

# Contents

<b>WORD OF INTRODUCTION</b> <i>Juraj Liška, Minister of Defence of the Slovak Republic</i> .....	9
<b>A SHORT HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION</b> <i>Major General (ret.) Hartmut Foertsch</i> .....	11
<b>PART I – CZECHOSLOVAKIA</b>	
<i>Major General (ret.) Ing. Svetozár Nadovič</i>	
About the Author .....	24
Introductory Word <i>Václav Havel, former President of the ČSFR</i> .....	25
<b>CHAPTER 1</b> .....	26
The Commander behind the Horizon	
The “Brethren” Alighted from the Clouds	
The Raped Diplomacy	
Historical Fact and Situation	
Where Wise Words are not enough, Arms Begin to Speak	
The West Kept “Honest” Silence	
My August 1968	
View of a Military Analyst	
<b>CHAPTER 2</b> .....	42
The Minister on the Line	
The Post of the Chief of ESW	
<b>CHAPTER 3</b> .....	46
The First Stage of Withdrawal	
Anti-Soviet Moods	
The Authority of Václav Havel and Alexander Dubček	
Emotional Explosions	
The Fourth Estate – a Great Help	
“Just So They Are Away”	
Pictures of Disaster	
“Black” Buildings for Sale	
The August Toll – 277 Czech and Slovak Casualties	
The Parliamentary Commission	
Nuclear Weapons	
A “Cipher” to Moscow	
The Mirror of Statistics	
<b>CHAPTER 4</b> .....	59
The Second Stage of the Withdrawal	
Hungarian, German and Polish Visitors	
Free Slovakia	
Facts and Numbers about the Second Stage	
<b>CHAPTER 5</b> .....	68
The Third Stage of the Withdrawal	
“Good-bye, Czechoslovakia”	
“The Greatest Ammunition Warehouse in Europe”	

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

<b>CHAPTER 6</b> .....	<b>76</b>
Political Deliberations about the Departure of the Intervention Troops	
<i>Immediate Negotiations after 21st August 1968</i>	
<i>Discussions at the National Assembly</i>	
<i>Negotiations during the Times of Disengagement (Perestroika)</i>	
<i>Negotiations after November 1989</i>	
<i>Preparations of Deliberations at the Government of the National Understanding</i>	
<i>First Round of Negotiations ČSSR – USSR, January 1990, Prague</i>	
<i>Second Round of Negotiations, February 1990, Moscow</i>	
<i>Third Round of Negotiations, February 1990</i>	
<i>The Agreement about the Withdrawal</i>	
<i>Solving of Property-juristic and Financial Problems after the Withdrawal</i>	
<b>DOCUMENTATION APPENDICES</b> .....	<b>87</b>
Chronology of the Withdrawal	
Survey of the Displaced Troops and Equipment	
Survey of the Displaced Technical Material	
Survey of the Displaced Rear Material	
Organizational Structure of Solving the Withdrawal of Soviet Troops from the ČSFR during the Period February 1990 – August 1991	
Deployment of the Soviet troops in Czechoslovakia during the years 1968 – 1989	
Text of the Agreement between the Government of ČSSR and the Government of the USSR from 27. 2. 1990 in Prague	
Media about the Ending of the Withdrawal and Protocol about the Ending of the Withdrawal	
<b>ABBREVIATIONS</b> .....	<b>97</b>
<b>LITERATURE</b> .....	<b>97</b>
<b>SOURCES</b> .....	<b>98</b>
<b>AUTHOR'S REMARKS</b> .....	<b>98</b>
<b>PICTURE APPENDICES</b> .....	<b>99</b>

## PART II – GERMANY

*Major General (ret.) Hartmut Foertsch*

About the Author .....	<b>116</b>
Introductory Word <i>Volker Rühle, former Minister of Defence of the FRG</i> .....	<b>117</b>
<b>INTRODUCTION</b> .....	<b>119</b>
<b>CHAPTER 1 – The Preparation Phase 1989 – 1990</b> .....	<b>121</b>
Consideration about Contract Negotiations	
Results of the Negotiations in the New Political Environment	
Dates and Facts on the Withdrawal	
Contractual Bases in the GDR	
Existing Structures of Organization	
<b>CHAPTER 2 – Liaison</b> .....	<b>135</b>
The German Liaison Detachment Soviet Forces in Germany	
Liaison to the Western Group of Forces	
Beginnings of the Co-operation	
<b>CHAPTER 3 – The Withdrawal from 1990 to 1994</b> .....	<b>139</b>
New Conditions for the Stay of the Soviet Forces	
The Withdrawal	
Training	

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

## PART III – HUNGARY

Major General (ret.) Imre Karácsony

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

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

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

## PART IV – POLAND

Major General (ret.) Zdzisław Ostrowski

(in cooperation with Mariusz Lesław Krogulski and Cezariusz Skuza)

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

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