, August 22, 1968 (Excerpts)	460
Document No. 116: Stenographic Account of Alexander Dubček's Talks with Leonid Brezhnev and Other Members of the CPSU CC Politburo, August 23, 1968 (Excerpts)	465
Document No. 117: Minutes of Soviet-Czechoslovak Talks in the Kremlin, August 23 and 26, 1968 (Excerpts)	469
Document No. 118: Minutes of the First Post-Invasion Meeting of the "Warsaw Five" in Moscow, August 24, 1968	474
Document No. 119: The Moscow Protocol, August 26, 1968	477
Document No. 120: Alexander Dubček's Recollections of the Moscow Negotiations and the Moscow Protocol	481
Document No. 121: Testimony by the Chief of the CzPA General Staff and the Head of the CzPA's Main Political Directorate at a Meeting of the Presidium of the National Assembly, August 26, 1968 (Excerpts)	484
Document No. 122: Speech by Gustáv Husák at the Extraordinary 14th Congress of the Slovak Communist Party, August 28, 1968 (Excerpts)	487
Document No. 123: Josef Smrkovský's Address to the People after His Return from Moscow, August 29, 1968 (Excerpts)	489
Document No. 124: Situation Report by the U.S. State Department, August 29, 1968	490
Document No. 125: Summary Notes of the 590th Meeting of the National Security Council, September 4, 1968 (Excerpts)	492
Document No. 126: Recommendations from the CPSU CC Propaganda Department on Efforts to Establish Political Control in Czechoslovakia, September 6, 1968 (Excerpts)	497
Document No. 127: CPCz Central Committee Notes on Problems Stemming from the Presence of Warsaw Pact Forces in Czechoslovakia, September 1968	498
Document No. 128: Unofficial Enunciation of the "Brezhnev Doctrine," September 26, 1968 (Excerpts)	502
Document No. 129: Stenographic Account of the Meeting of the "Warsaw Five" in Moscow, September 27, 1968 (Excerpts)	504
Document No. 130: KGB Report on the "Counterrevolutionary Underground" in Czechoslovakia, October 13, 1968 (Excerpts)	513

Document No. 131: Stenographic Account of Soviet–Czechoslovak Negotiations in Moscow, October 3–4, 1968 (Excerpts)	526
Document No. 132: CIA Intelligence Information Cable, "Comments on the Growth of Disunity within Czech Leadership and Other Aspects of the Current Status of the Soviet Occupation of Czechoslovakia," October 11, 1968	530
Document No. 133: Bilateral Treaty on the "Temporary Presence of Soviet Forces on Czechoslovak Territory," October 16, 1968	533
Document No. 134: The CPCz Leadership's Assessment of the Treaty on Soviet Troop Deployments, October 1968	537
Document No. 135: The Soviet Politburo's Assessment of the Lessons of Operation "Danube" and the Tasks: Ahead, November 16, 1968	547
Document No. 136: Minutes of the Soviet–Czechoslovak Negotiations in Kiev, 7–8 December 1968 (Excerpts)	555
Document No. 137: Vasil Bil'ak's Recollections of Preparations for the April 1969 CPCz CC Plenum, and the Removal of Alexander Dubček	.561
Document No. 138: Talks between ČSSR Defense Minister Dzűr and Soviet Defense Minister Grechko, April' 1, 1969	564
PART SEVEN	
DOCUMENTARY EPILOGUE	
Document No. 139: Vadim Medvedev's Account of the Legacy of the 1968 Crisis in the Age of <i>Perestroika</i>	5.71
Document No. 140: Soviet and Warsaw Pact Apologies to Czechoslovakia, December 1989	576
Main Actors	577
Selected Organizations	581
Bibliography	583
Index of Names	591

Jsem rád, že ze spolupráce National Security Archive ve Washingtonu a české nadace Pražské jaro 1968 vzešel tento obsáhlý sborník dokumentů, který, doufám, přiblíží americkému čtenáři dramatické události, které před třemi desítkami let tehdejší Československo prožívalo.*

Vaclar Havel

^{*} I am happy that the cooperation between the National Security Archive in Washington and the Czech foundation, Prague Spring 1968, has resulted in this voluminous collection of documents, which, I hope, will lead American readers to a closer understanding of the dramatic events that the then Czechoslovakia lived through three decades ago.