

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 Gorabachev | |
| 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 | Tnava, 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 Biľak 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 |