

## **Treaty on Stationing of Soviet Forces in Czechoslovakia. - Internal Developments. - Dr Hajek resigns from Foreign Ministry. -Anti-Russian Demonstrations in Prague and Bratislava. - Meeting of Communist Party Central Committee. Mr Brezhnev on Soviet Invasion of Czechoslovakia.**

Developments in Czechoslovakia since mid-September, and in relations between that country and the Soviet Union during the same period, are described below in continuation of 22909 A.

### **Moscow Talks between Soviet and Czechoslovak Leaders. - Joint Communiqué.**

**Talks between leaders of the Soviet and Czechoslovak Governments were held in Moscow on Oct. 3–4** in which the Soviet Union was represented by Mr Brezhnev, Mr. Kosygin, and President Podgorny, while Czechoslovakia was represented by Mr. Dubcek (First Secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia), Mr. Cernik (the Prime Minister), and Dr. Gustav Husak (First Secretary of the Slovak Communist Party). A communiqué said *inter alia* that the **U.S.S.R. and Czechoslovakia would “consider and sign a treaty on the temporary stationing of allied forces in Czechoslovakia” and that “the withdrawal of other allied forces will be carried out in stages.”**

The communiqué contained the following principal points:

- (1) Special attention had been given to “the implementation of the agreements and undertakings drafted in Moscow on Aug. 23–26” [see pages 22911-12]. It was “reiterated that these undertakings were the basis for achieving the normalization of socio-political life in Czechoslovakia and for developing Czechoslovakia's friendly relations with the Soviet Union and other countries of the Socialist community.”
- (2) The Czechoslovak delegation had informed the Soviet side of “the concrete measures being carried out in Czechoslovakia to implement the aforesaid agreement, and also about its views and further work in this direction.”
- (3) The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the Czechoslovak Government would “step up efforts to enhance the leading role of the Communist Party, intensify the struggle against the anti-Socialist forces, take the necessary measures to place all the mass information media at the service of Socialism, and reinforce the party and State organs with men firmly adhering to positions of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.”

(4) The Soviet delegation reaffirmed “its readiness to give the Czechoslovak comrades every assistance in the implementation of their plans directed at normalizing the situation and in the party’ in the spirit of the Moscow Agreement.”

(5) “The question of the presence of allied forces on the territory of Czechoslovakia was discussed.... The two sides agreed that the Governments would consider and sign a treaty on the temporary stationing of allied forces in Czechoslovakia. In accordance with the documents of the Aug. 23–26 talks in Moscow, the withdrawal of other allied forces will be carried out in stages.”

(6) The two sides pledged themselves “unswervingly” to follow a course “in the interests of strengthening the Socialist community and of successful struggle against the policy of the imperialist Powers.”

The communiqué said that the talks had taken place “in a spirit of comradeship, businesslike co-operation, and frankness.”

### **Signing of Treaty on Stationing of Soviet Troops in Czechoslovakia. - Ratification in Moscow and Prague.**

**A further visit was paid to Moscow on Oct. 14–15 by Mr. Cernik and a Czechoslovak Government delegation to discuss the provisions of the treaty for the stationing of Soviet troops in Czechoslovakia,** referred to in the communiqué issued after the earlier talks.

Accompanying Mr. Cernik on his latest visit to Moscow were Mr Frantisek Hamouz and Mr Peter Colotka (both Deputy Premiers), Dr. Bohumil Kucera (Minister of Justice), and other Czechoslovak Ministers and party officials. The participants on the Soviet side were Mr. Kosygin, Mr. Kirill Mazurov (First Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers), Mr Gromyko (Foreign Minister), and Marshal Grechko (Minister of Defence).

**The treaty was signed in Prague on Oct. 16** by Mr. Cernik and Mr. Kosygin, who was accompanied by Mr Gromyko and Marshal Grechko and who, it was officially stated, had been invited to Prague by the Czechoslovak Government to sign the treaty. It was ratified in Moscow on Oct. 18 by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.; approved the same day by the Czechoslovak National Assembly and ratified by President Svoboda; and came into immediate effect.

Speaking at the signing ceremony in Prague on Oct. 16, Mr. Kosygin said that the “temporary” stay of Soviet troops in Czechoslovakia under the treaty’ was meant to “create solid guarantees of Czechoslovakia’s security and of its socialist gains, land] to safeguard reliably the interests of the whole Socialist community from encroachments by the forces of imperialism and reaction.” He added that the treaty was “dictated by the concern of the Socialist countries for the strengthening of peace and security. in Europe, where the peaceful life of the people is threatened by the mounting revanchist aspirations of the West German militarists and the intensification of war preparations by the aggressive NATO bloc.”

The Czechoslovak National Assembly ratified the treaty on Oct. 18 by 228 votes to four, with 10 abstentions, after hearing a 50-minute speech by Mr. Cernik. Of the Assembly's total membership of 300 deputies, 58 did not attend the session.

Urging the Assembly to ratify the treaty, Mr. Cernik said it represented part of the “new reality” which Czechoslovakia had had to face since Aug. 21 [the date of the Soviet and Warsaw Pact invasion]. He laid emphasis on Czechoslovakia's membership of the community of Socialist nations; said that the country could not remain an “isolated island separated from the outside world”; and pointed out that **only Soviet troops—who, he urged, should be regarded as “allies”—would remain in Czechoslovakia under the treaty. Apart from those Soviet troops remaining in the country, all others—including those of the other Warsaw Pact countries—would leave Czechoslovakia “gradually, within two months from the ratification of the treaty.”** Mr. Cernik also pointed out that the Soviet units remaining in Czechoslovakia would be deployed in specifically defined areas; that they would not interfere in Czechoslovak internal affairs and would respect Czechoslovak law; and that the protection of Czechoslovakia's borders would remain the responsibility of the Czechoslovak armed forces.

**The treaty meant that the Soviet Union, for the first time since 1945, had the right to station troops in Czechoslovakia, as Soviet troops were already stationed in Poland, Hungary, and East Germany.** No details were made public as to the number of Soviet troops who would remain in Czechoslovakia, but press reports from Prague mentioned a figure of about 100,000—about one-fifth of the original Soviet invasion force. All other Soviet troops will be withdrawn from the country, as well as all Polish, Hungarian, Bulgarian, and East German troops.

### **Provisions of Soviet-Czechoslovak Treaty.**

The provisions of the treaty on the “temporary” stationing of Soviet troops in Czechoslovakia, consisting of 15 Articles, were published after the treaty's ratification and are summarized below.

**Article 1.** “The Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics... and the Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic have agreed that part of the Soviet troops staying in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic will remain temporarily on the territory of the C.S.R. in order to ensure the security of the countries of the Socialist community against the increasing revanchist strivings of the West German militarist forces.

“The rest of the troops of the U.S.S.R., as well as the troops of Bulgaria, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, and Poland, will be withdrawn from Czechoslovak territory in accordance with the documents of the Moscow talks of Aug. 23—26 and Oct. 3—4, 1968. The withdrawal of these troops shall begin after the ratification of this treaty by both sides and will be carried out by stages within two months.

“The number of and places of deployment of Soviet troops remaining temporarily on the territory of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic will be determined by agreement between the Governments of the U.S.S.R. and the C.S.R.

“The Soviet troops temporarily staying on the territory of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic shall remain subordinated to the Soviet Military Command.”

**Article 2.** (i) “The temporary presence of Soviet troops on the territory of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic does not violate its sovereignty. Soviet troops will not interfere in the internal affairs of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.

(ii) “Soviet troops, their personnel, and members of their families staying on the territory of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic shall observe the legislation operating in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.”

**Article 3** provided that the U.S.S.R. would pay the cost of maintenance of Soviet troops to be retained in Czechoslovakia; and that the Czechoslovak Government would provide the Soviet troops with barrack accommodation, housing in garrison settlements, airfields, and State-owned means of communication and transport, electric power, and other services.

**Article 4** laid down the procedure for the passage of Soviet troops and their property to the places of deployment in Czechoslovakia.

**Article 5** provided that Soviet troops deployed in Czechoslovakia, persons serving with the Soviet forces in Czechoslovakia, and members of their families would be able to cross into the territory of the C.S.R. without customs and border inspection.

**Article 6** laid down *inter alia* that the Czechoslovak authorities would deliver agreed quantities of foodstuffs and other commodities, including fuel, coal, coke, and firewood, for the Soviet troops in Czechoslovakia, for which the Soviet authorities would make payment in Czechoslovak currency.

**Article 7** stated that the Czechoslovak Government would give the Soviet Government “the necessary sums in Czechoslovak crowns for expenses connected with the temporary stay of Soviet troops on Czechoslovak territory.” The amount of these sums would be fixed by agreement between the two contracting parties.

**Article 8** laid down the procedure for payment for the services mentioned in Article 3 as well as of the sums in Czechoslovak crowns mentioned in Article 7.

**Article 9** regulated questions of jurisdiction connected with the “temporary presence” of Soviet troops in Czechoslovakia, as follows:

(i) In cases of crimes and offences committed on Czechoslovak territory by persons serving with the Soviet forces, or members of their families, Czechoslovak legislation would apply and the cases would be handled by the Czechoslovak courts. Crimes committed by Soviet servicemen would be dealt with by the Czechoslovak military-judicial bodies.

(ii) Should such crimes and misdemeanours be committed against the Soviet Union only, Soviet courts would have responsibility.

(iii) In the case of punishable actions committed against Soviet troops stationed in Czechoslovakia, or persons serving with them, the persons guilty of such actions would bear the same responsibility as for punishable actions committed against the Czechoslovak armed forces or persons serving with them.

**Articles 10, 11, and 12** laid down rules and procedures for the payment of damage that might be caused to the property of either side.

**Article 13** provided that both sides would appoint representatives to “regulate current questions connected with the temporary stay of Soviet troops in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.”

**Article 14** contained definitions of “persons serving with the Soviet troops” and of “members of the families of persons serving with the Soviet troops.”

**Article 15** stated (a) that the treaty would come into force after its ratification by both sides and would remain in operation “during the temporary stay of Soviet troops” in Czechoslovakia; (b) that the treaty might be amended with the consent of the two contracting parties.

The treaty was drawn up in the Russian and Czech languages, the two texts having equal authenticity.

### **Resignation of Dr. Hajek. - Professor Sik enters Switzerland. - Dismissal of Heads of National Radio and Television.**

It was announced in Prague on Sept. 19 that President Svoboda had accepted the resignation of Dr. Jiri Hajek, the Czechoslovak Foreign Minister, and that Mr. Cernik would take over the portfolio of Foreign Affairs concurrently with the Premiership. As stated in previous articles, Dr. Hajek was on holiday in Yugoslavia at the time of the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia; he put his Government's case to the U.N. security Council on Aug. 24 when that body was debating the Czechoslovak crisis [see page 22971], subsequently returning to Prague.

One of the leading “liberals” in the Czechoslovak Government, Dr. Hajek had been the subject of bitter attacks in the Soviet Press, including the false accusation that he collaborated with the Gestapo during the wartime occupation of Czechoslovakia [Dr. Hajek was in fact arrested by the Gestapo in 1940 and sentenced to 12 years' imprisonment.] It was stated in Moscow on Sept. 19 that Mr. Vasily Kuznetsov, the Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister, had apologized to Czechoslovak governmental and parliamentary leaders for the false allegation against Dr. Hajek, which was said to have been due to “mis-information.”

An official Swiss announcement on Oct. 16 said that Professor eta Sik, architect of Czechoslovakia's economic reforms and a Deputy Prime Minister before the invasion, had entered Switzerland with his family and had requested to be allowed to remain in the country. Like Dr. Hajek, he was a leading “liberal” in the Czechoslovak Communist Party, had been violently attacked in the Soviet Press, and was also in Yugoslavia at the time of the invasion. Unlike Dr. Hajek, he had not returned to Prague, and on Sept. 18 it had been reported that he had been appointed special economic adviser at the Czechoslovak Embassy in Belgrade.

The dismissal of the heads of the national radio and television services, respectively Mr. Zdenek Hejzlar and Mr. Jiri Pelikan, was reported from Prague on Sept. 25; both were of liberal tendencies and both were believed to have played a key role in the clandestine broadcasts during the early days of the Russian invasion. Their successors were announced on Nov. 13 as Mr. Miroslav Karny (radio) and Mr. Jan Fojtik (television).

The supersession of Mr. Pelikan and Mr. Hejzlar was regarded as a concession to the Soviet Union, in view of the latter's insistence on stricter control of the mass information media in Czechoslovakia. Also regarded as concessions to the Soviet viewpoint were the closing of the weekly political magazines *Politika* and *Reporter*, both of which had been strongly criticized in the Soviet Press; the expulsion from Czechoslovakia on Nov. 11 of seven Western newsmen (six West German photographers and cameramen and an American news agency correspondent); and the reimposition from Nov. 15 of travel restrictions reminiscent of those of the Novotny era. Under these restrictions visas valid for all countries in the world were abolished, visits abroad by Czechoslovak citizens were limited to one month, and travellers were required to produce evidence that they had their own foreign currency resources to go abroad.

### **Renewal of Anti-Russian Demonstrations.**

The first anti-Soviet demonstrations since September occurred in Prague on Oct. 28, on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the founding of the Czechoslovak Republic. Thousands of demonstrators, nearly all young people and including many students, joined in marches to Hradcany Castle and other centres, including Wenceslas Square, chanting slogans such as "Russians go home," "Brezhnev equals Hitler," and "Tito yes, Brezhnev no," and cheering President Svoboda, Mr. Dubcek, and the late President Masaryk, founder of Czechoslovakia. About 1,000 demonstrators staged a sit-down outside the Soviet Embassy. No incidents occurred, the Russians remained out of sight except for occasional jeep and helicopter patrols, and the demonstrators eventually dispersed after singing the Czechoslovak National Anthem and observing one minute's silence for those who died during the Soviet invasion. The Ministry of the Interior said that 85 young people had been arrested during the day, all being subsequently released.

On the previous day (Oct. 27) hitherto unprecedented tributes by the Communist Government were paid to the memory of the first two Presidents of Czechoslovakia, Thomas G. Masaryk and Eduard Benes, when floral wreaths were placed in the name of President Svoboda on the grave of Masaryk at the village of Lany, near Prague, and on the grave of Benes at Sezimovo Usti (Bohemia). The National Anthem was played by Army bands at both ceremonies. Since the Communist coup in 1948, and until the liberal-oriented regime came to power in January 1948, Presidents Masaryk and Benes had been ignored in the Press and in historical works generally; while since the Russian invasion in August the Soviet Press had attacked both Dr. Masaryk and Dr. Benes as "bourgeois nationalists" and "enemies of the people."

A further anti-Soviet demonstration broke out on Nov. 6 in Bratislava when some thousands of students demonstrated on the 51st anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution; Soviet flags were kicked about the streets and then publicly burned amid the cheers of the bystanders. On the following day similar anti-Russian demonstrations marked by the burning of Soviet flags took

place in Prague, where some 3,000 students and workers gathered round the statue of “Good King Wenceslas” and lighted candles in memory of the victims of the Soviet invasion; earlier, young workers had burned a large Soviet flag and trampled another underfoot after tearing it down from a flagstaff. The Interior Ministry’ announced on Nov. 8 that 167 people had been arrested during the demonstrations in Prague and in other cities; most were subsequently released but some, it was stated, would be put on trial for “criminal activities.”

Clashes occurred in Prague on Nov. 10 between anti-Russian and pro-Russian groups after a meeting of the Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship Society which had been celebrating the 51st anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution and had been addressed by Mr. Vaclav David, Foreign Minister under ex-President Novotny and a “hard-line” Communist. Fist-fighting broke out as the audience were leaving the meeting, punches being exchanged and umbrellas wielded; the anti-Russian demonstrators were almost all young people, while the pro-Russians were nearly all middle-aged or elderly. **No Soviet troops appeared during the anti-Russian demonstrations in Prague and Bratislava.**

### **Plenary Session of Communist Party Central Committee. - Slowing-down of Liberalization Policy. - Protest Strike by Students.**

The Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party met in plenary session from Nov. 14—17. Few details of the proceedings were released, but it was announced that an eight-man executive committee—apparently an “inner Cabinet” within the Presidium—had been created which would be responsible for the “collective evaluation of urgent political problems” and would co-ordinate the “procedure and work of Communists in party, State, and social organs.” The membership of this body—which, it was stated, would be of a temporary character—was announced as: Mr. Cernik, Mr. Dubcek, President Svoboda, Mr. Evzen Erban (chairman of the National Front), Dr. Gustav Husak (the Slovak Communist leader), Mr. Stefan Sadovsky (a member of the Presidium), Mr. Josef Smrkovsky (president of the National Assembly), and Dr. Lubomir Strougal (a Deputy Premier). It was also announced that Mr. Zdenek Mlynar, one of the leading “liberals” in the Presidium, had resigned from that body and had been replaced by Dr. Strougal, who was not previously a member of the Presidium.

The resignation of Mr. Mlynar, and the appointment of Dr. Strougal both to the new inner-party committee and to the Presidium, was regarded by commentators as indicative of a move towards the right in the ruling circles of the party. Dr. Strougal was Minister of the Interior under ex-President Novotny from 1961 to 1965, and also held the Agriculture portfolio during the Novotny era.

In his opening speech to the plenary session Mr. Dubcek criticized the actions of “anti-Socialist forces” since the post-January reforms, but at the same time gave an assurance that—in conformity with the post-January programme—fundamental rights and civil liberties would be upheld, “Socialist legality” respected, and persons unjustly accused and persecuted in the past rehabilitated. In his closing’ speech he said that the party would “further develop the basic positive aspects” of the post-January policy “cleansed of the mistakes and deficiencies which occurred in that period.” He also said that a fight had to be waged against “anti-Socialist and

other extreme forces” and that the country had to solve “the problems of current political life and suppress its negative aspects “—a phrase on which he did not elaborate.

The resolution adopted by the plenary session, published on Nov. 18, blamed right-wing and “opportunistic” forces for failures in policy which had led to the August invasion by Warsaw Pact troops; the Czechoslovak Press was criticized for having stirred up” anti-Socialist and liberalistic” tendencies after the post-January reforms. Czechoslovakia's difficulties were also attributed to bureaucratization and to an undue concentration of power in the hands of Mr. Novotny, the former President. No mention was made of freedom of the Press, travel, and assembly promised in the April “Action Programme,” but, on the contrary, it was emphasized that the mass media (Press, radio, and television) were primarily instruments for carrying out the policy of the Communist Party and the State; in this connexion it was stressed that the “most important reinforcement of the political system” was the “strengthening of the leading role of the party.” The resolution stated, however, that Czechoslovakia would be converted into a Federal State, as foreshadowed in the “Action Programme” and that would be no return to the pre-January Stalinist methods.

On the same day (Nov. 18) about 60,000 students throughout Bohemia and Moravia began a three-day sit-in strike to demonstrate—in the words of the Prague correspondent of *The Times*—their “opposition to the way in which the reform policies inaugurated by the Dubcek regime earlier this year are being slowly eroded under pressure from the Russians and conservative forces within the Czechoslovak leadership.”

The Union of University Students in Bohemia and Moravia submitted a list of 10 demands to the Communist Party Central Committee which, it said, must be met if the party wished to retain popular confidence. They were: (1) the Action Programme adopted in April must remain the foundation of the party's policy; (2) no return to “Cabinet policy”, and the renewal of the “two-way flow of information between the citizens and the leadership”; (3) censorship of mass media to be of a temporary character and to be abolished within six months; (4) restoration of the right of assembly; (5) guarantees of freedom of scientific research and of cultural and literary expression; (6) the personal security of every citizen to be ensured by law: (7) those persons who had “lost the confidence of the people” and “failed to clarify their stand-point” not to be allowed to remain in important posts [this as believed to be directed against prominent pro-Moscow Communist leaders such as Mr. Bllak and Mr. India]; (8) establishment of self-managing workers’ councils in industrial establishments, as promised in the Action Programme: (9) individuals to be free to leave the country if they wished; (10) in foreign policy, no action to be taken which violated the feelings of the Czechoslovak people, the U.N. Charter, and the Declaration of Human Rights.

The student demands were supported by about 1,000 Prague journalists who met on the same day to discuss the situation.

### **Mr. Brezhnev on the Soviet Invasion of Czechoslovakia.**

Mr. Brezhnev, First Secretary of the Soviet Communist Party, described the invasion of Czechoslovakia as an “extraordinary step dictated by necessity” **in a speech in Warsaw on Nov.**



**12 to the fifth congress of the Polish Communist Party. Mentioning Czechoslovakia only once by name in his speech, when he referred to the “recent activation of forces hostile to Socialism in Czechoslovakia,”** Mr. Brezhnev insisted that Communist countries stood for” strict respect “for sovereignty. “But,” he declared, “when internal and external forces that are hostile to Socialism try to turn the development of some Socialist country towards the restoration of a capitalist regime, when Socialism in that country and the Socialist community as a whole is threatened, it becomes not only a problem of the people of the country concerned, but a common problem and concern of all Socialist countries. Naturally an action such as military assistance to a fraternal country designed to avert the threat to the social system is an extraordinary step, dictated by necessity.” Such a step, he added, “may be taken only in case of direct actions of the enemies of Socialism within a country and outside it, actions threatening the common interests of the Socialist camp.”—(Le Monde - Neue Zürcher Zeitung - Times - Guardian - Daily Telegraph - New York Times - Soviet Embassy Press Department, London)(Prev. rep. Soviet Invasion of Czechoslovakia, 22909 A; World Reactions, 22993 A; Security Council Debate, 22967 A.)

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