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8/25/85

Translation

Vaclav Havel's letter to the Prosecutor General of the CSSR

Mr. General Prosecutor:

I consider it my duty to inform you about actions, taken against me by certain sections of the security police, because I am convinced that these actions were arbitrary and that there was no reason whatsoever for them to be taken; they were illegal and damaged at home and abroad the reputation of the Czechoslovak state apparatus.

Since the spring I have been planning - after so many years - a week's vacation trip around the CSSR; that I will visit places I do not know and visit some of my friends who live outside of Prague. I planned to take the trip with my friend, Jitka Vodnanska, and because of her time schedule, the trip was planned from August 9th to August 17, 1985. I have been talking openly about this trip and I corresponded about it with those of my friends whom I planned to visit. I surmised then, that the organs of the secret police were well informed about it which did not matter to me, since I had no reason to keep the trip a secret. (It may be that this conjecture on my part could be viewed as an expression of unfounded suspicion that the police is violating the secrecy of mail; this suspicion, however - after so many experiences in the past - was not unfounded, which, in this particular case, was confirmed by the fact, that homes of some of my friends, whom I planned to visit, were, the day I was supposed to be there, surrounded by the police; in other cases the local police were informed of my planned visit and were instructed to report immediately the arrival of my car. This police preparation could not have been based on anything else but on information obtained from my correspondence).

Four hours before our planned departure from Prague, a car, Tatra 613, arrived in front of our house. Three members of the security police, in civilian clothes, informed me that their task is to follow me on the territory of Prague, which they did. When we have with Jitka Vodnanska left Prague and started our trip, they stopped following us - but not until another car, Tatra 613, with other three members of the security police in civilian clothes took over the surveillance; they did not mask their "mission", they talked quite freely to me about it. Our first stop was the home of our friend Ladislav Lis in Peklo near Ceska Lipa. When we arrived there, the police from Ceska Lipa was there and took over our surveillance (another proof that the police was well informed of our trip). They walked behind us when we took a walk in the woods and later they stayed in front of the Lis house.

At about 8 p.m. the house was filled with a great number of members of the security police, who came to conduct a search of the house, whose goal was to find a document of Charter 77 concerning the 17th anniversary of the invasion of 1968. As law prescribes, they asked Ladislav Lis to hand over the document voluntarily. Lis replied that he does not have the document. They said that they will await further instructions. As was later ascertained, another group of members of the security police entered the home of Jiri Dienstbier, Charter 77 spokesman, with the same request. Dienstbier gave them the requested document and there was no reason to conduct a house search. Despite that, a search was conducted by the police.

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knew very well where we were going. However, they did ask for an I.D. from several people whom we gave a lift and at one stop they checked our car for safety and looked at all our documents and looked through our luggage.

On August 15, 1985, when we arrived in Olomouc, where more police became engaged in our surveillance, I decided to prevent or forestall other eventual complications (especially because we were nearing the ticklish Czech-Slovak border) to write a letter, addressed to Col. Riha or another high officer of the security police in Prague, who is responsible for decision on actions concerning me personally. In my letter I referred to their assurances that there are some spheres in which it is possible to arrive at some agreement and I reminded them that they told me not to hesitate to call on them, should I find myself in some unclear situation (they even gave me their direct telephone number). Recalling their assurances, I tried to reach some type of an "agreement" (if it can be called that). I wrote in my letter that if they view my trip across CSSR with displeasure (if they view it as improper or suspicious or undesirable) and if they intend to follow it with further actions or if these actions should escalate (for example if they are going to subject me and other persons to new interrogations and house searches) that I am prepared, of my own free will, to end the trip and return home. However, if they are going to stick with surveillance only, that I will continue my trip (I am used to constant surveillance and if surveillance should be a barrier to my movement, I would not be able to move at all). I handed the letter over to those who were following me and they promised to forward it to Prague. I also asked the addressee in my letter for an answer through those, who were following me.

During the years I have been informed many times by interrogators, that the duty of the security police - in my case the STB - is to try to prevent criminal activity (however, it goes without saying, that their idea as to what constitutes criminal activity differs sharply from mine), to forestall confrontations, to warn, etc.etc. In view of this I considered my letter to the STB as a way of giving them a chance to warn me and as a signal, that I am ready, should a warning be given, to follow it. I also stressed that an eventual serious new confrontation - which I would like to prevent - would have a wide publicity (as was the case because of the confrontation in the home of Ladislav Lis), in which the authorities are not interested and neither am I (my "ambition" is not to enter into the subconscious mind of people as a man, who is being arrested every week.)

We continued our trip. I received no message, no warning and no hint which would in some way be an answer to my letter, which I then regarded as a quiet agreement of the police with the continuation of our trip - and as a sign that no serious complications will arise.

How mistaken I was !

On August 16th, 1985, around 8 p.m., we arrived in Bratislava and stopped at the home of my friend, Miroslav Kusy, where we wanted to stay overnight. We planned to end the trip the next day at my summer home in Vlčice near Trutnov. About 10 minutes after we entered the Kusy's home, the doorbell rang and the home was filled with members of the security police armed with authorization to search the house. I was again detained and taken to the Ministry of Interior in Bratislava where I was subjected to the same interrogation as/a week ago in Prague.
(I was)

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In the meantime we had dinner with our friends in Lis' house, while members of the security police were still waiting for further instructions. After a lengthy exchange of words, we at least made most of them leave the house and wait outside. Four remained inside the house and for three hours silently watched us. At about 11 p.m. more police entered the house and started to conduct a house search (which was unnecessary, since the police already had the document) At the same time I was detained and taken to Prague to the police station in Bartolomejska ulice, where I was subjected to a short interrogation. I was asked two questions: (1) what do I know about the Charter 77 document and (2) what was the goal of my vacation trip. I told them the truth, that I do not know anything about the document and that my trip was recreational and had nothing to do with my citizen's involvement, and, therefore, nothing with the August Charter 77 document. This document was not found in Lis's house or in my house, and there was no reason to connect our names with it - even if we thought that possession of such a document was something suspicious - nor to delay us. Despite that I was accused of being "under suspicion for preparation of a criminal offence of hooliganism"(!) and I was detained for 48 hours. As I later found out, Ladislav Lis and Jiri Dienstbier were also detained for the same number of hours.

This, first detention, had no substantiative reason and could not lead to any disclosure of new facts which would substantiate the charge against me and which would open new possibilities for a possible indictment. That was the reason why I was released after a 48 hour detention and any suspicion, held against me, expired.

On August 12, 1985 I returned to the Lis' house, where J. Vodnanska waited for me and where was my car. After a 2 day delay, senseless delay, we continued on our trip - without surveillance. I was under the impression - wrongly, as it turned out - that the police accepted my vacation trip and that it did not view it as "suspicious". We arrived, the same day, to the summer home of Vlasta Chramostova and Stanislav Milota in Prysek. We discovered, in the evening, that the house is under surveillance. A car, with civilian members of the security police was standing outside. In the morning I asked them, whether their task is to follow us or if we should expect further complications. I told them clearly, that if the police still regards my trip with suspicion and if it intends to disrupt it in various ways, if it intends to interrogate my friends because of our visit, if it intends to detain them or search their houses or homes - that I am prepared to end my trip prematurely and go to my summer home in the mountains, in Krkonose. I was assured by the police that I am free to continue my trip and that there will be no more complications. I will only be under surveillance.

That was also the case. We visited, during the next few days, several friends (we had to make changes in our original plan, because of the two days delay; however, it is worth mentioning that - as I found out later - the police had under surveillance the homes of these friends, whom we could not visit, because of the delay and because we had to take a different route in order to accomplish the trip) and some historical places. We were under surveillance constantly by members of the civilian security police, who had several cars at their disposal. In places, where we had to stay overnight, the police that followed us, transferred the surveillance to the local police until the next overnight stop. All of them talked with me and behaved quite correctly. When we lost our way, they told us which way to go - this again points to the fact that they

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It concerned the August document of Charter 77 and the reason for my trip across the CSSR. Again I became a subject of "suspicion" - this time, for change, "...for preparation of a criminal offence of incitement...". Even though my previous detention clearly indicated that I was - even from the point of view of the STB - under suspicion without a reason and even though the police (who had me under constant surveillance) did not find any new facts, which could make me a suspect again - I became, for the second time a suspect for the same reason I was a suspect before - namely, that my trip is in some way connected with Charter 77 and its August document. This time the suspicion was twice without reason, it was senseless. No document was found and it was obvious that my trip had no connection with it. If the police, despite all the evidence to the contrary, still felt that my trip was suspicious, it had plenty of time and many occasions to prevent my alleged "preparations for criminal offences" and warn me against such actions, as the police is, according to law, required to do. I could have been warned during my first detention or at any time during the trip across CSSR, while I was being constantly followed by the police and under its surveillance. I could have also been warned against taking the trip - or continuing the trip - in reply to my letter (which, by the way, was a great compromise on my part: knowing full well that I will not do anything during the trip that might be construed as a criminal act, I, in fact, asked the police whether it wants to warn me against continuing the trip; at the same time I let the police know that I was willing to abide by any eventual recommendation).

Despite all this, and despite the fact that I have explained all this during the first interrogation, during the first detention, I was again, as a suspect, detained. I was followed into detention by Miroslav Kusy, Tomas Petrivý (who was visiting the Kusys and was there when the police arrived) and by Jitka Vodnánska, who is not a Charter 77 signatory and she cannot, therefore, be under suspicion for any such allegations. House searches were conducted in the homes of Miroslav Kusy and Tomas Petrivý. Besides various documents concerning the European Peace Movement, exile and ethnic newspapers and books (including my book, which was thoroughly checked by the authorities - letters from prison -) which I always transport from Prague to my summer home and which the police confiscates regularly, the police took many other things, which normally are not being confiscated: 25 cassettes of tapes of publicly performing singers, bands (including the Pink Floyd group, John Lennon, etc.), container for these tapes, address book belonging to Jitka Vodnánska, paper and a map of the CSSR, showing our marking the roads over which we were travelling.

I protested my detention in Bratislava and I staged a hunger strike to give my protest more power.

When I was released from detention on the afternoon of August 18 1985, I was taken to my car which was in front of the Ministry of Interior. An elderly man came from the building (he did not introduce himself, it could have been a deputy Minister or a janitor) and authoritatively ordered me to leave Bratislava immediately (he did not even let me make a phone call) he also told me that I should not come back for the next 20 years and that I should relate the same message to my friends.

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While Jitka Vodnanska was the same morning (against her will, because she wanted to travel with me and had in my car all her things, including keys to her apartment) placed on a train and in the company of the security police travel to Prague, I was, in the afternoon, led out of Bratislava by a police escort (allegedly for 20 years) and then followed all the way to Prague, in Prague and then from Prague to my summer home in the country, where we arrived on August 19th, 1985.

Charter 77 has, from its founding, stressed (and I have said so and written about it many times) that it is a citizens' initiative, based on a right to petition, guaranteed by the Constitution and that all the persecution and criminalization of its work is in violation of the Constitution of the CSSR, International Covenants on Human Rights, many other laws, as well as with a healthy mind. Even had my trip across CSSR been in connection with Charter 77, it would not have been, in my view, a reason for any police actions against me. My trip - as has been ascertained through all that interrogation, all the searches and surveillance, had nothing to do with Charter 77. It was not regarded in that light even by those, who would like to view activities, connected with Charter 77 as criminal activities, and there was no reason at all for such police action, on such a scale. The consequences of my trip can be summarized in this way:

- (1) My trip, directly or indirectly, for various lengths of time, employed, according to my estimation, about 300 members of the security police (I am not even counting the expenses for gas, etc.) which cost the Czechoslovak government at least 100 times more than it cost me (for the trip)
- (2) The trip was spoiled for me a little bit, but not completely. I will certainly remember it longer than I would had it been an uneventful trip.
- (3) All the senseless actions, taken without any reason whatsoever with regard to August 21st, including my two detentions and the detention of five other persons, brought to the attention of the public, at home and abroad, the almost forgotten anniversary and the practice that the regime, brought to power with the assistance of the intervention of the Warsaw Pact countries, is using (against its citizens); these police actions have also brought to the attention of the public Charter 77 document (with which I became familiar after my return home from foreign broadcasts) and provided for the document a colorful addendum. The eyes of international public have, thanks to certain sections of the Ministry of Interior, focused on our country and in a way, which did not bring it any glory.
- (4) The fact that the police had so many easy opportunities to warn me about the trip and to dissuade me from it, did not use these opportunities, leaves me with an impression - for reasons about which I can only speculate - that someone was very interested in bringing attention to all these confrontations.

Your task is to watch over the implementation of laws in our country. I ask you, therefore, to examine what happened what I described here in the light of our laws, examine the authority of the security police and, above all, examine it with regard to wider political interests of the Czechoslovak state.

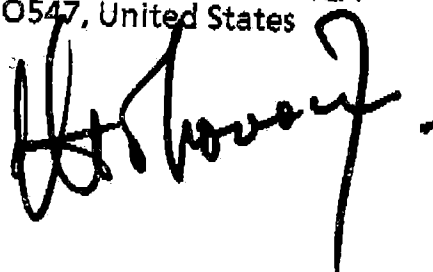
Vaclav Havel

August 25, 1985

TELEFAX COVER SHEET**VOICE OF AMERICA • CZECHOSLOVAK SERVICE****RETURN FAX, Washington (202) 475-6208**

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**COMMENTS:**

Enclosed are parts of "Havel elected President" program with English traslation of some of his interviews he has given over the years to the VOA-Czechoslovak. Also 2 pages from The New York Times magazine, Oct. 25, 1989 and a letter by V. Havel to the Prosecutor General of Czechoslovakia from 1985. Hope some information may be of use to you.

Number of pages (including cover sheet):

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VOA Program Dec 29/89

JUSTIFICATION: Havel elected President of Czechoslovakia, and Reaction

This broadcast was prepared on the day of the election to office of the first non-communist President since 1948. VOA-Czechoslovak polled over a dozen prominent Czechoslovak citizens about their reaction to the election. We chose the three statements that we feel are representative of the mood and atmosphere prevailing in Czechoslovakia. Included in this broadcast is a summary of President Havel's activity over the past fifteen years, including excerpts from several interviews Mr. Havel granted the VOA. In the last excerpt, Mr. Havel highly praised the VOA-Czechoslovak. Also included is a reading by one of the most famous Czech actors, Jan Triska, now residing and successfully pursuing his career in California, of Vaclav Havel's Erasmus Prize acceptance speech. ~~_____~~

~~_____~~
December 1989.

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Announcer:

In the next few minutes you will hear the reaction of several Czechoslovak citizens to the election of playwright Vaclav Havel to the office of the President of Czechoslovakia.

Voice:

My name is Jan Kacer, and I work as a director at the Na Vinohradech Theater in Prague. You ask me what the election of Vaclav Havel to the office of President of Czechoslovakia means to me. First of all, it means a great new hope, and also the logical conclusion to all the great work Vaclav Havel has done. First he worked on himself, examined the prevailing situation and conditions, then he made a profound study of all that was happening here. He studied the totalitarian system, the diminished humanity, he studied the lack of freedom. When he had had learned everything, he began to use his knowledge, made it a reality. And so, as far as I am concerned, there is no question about who should be President. Because the fact that all this happened in Czechoslovakia is actually Vaclav's work, it is inspired by him. And not just inspired, it is fulfilled, finished by him.

Voice:

I am Dana Nemcova, from Prague, and I am a psychologist. This year I am a speaker for Charter 77. I, of course, feel happy, am in a holiday mood. As I approached the Castle, I kept repeating to myself that psalm, the one that says, "When they brought forth the Babylonian captives, we felt as if we were dreaming." That's about how I felt during the entire ceremony, during the presidential vote. I believe that the election of Vaclav Havel to the presidency is a guarantee that in the future, or at least during the next six months, free elections will be guaranteed by law.

Voice:

Good evening. I'm Stanislav Sarsky, and I'm an actor of the State Theater in Ostrava. Well, today we've had an absolutely wonderful day, which will be entered not only in history books, but will forever remain in our hearts. Because I believe that we will once again, finally, rule in our own cause. Vaclav Havel has become the President of our country. Though we speak about it, we can't seem to be able to find the right words. That which seemed impossible a month ago is now reality. It is a victory of morality, ethics. And the truth has won out. As it says on the Presidential Seal. We will see what happens next. But I think everything will work out fine.

Announcer:

And now, let us go to Slovakia, to Bratislava. Journalist Ota Plavkova, who has only recently, and after 20 years of forced non-accreditation, regained her membership in the Journalists' Guild, spoke of the feelings and hopes of all generations of Czechs and Slovaks.

Voice:

I am simply--and humanly--happy. For my children, for my grandchildren. After 21 years of sadness, suffering, and lack of justice and gratefulness from the people,

I feel as if suddenly I had grown wings. Unfortunately, I am ill at this time, but even that is not very important now. Vaclav Havel as President of the country--that is a blessing for the generations that come after us. It means the awareness, the guarantee that those who come after us will never have to so desperately, to the death, fight such a hydra-headed totalitarianism as was created here by that monstrous communism. True education, and a free world, will be open to our children, they will not be lied to, their spines will be straight. Children, young people who will be free to learn without that ballast, phraseology that was sometimes more difficult to bear than was the fact that we were fired from our jobs. Though I do not like to use long words, I can find none other that will convey the same message: Mr. Vaclav Havel's character is clean, crystal clear. He is modest and wise and humane. He is the personification of all the best that is and has been--and surely will be--the Czech people. I, a Slovak, am happy and proud for all the world to see that he is my President, too. Mr. President, we Slovaks too will help you. Because all of us good people still have much to do to stand this fragile, commencing democracy on its feet and to strengthen it. Mr. President Havel, we thank you and wish you good health.

Announcer: *Live*
On the occasion of Vaclav Havel's election to the Czechoslovak Presidency, we will take a nostalgic look at some of the events that have occurred in his life. The program was prepared by Ludek Brezina.

Voice: *Live*
In Prague's Old Town Square, they are probably still celebrating Vaclav Havel's election to the Presidency. Two months ago, who would have dared to even imagine that Czechoslovakia's communist regime would crumble and that Gustav Husak, who had been placed in power by Soviet tanks, would be replaced at the Castle by Vaclav Havel, the first non-communist President since 1948. Therefore, something unimaginable has become reality. The events of the past few weeks may lead someone to the erroneous conclusion that everything had been easy, and that only a few days of determined activity were enough to remove the communist regime. The fact remains that this process had begun toward the end of the seventies, at the birth of the first grass roots initiative in Eastern Europe, Charter 77, which from the beginning tried to reform the communist system by peaceful means. For their efforts, the Charter's members, headed by Vaclav Havel, were persecuted, demeaned and imprisoned. Some of them, such as Professor Jan Patocka and Pavel Wonka, did not return from prison. And if not for world-wide outrage at the authorities' treatment of Vaclav Havel, he too may no longer be with us. Despite these hardships, the Charter continued in its activity, and its members never regretted the price they had to pay.

On the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the birth of the Charter, Vaclav Havel spoke with us about the past decade.

Havel:

Havel - Tape
After all, when we began this work, we were fully aware that we were leaving ourselves open to harassment, and that we may not influence anything at all. This risk we took was present at the very birth of the Charter. I don't believe that the Charter was the result of any kind of cold-blooded political calculations, but as an act of moral liberation, a straightening of the spine of each citizen who demands

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his rights as a citizen. This is a demand that is never truly fulfilled, there is never any certainty that it will lead to anything. If you look at it from the perspective that we didn't know what would come out of it all, then the fact that the Charter still exists after 10 years, and today is the oldest human rights organization in the Soviet Bloc, that it is a living organization, that it obviously commands from society a great deal of respect--that alone is a great success. And I feel that it was worth the price we paid.

Voice:

For his courageous activity in the area of human rights, for speaking the truth, and for his principles, Vaclav Havel has earned the respect of the entire world. It had even become the norm that visiting western delegations would first meet with Havel, then they would deal with Czechoslovak state and party officials. That, of course, did not make Havel's situation in Czechoslovakia any easier. The constant lack of knowledge of what the authorities would do to him next, when and under what circumstances he might be arrested, forced Havel to always carry a toothbrush with him. Though he often joked about it, the specter of jail was not a comfortable one. This spring, after his most recent release from prison, he spoke about it with one of our reporters.

Havel:

Of course, I'm glad to be free, even though it seems to me that this life on the outside may be a little demanding. Even more demanding than it was before my latest incarceration. They left me relatively alone in that jail, as opposed to being on the outside, though it is a paradox. By that I don't mean to recommend jail to anyone. And of course I am glad to be free.

Voice:

Vaclav Havel has earned recognition not only for his human rights activities, but also for his literary work. His plays, which often describe the absurdity of a dogmatic regime, have become a permanent part of the repertoire of theaters all over the world. Nevertheless, Czechoslovak audiences are not familiar with them, because they are not allowed to be staged in Czechoslovakia. His plays have earned Vaclav Havel several prestigious international awards, including Holland's Erasmus of Rotterdam Prize for 1986, which is awarded for significant contributions to European culture. The fact alone that in the past the Prize had been awarded to people such as Charlie Chaplin, the painters Kokoschka and Chagall, sculptor Henry Moore, and others, is evidence of Europe's great esteem of Vaclav Havel. In his speech, which was read at the Rotterdam celebration by actor Jan Triska, Havel addressed the fact that Europe is a continent divided, and how to work on changing that fact.

Triska, reading Havel's speech.

Please allow me to thank the Erasmus Prize Committee for this great honor not only in my name, but in the name of all the people of Eastern Europe who are trying to speak and create freely, or those who sympathize with them. The fact that I live in that part of Europe which is separated from you, and which the Erasmus Prize will enter for the first time today, quite naturally brings to my mind the question of how to deal with the division of our continent. More and more often we hear from everywhere, whether it be from governments or all sorts of non-conformist civic

cut Triska

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movements, about a European continent built on friendly cooperation of independent and equal nations, a continent which would radiate peace, instead of the threat of a martial confrontation of superpowers. No matter how sincere each articulator of this vision, it is an unbelievably beautiful thought. Unfortunately, for now it is only a vision. Europe is divided by a high wall, the physical symbol of which is the Berlin wall. What can we do to one day turn this beautiful vision into reality? What can we do to ensure that each European nation be independent and equal, and unafraid of its neighbors? What can we do to ensure that each European nation enjoy political democracy and social justice, so they can help other, less developed countries of this world in a manner that would truly reflect their capabilities? What can we do to ensure that each and every European may feel safe and free, trust the law, and live a dignified and meaningful life? How can we change things so that our younger citizens do not have to spend many years of their lives learning to kill people, and so our European scientists can spend their time finding ways to preserve nature instead thinking up constantly better and bigger weapons? I believe that each of us can do at least two things. And I feel great satisfaction that both of them can be seen as loosely paralleling the legacy of that great European, Erasmus of Rotterdam. First: We all have the opportunity to again and again repeat that we want what we want. And in spite of all harsh political realities, and in spite of all restrictions deriving from human nature and the moral, religious and social state of contemporary civilization, we can all loudly articulate our ideals and actively promote them. We can sacrifice many of our ideals, as we can sacrifice much of our private happiness, if we agree at least a little with Czech philosopher Jan Patocka, when he said that there exist things worth suffering for. We can all accept that strange, logical and at the same time enigmatic imperative which states that one should act in the manner in which he feels all should act. Each one of us should simply understand that no matter how unimportant or powerless he is, he can change the world. The mystery of this imperative stems from the unbelievable thought that any of us can, so to speak, shake the earth. The logic lies in the fact that should I, you, he, we, everyone not decide on this road, that not even the world we live in can move, that world we create together, for which we are responsible. Each one of us must start at home. If we wait for one another, we would wait for ever. It is not true that it is impossible. The power over oneself, as dictated by each person's character, origins, degree of education, and self-realization, is the only thing that even the most helpless of us does have. And at the same time, it is the only thing that cannot be taken from any of us. He who employs this imperative may not accomplish anything. But certainly the one who will not even try will accomplish nothing.

Announcer:

Live

Shortly after he received the Erasmus Prize, we spoke with Vaclav Havel about what the award means to Czechoslovakia, to the next round of activity in the name of human rights.

Havel:

Havel

I believe that it is very valuable as far as Charter 77, and other local independent organizations, are concerned. And I believe that it is very important to Czechoslovakia, for several reasons. It is a clear sign that people in the west are not unconcerned about us, that they watch us, and that people are interested in what is happening here as far as human rights in this country are concerned, and that is something that can't but help us. I myself became convinced of this, because yesterday, when you broadcast my speech, beautifully read by Jan Triska, I

VOA ↓

immediately noticed a great response from my fellow citizens. Because almost everyone listens to your station. And everyone saw this as great encouragement, were happy about it, almost as if each one of them had received that award.

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Announcer: *Live*
Appreciation of Vaclav Havel's work could have peaked in no other way than in his election to the Presidential office.

VOA News

8/2/89

EUR-17 HAVEL DETAINED

POLICE IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA HAVE DETAINED DISSIDENT PLAYWRIGHT VACLAV HAVEL FOR THE SECOND TIME IN THE PAST 24 HOURS.

THE HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVIST WAS DETAINED WEDNESDAY ON HIS WAY TO HAVE LUNCH WITH THE WEST GERMAN AMBASSADOR. THE PLAYWRIGHT, WHO SERVED FOUR MONTHS IN PRISON EARLIER THIS YEAR, WAS HELD IN CUSTODY FOR ABOUT THREE HOURS ON TUESDAY.

WESTERN NEWS REPORTS SAY THE BONN GOVERNMENT HAS PROTESTED THE DETENTION.

(REU, AP, AFP)

ENS/RMC/MGW

4:35 pm

~~Práva jsou obdrže zprávy ze~~

~~Ceskoslovenská policie dnes podruhé v rozpětí 24ti hodin zadržela dramatika a obhajce lidských práv Václava Havla. Václav Havel byl dnes zadržen cestou na oběd se západoněmeckým velvyslancem v Československu. Havel, jenž začátkem tohoto roku strávil 4 měsíce ve výkonu vězeňského trestu, byl již věrem zadržen kvůli tříhodinovému úfletku. Západní tiskové zprávy uvádějí, že západoněmecká vláda proti dnešnímu zadržení Václava Havla protestovala.~~

ON 08 00 03 : 53 PM *VOA EUROPEAN DIV. P. 08

PLEASE PASS TO CZECH SERVICE. THANK YOU.

A society at the end of its patience

Czechoslovak dissident Vaclav Havel explains how his country is overcoming its fear of Communist repression

AT A time when Poland, Hungary and the USSR are trying (with various understandable complications) to change a Communist-type totalitarian system into a somewhat more democratic one, the Czechoslovak government is resisting this trend tooth and nail. Although it loudly affirms support for "restructuring" and "democratisation", it is in fact changing nothing, or allowing only small changes mostly forced by pressure from "below".

The policy is more than understandable. This government was put in power by Brezhnev's tactics: opposition to reform has become its ideological identity card, and the strengthening of its pervasive power an everyday practice. It is quite natural that it does not want to change things suddenly, for fear it might cut the branch on which it is sitting. But this society, for so long run down, silenced and atomised, is slowly beginning to lose patience.

Encouraged by events in neighbouring countries — Solidarity MPs now sit in the Polish parliament, and multi-party elections are due in Hungary within a year — and disgusted by the inability of the government to solve the ever-multiplying problems, Czechoslovak society is beginning to wake up. People are beginning to interest themselves more in public affairs, to seek out truthful information, and to lose their fear of expressing their real opinions in public.

Thanks to this, the so-called "dissidents" — in other words, people involved in the independent initiatives (of which the oldest and best known is Charter 77), who do not hesitate to express their views freely without regard for the consequences — are already ceasing to be seen as some isolated group of suicides and madmen, for so many years silently admired by the public but unable to expect from them any

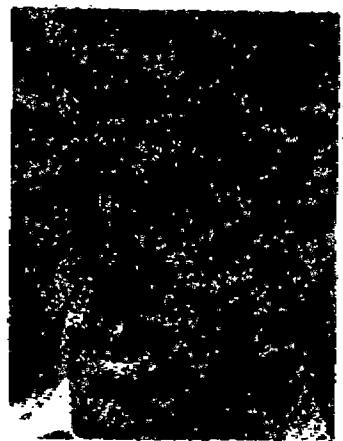
visible support. Anger with the state's police means that fear of dissidents is vanishing.

The spontaneous and independent demonstrations of August, October and December 1988, and the subsequent events of January 1989 — when huge crowds came out on the streets of Prague — with all that followed them, are clear evidence of this movement.

When I heard with my own ears great crowds of people chanting "Long Live Charter" or "Charter will win", and when later, after four months in prison following the January demonstrations, I saw on video young people chanting "Release Havel", it made a deep impression on me, and my surprise was mixed with satisfaction. I realised suddenly that the bleak and enduring efforts of those "suicides", with which they had paid with years in prison, had not been in vain and are beginning to be revalued.

The slogan "Long Live Charter" pleases me not just as a tribute to Charter 77's efforts over the years, but above all as an expression of the awakening desire for freedom, which the word "Charter" serves as an easily chanted symbol that leaves no one in any doubt about the free-minded ideals of those who are chanting it.

It is of great importance that, after 20 years, thousands of well-known artists and scientists active in the establishment structures — and therefore with every reason to be cautious — plucked up the courage to object to the police actions in January, and unhesitatingly gave their signatures in protest, jointly with those much-feared "dissidents" defamed by the authorities for so many years.



Havel: at the crossroads of history

This social awakening has so far culminated in the petition *Several Sentences*, which was launched in June, and which concerns not only the defence of society against concrete lawlessness but also its positive self-expression.

The signatories are telling the government that the only way out of the blind alley in which Czechoslovakia finds itself, and an essential precondition for any democratisation of the system, is a fundamental change in the social climate which — in the words of the petition — must restore "a spirit of freedom, trust, tolerance and pluralism".

The petition voices several straightforward and easily realisable demands — such as the release of all political prisoners, and freedom of speech, association and worship — the granting of which would make possible the creation of such a climate.

It stems from the quite logical proposition that if the changes in the system are not to be just temporary, partial, muddled and

hasty, they must be preceded by a matter-of-fact discussion, and conditions must be created to make such a discussion possible. *Several Sentences* has already been signed by thousands of people, from famous actors to unknown workers, from leaders of independent initiatives to members of the Communist Party, from Catholics to former Communist functionaries.

It is being signed throughout the country, despite a very rapid and sharp condemnation by the authorities, who — in the spirit of their Stalinist, perverted way of thinking — described this peaceful call for dialogue as "an attempt at confrontation". What will happen next nobody knows.

It may be that these authorities, who have in the past opted for confrontation, will implement new repressive measures and try once again to cow society (which of course will be increasingly difficult). Or this may have been just a first, emotional reaction prompted by fright.

It is possible even in their circles that common sense will prevail and we will be able to hope at last that even Czechoslovakia may start on the road to free self-awareness and increasing self-reform, without having to pay for it in misery, disorder and human lives. At this moment almost everything is possible. The situation is more open than at any time in the past 20 years.

I am not writing about this just as a titbit of information from a small and unimportant country. I am writing it as someone who realises that in this country, for many different (including geopolitical) reasons, and whether we like it or not, decisions have al-

ways involved more than just ourselves. A number of European, and later even world, configurations have, from our country's earliest history to the present day, most frequently originated (but also terminated!) here.

We are a country which since time immemorial has represented a crossroads of different spiritual and political movements, and where, thanks to that, European history has been tangled and untangled. We are a country where, on more than one occasion, the fate of others has been decided, or their destiny unwittingly foreshadowed. So may be the case today. Czechoslovakia may become (perhaps without particularly wanting it) the place in which decisions will be taken about both this great movement which we are witnessing in the Soviet bloc, and the hopes of all Europe for a better future.

Maybe today this small and, for some people, uninteresting country will become again the "testing terrain" on which we shall see exactly what is happening: whether (as Mikhail Gorbachev promises) the genuine desire of the Communist world is to step over its shadow and give priority to universal values in place of those of power and prestige, or whether at the last moment the desire for freedom and human dignity will have to give way at the crossroads of history to the dubious ideals of a mouldy empire with its system of omnipotent satraps.

We cannot rule out that the destiny of *Several Sentences* will be to provide the first explicit indication of how this test is proceeding.

Vaclav Havel, a distinguished Czechoslovak playwright, has long been a leading dissident and is an organiser of the *Several Sentences* petition, described by signatories as the most important opposition initiative for more than 10 years.

DEPENDENT 7/89

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Jenkins is right (6 cc compares best industrial situa- 978-79 Winter of t that is little conse worst affected. itain's top export- successful engineer- have just been tar- action in the aut- demand a 35- the shortest for anywhere in the world — and with- ing. In 1988, the The only benefi- recession, and rare: of disruptive ur competitors. employees want their employees. risen by 155 per 10 years, double its in productivity on par with in- Earlier this year, but- and half cut 1988 week pro- vices is main- tant unaffected. give British engi- the second low- k in Europe. Yet full most. post for Britain by industrial de- engineering coun- voring the chal- langes, we risk. Employees want, but will not be ity. UK produc- below French, se and the levels, tal to make our competitive. demands and the action will only customers, fewer jobs. Surely we will so much so

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Humorists in high places

New York Times Magazine
Oct. 25



Václav Havel has gained renown as a playwright and dissident.

"Horizon" (ds 16)

THE CZECHS' DEFIANT PLAYWRIGHT

never forgot my first language. Occasionally I've translated Czech literature into English, including Havel's last two plays for their American productions, and I was eager to meet the playwright. I was also afraid — not only for myself as a Czechoslovak-born American going to visit a famous dissident in a totalitarian country, but for Havel, too — that my interview might harm him.

Yet my fear that Havel might be endangered by my visit — or indeed by this article — proved unwarranted. While the ordinary people I met in Prague were painfully circumspect, I discovered a paradoxical truth: in a totalitarian society, only the dissident enjoys freedom.

"IS THIS PLACE BUGGED?"

"Almost certainly, but it doesn't matter. I'm not going to change what I say because

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P10

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one's job and position in normal society — to become at once an official dissident.

HAVEL IS DISPUTABLY the most famous man in Czechoslovakia. Everybody knows his name and what he stands for, yet because he is banned from all public media — the stage, newspapers and television — his face is quite unknown. "Sometimes I'll go somewhere, say to an office to pay a bill," he says, "and someone will read the name written there and exclaim, 'Is that really you?' And I'll say 'Well, yes, it's me,' and he'll say, 'But are you our Vaclav Havel?' And then he'll clasp my hand or embrace me. It's not that these people are necessarily familiar with my writings — they just know about me from the Voice of America or BBC, they know that I'm in trouble with the regime, and they like me for that."

Havel involuntarily glances at the ceiling and patiently answers questions about his safety and security. "No, I don't think the house is watched these days. But on occasion I still have the so-called *ostraha*, police surveillance. Usually that involves three Secret Police agents who sit outside the house in a car, or who stand outside of my apartment. They follow me wherever I go, and sometimes even walk right alongside of me, trying to make small talk. There was a time when I had the *ostraha* continuously for almost a year."

Surveillance creates problems. "There are often people who want to stop and talk to me on the street and I would get in trouble if they were identified. So when I'm under surveillance I have to indicate to them somehow that they should keep on walking."

"Of course," Havel continues, "I have a lot of friends who are perfectly free to visit me no matter what. These are other so-called dissidents — historians or journalists or philosophers, people who once had a true profession and who now work in men's rooms or boiler rooms, or as cleaning women or the like. They have nothing to lose."

Why is it that most people find it hard to face losing the comforts of home, the security

successful real-estate developer in Prague. The playwright's father was a famous restaurateur. Young Vaclav spent the first 12 years of his life as a "poor little rich boy" with maids, governesses, cooks, gardeners and chauffeurs. "I was ashamed of my advantages, longed to be like other children, not because I was a precocious social revolutionary but simply because I felt an invisible wall between me and the others. Add to that the fact that I was a fat child and everyone ridiculed me for it."

In 1948, the Communists came to power and the Havel family assets were seized by the state. Once again Havel was ostracized, this time for his "class origins." Being a former poor little rich boy in Communist Czechoslovakia was no better than being one in the present; it provided sufficient grounds to deprive him of the opportunity for higher education. "Sometimes I wonder whether I didn't actually begin to write to somehow overcome that basic experience of being an outsider," says Havel.

Yet his writing has once again made him something of an outsider. The royalties Havel receives from abroad for his plays and books, though taxed heavily by a government eager for Western currency, allow him to live in a far more lavish style than most ordinary Czechoslovak citizens.

Havel is clearly a man who enjoys the comforts of life. His apartment has recently been remodeled and little expense has been spared: a new kitchen with shining stainless steel appliances and gleaming counters has already been installed, while other renovations are still in progress. He is well aware that his luxurious living circumstances expose him to envy and criticism: "I'm happy to be living in this fine apartment. I know they can kick me out of it any time they want. The reason I can be free is simply because I say the hell with it. Let them take my apartment. Let them not put on my plays. Let them throw me in prison. I'm not going to change what I say or how I live."

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Italy's Distinguished Red Wine

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VOA REFERENCE

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 14, 1990

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: CHRISS WINSTON *cw*
FROM: MARY KATE GRANT *MKG*
SUBJECT: CZECHOSLOVAKIAN DINNER TOAST

Attached for your review is a draft toast for the dinner in Prague to be held on November 17, 1990, hosted by U.S. Ambassador Shirley Temple Black at the American Embassy.

The toast celebrates the one year anniversary of the Velvet Revolution, and applauds the bright future of Czechoslovakia.

Grant/Dooley
November 13, 1990
9:30 a.m.
A:CZECH.TOA

**PRESIDENTIAL TOAST: CZECHOSLOVAKIA DINNER
AMBASSADOR'S RESIDENCE
SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 17, 1990**

First of all, my sincere thanks to our hostess, Ambassador Shirley Temple Black, for her warm hospitality.

I am delighted to have this opportunity to visit the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic, and to see first-hand the remarkable changes taking place here. I always enjoy seeing President Havel, and we have spent a glorious day together -- going from the Federal Assembly to Wenceslas Square, the place where the "Velvet Revolution" first began.

For it was there, a year ago tonight that ~~thirty~~ ^{sought} thousand ^{of} students gathered to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the death of a Czech student -- killed at the hands of the Nazis in another protest, that time on the eve of World War II. One student spoke of the courage of those brave Czechs who gave their lives fighting aggression. He said, "We are remembering our predecessors, who did not hesitate to give their lives for what they believed in at that time."

That night a year ago, the Czechoslovak protestors honored their predecessors but also showed us something else: that the power of the people is invincible.

X And over the last year, ^{reached an agreement to create new const. structure} you've formed a new constitution, renamed this great country, and held the first democratic elections in more than four decades. You have moved your

revolution from the streets into the houses of parliament and the halls of government. You have inspired the world.

We Americans, who helped in the creation of Czechoslovakia, share your joy and your sense of excitement.

The road ahead will be difficult. But you will not journey alone. And I am confident that the Czech and Slovak peoples will meet the challenges before them -- and triumph.

So let us all lift our glasses. I now propose a toast: To the power of your people, and to the power of the friendship between our two great nations.

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PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: TOAST AT THE HUNGARIAN
PARLIAMENT
BUDAPEST, HUNGARY
JULY 11, 1989
8:00 PM

FINAL
Peggy

[INTRODUCTORY REMARKS....] I AM DELIGHTED TO HAVE
THIS OPPORTUNITY TO VISIT HUNGARY ONCE AGAIN, AND TO
SEE -- FIRST-HAND -- THE REMARKABLE CHANGES TAKING
PLACE HERE.

- 2 -

WE LIVE AT A GREAT MOMENT IN HUMAN AFFAIRS -- AN
ERA WHEN CHANGE IS SHAKING THE EXISTING ORDER. FROM
BEIJING TO BUDAPEST -- FROM TIANANMEN SQUARE, TO THE
LONG-DELAYED DAY OF HEALING IN HEROES' SQUARE LESS THAN
A MONTH AGO -- WE'RE WITNESSING THE EXPRESSION OF
DEMOCRATIC IDEAS WHOSE APPEAL IS UNIVERSAL, WHOSE
IMPACT IS WORLDWIDE.

HERE IN THE HEART OF CENTRAL EUROPE, HUNGARY IS AT THE CENTER OF CHANGE. YOUR NATION IS INVOLVED IN AN UNPRECEDENTED EXPERIMENT -- A COMMUNIST SYSTEM SEEKING TO EVOLVE TOWARDS A MORE OPEN ECONOMY, TOWARDS A MORE OPEN AND PLURALISTIC POLITICAL SYSTEM.

NO ONE NOW DENIES THAT REFORM IS THE PATH TO THE FUTURE. IN NATION AFTER NATION, DECADES OF EXPERIENCE HAVE PROVEN BEYOND ANY DOUBT THE POVERTY OF AN IDEA: THE IDEA THAT PROGRESS IS THE PRODUCT OF THE STATE. ON THE CONTRARY, PROGRESS IS THE PRODUCT OF THE PEOPLE.

STATE CONTROL SIMPLY CANNOT PROVIDE SUSTAINED ECONOMIC GROWTH -- NOR CAN IT PROVIDE A REGIME THE POLITICAL LEGITIMACY IT NEEDS TO GOVERN. MOST OF ALL, THE STATE IS IN CONSTANT CONFLICT WITH HUMAN LIBERTY.

IN HUNGARY TODAY, THERE IS A DEEPENING CONSENSUS ON THE DIRECTION REFORM MUST TAKE -- ON A NEW MODEL FOR STATE AND SOCIETY: IN ECONOMICS, THE COMPETITIVE MARKET; IN POLITICS, PLURALISM AND HUMAN RIGHTS.

THE KEY TO ECONOMIC SUCCESS IS LETTING THE MARKET DO ITS WORK. THAT MEANS AN END TO INEFFICIENT GOVERNMENT INTERVENTION IN THE MARKETPLACE-- AN END TO THE DEAD WEIGHT THAT DRAGS DOWN OVERALL ECONOMIC GROWTH.

IT MEANS FACTORIES AND ENTERPRISES OF ALL KINDS PLAYING BY THE RULES OF THE MARKETPLACE -- ACCORDING TO THE LAWS OF SUPPLY AND DEMAND. IN OTHER WORDS, RULES THAT WORK FOR THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE COMMON GOOD.

AND ECONOMIC COMPETITION HAS A PARALLEL IN THE POLITICAL SPHERE. PLURALISM IS NOTHING MORE THAN AN OPEN AND HONEST COMPETITION BETWEEN PARTIES -- A COMPETITION BETWEEN POINTS OF VIEW. PLURALISM IS WHAT WE IN THE WEST CALL THE MARKETPLACE OF IDEAS.

THE OPEN ELECTIONS HUNGARY HAS PROMISED WILL MARK A GREAT ADVANCE, AND ALLOW YOUR GREAT NATION TO ENJOY THE BENEFITS OF PLURALISM. THE HOPEFUL PROCESS OF HELSINKI POINTS THE WAY TO THE ENHANCEMENT OF FREEDOM IN CENTRAL EUROPE -- TO A NEW BASIS FOR SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN ALL OF EUROPE.

ALL HUNGARIANS SHOULD LOOK TO THE FUTURE WITH CONFIDENCE IN WHAT HUNGARY CAN BE. THIS IS ONLY THE BEGINNING:

I SEE IN HUNGARY'S FUTURE A COUNTRY OF HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF SMALL ENTERPRISES -- SOURCES OF INNOVATION, PRODUCTIVITY AND PROSPERITY. I SEE IN HUNGARY'S FUTURE NEW VOICES SPEAKING OUT, SHAPING THE COURSE OF NATIONAL AFFAIRS. I SEE A HUNGARY AT PEACE WITH ITSELF, A HUNGARY ASSUMING ITS RIGHTFUL PLACE AS A VITAL PART OF AN EMERGING EUROPE -- A EUROPE WHOLE AND FREE.

THE ROAD AHEAD WILL BE DIFFICULT -- THERE'S NO DENYING THAT. BUT I BELIEVE IN HUNGARY. I BELIEVE IN HER ABILITY TO MEET AND MASTER THAT CHALLENGE -- TO MAKE REFORM SUCCEED.

THE KEY IS HUNGARY'S MOST PRECIOUS RESOURCE: HER PEOPLE. EACH INDIVIDUAL IS AN INFINITY OF POSSIBILITIES -- AND IN THE CAPACITY OF THOSE INDIVIDUAL TALENTS LIES THE FUTURE OF YOUR NATION.

TO THE FUTURE OF HUNGARIAN REFORM;

SO LET US NOW RAISE OUR GLASSES:

TO THE FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN THE AMERICAN AND
HUNGARIAN PEOPLE.

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1ST STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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November 18, 1989, Saturday, Final Edition

SECTION: FIRST SECTION; PAGE A1

LENGTH: 986 words

HEADLINE: Largest Rally in Prague Since '69 Ends Violently

BYLINE: Mary Battiata, Washington Post Foreign Service

DATELINE: PRAGUE, Nov. 17, 1989

BODY:

The largest, most politically charged demonstration here since 1969 ended in violence tonight as police attacked student demonstrators in what observers said was also the worst episode of police violence against a citizen protest in 20 years.

Riot police used armored personnel carriers and truncheon-wielding troops to pen in more than 1,500 students who were attempting to make their way to the city's Wenceslas Square after a massive and peaceful demonstration elsewhere in the city in which an estimated 30,000 to 50,000 people took part.

The demonstrations, in which participants chanted for free elections and the ouster of Communist Party chief Milos Jakes, posed the largest and most open challenge thus far to the hard-line party leadership here.

After setting attack dogs on the crowd, witnesses said, police beat the students and dragged them away as they were let through the police line in twos and threes. Police beat demonstrators repeatedly on the head and shoulders.

"They hit me once, picked me up and just kept hitting," said Paula Butturini, a correspondent for the Chicago Tribune who required several stitches to close head wounds received as she attempted to make her way past the police line showing her American passport and press credentials.

The police action began at about 9:45 p.m., after the demonstrators had refused several orders to disperse. It took the police about 40 minutes to clear the street near the square. Several hundred protesters were arrested and taken away in police buses.

The students were the remnants of an extraordinary march that began earlier in the day, when tens of thousands of university students and others walked through the capital in what older members of the crowd said was the largest demonstration here since 1969.

It was the first public rally permitted by the Czechoslovak government in nearly a year, and the government's sanction of the event apparently emboldened many citizens to come out.

The turnout was much larger and more openly political than a rally called last month by banned human rights and dissident groups, and reflects the rising dissatisfaction of young people and others with the hard-line Czechoslovak

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Communist Party leadership. Though peaceful, the demonstrators were excited, and appeared buoyed by pent-up energy.

Several demonstrators said there had not been a comparable public protest rally since March 1969, when huge crowds took to the streets here for an anti-Soviet rally, using as a pretext the Czechoslovak hockey team's victory over the Soviet team. That rally occurred several months after the August 1968 Soviet-led invasion here and precipitated the ouster of the reform Communist leader Alexander Dubcek.

"I have not seen anything like this in 20 years," said one man, who identified himself as an economist employed by a government agency. He said he had joined the demonstration to send a message to the Czechoslovak leadership, which so far has resisted all pressure for democratic reform.

One protester said the intensity of the rally and political slogans showed that student dissatisfaction had reached such a pitch that nothing less than radical reform would be acceptable, and maybe not even that.

"Even if they make changes now, there will be an avalanche, like in East Germany, so they [the government] are stuck," the student said.

Today's demonstration was legal, but students had been denied permission to march in Wenceslas Square and had been warned to stay away. The ostensible reason for the rally was the 50th anniversary of the deaths of two Czech students who were killed in anti-Nazi protests at Prague's university on the eve of World War II.

The march was called and organized by the Czechoslovak Official Youth Union, the Communist-sanctioned national student organization. A few days before the rally, the demonstration acquired an unofficial co-sponsor, the new and still loosely organized Independent Students' Union. It was this group that clearly had the marchers' loyalties today.

The march quickly became a forum for growing anti-government sentiment here. Two elderly academics made speeches to the crowd calling for dialogue between the Communist Party and outlawed opposition groups.

Students who addressed the gathering spoke emotionally of the political activism of the past.

"We are remembering our predecessors, who did not hesitate to give their lives for what they believed in at that time. They didn't doubt that being oppressed is worse than being dead," said a student leader. "They died but they preserved their honor."

Hundreds of pedestrians, while not joining the march, clung to fenceposts and stood on statues and stairs to applaud as the crowd went by. There were dozens of banners with slogans such as "Abolish the Monopoly of the Communist Party," "Stop Lying to Us," "Free Elections" and "Abolish the Secret Police." The demonstrators chanted for the removal of Jakes and demanded dialogue between the government and the political opposition.

The government had refused the demonstrators permission to march in the center of the city, restricting them to a route that led from the university

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area to a hilltop castle near the national cemetery.

On the way to the castle, many marchers called on organizers to turn the march toward Wenceslas Square. After the officially sanctioned rally ended, a large number of the marchers began chanting, "To the horse, to the horse," a reference to the equestrian statue of St. Wenceslas in the central square. Three thousand people tried to go to the square. By 9 p.m. they had massed on a side street and waited uncertainly as riot police moved in around them.

The rally came as Czechoslovakia's hard-line Communist leadership showed signs of being severely shaken by radical reforms underway in Eastern Europe and particularly in East Germany, its former partner in resisting reforms.

GRAPHIC: PHOTO, CZECHOSLOVAK POLICEMEN IN PRAGUE ATTACK STUDENTS FOLLOWING MARCH THAT WAS THE LARGEST PROTEST RALLY THERE SINCE 1969. AFP

TYPE: FOREIGN NEWS

SUBJECT: CZECHOSLOVAKIA; DEMONSTRATIONS; POLITICS

1ST STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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November 19, 1989, Sunday, Final Edition

SECTION: FIRST SECTION; PAGE A31

LENGTH: 721 words

HEADLINE: Prague Student Dies In Attack by Police;
Pressure on Government Seen Increasing

BYLINE: Mary Battiata, Washington Post Foreign Service

DATELINE: PRAGUE, Nov. 18, 1989

BODY:

A 20-year-old Czechoslovak university student was beaten to death by riot troops during a police crackdown after a large protest march here Friday night, it was learned today. The death is likely to inflame the already tense situation here, dissident sources said, as dissatisfaction with Czechoslovakia's hard-line Communist leadership grows.

The student, identified as Martin Smid, died after being beaten by two riot policemen on National Street, near the capital's main Wenceslas Square.

Friends of the slain student said Smid fell to the ground after being struck several times on the head and shoulders. As Smid lay flat, the police continued to beat him until his face was no longer recognizable, witnesses said.

Smid's parents were informed of their son's death this morning by two policemen, who told them that the death had been "an accident."

Friday's demonstration was held to mark the 50th anniversary of the death of two Czech students killed by Nazi soldiers during anti-Nazi demonstrations here in 1939. Friday's rally was the largest -- and most brutally repressed -- citizen protest here in 20 years.

Today, more than 1,500 high school and university students defied the threat of further police violence to lay flowers on the spot where Smid fell. Shouting, "You can't kill us all," the students faced down several lines of helmeted riot police to stand near a symbolic grave on the cobblestone sidewalk. A small card on the grave read: "Here died Martin Smid."

The students chanted, "Gestapo," and shook their fists at police vans that raced through the demonstration area. The students sang the Czechoslovak national anthem, holding lighted candles aloft, before agreeing to disperse at the request of a student leader.

Smid's death comes at a time when the Czechoslovak Communist Party leadership, already isolated by its resistance to reforms underway in Poland, Hungary and now East Germany, is undergoing pressure at home and from Moscow.

Dissatisfaction with the Czechoslovak leadership is building here, and several Western diplomats and Czechoslovak dissidents said today the government's unraveling could come in a matter of "weeks or months" rather

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than the year or more that observers were predicting just days ago.

Czechoslovakia's hard-line ideology chief was in Moscow this week receiving the most pointed prodding yet to stop stalling on political reform, according to a report in the Czechoslovak party daily, Rude Pravo.

Jan Sojtk, a senior aide to party leader Milos Jakes, was summoned to Moscow for talks Friday with his Soviet counterpart, Vadim Medvedev. The outcome of the talks was a joint statement, published today, saying it was time for a "thorough analysis" of the Soviet-led invasion of 1968.

The carefully worded statement is being interpreted by senior diplomatic and Czechoslovak sources as Moscow's most public message yet that the Prague leadership can no longer use the 1968 invasion as an excuse for blocking political reform. The Czechoslovak leadership, installed after the invasion, has pointed to the Soviet decision to intervene and halt mild reform 20 years ago as justification for maintaining rigid control here.

On Friday night, the riot police used brutal force to disperse the last 3,000 or more marchers from the massive and peaceful protest march that began earlier in the day in another part of the city. Between 30,000 and 50,000 people participated, making the march the largest and most openly political gathering in a series of demonstrations during the past 14 months.

Witnesses said today that police attacked the crowd savagely, beating a pregnant woman, knocking several demonstrators unconscious and shoving a foreign television cameraman through a plate-glass window. Several hundred students were arrested. A medical technician from a city hospital said today that one protester was delivered to the emergency room with a broken neck.

Friday's demonstration was the first officially sanctioned by the government in nearly a year. The marchers had been refused permission to walk in the center of the city, and warned to stay away from Wenceslas Square, where many illegal demonstrations have been held. It was the group of students who headed for the square after the official march had ended who were attacked by police.

GRAPHIC: PHOTO, CZECHOSLOVAK STUDENTS HOLD SIGN SAYING, "PEOPLE, STRAIGHTEN UP," DURING FRIDAY'S MASS MARCH IN PRAGUE. AP; PHOTO, AFP

TYPE: FOREIGN NEWS

SUBJECT: CZECHOSLOVAKIA; DEMONSTRATIONS; POLICE BRUTALITY

3RD STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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November 18, 1989, Saturday, Late Edition - Final

SECTION: Section 1; Page 6, Column 1; Foreign Desk

LENGTH: 1114 words

HEADLINE: Clamor in the East;
Three Dissident Voices From Eastern Europe

BODY:

Three Eastern Europeans with long careers as dissidents - a Pole, a Hungarian and a Czechoslovak - were asked in separate interviews what surprised them most about the recent events in East Germany, what they thought might be the next step in Eastern Europe and what they considered the greatest dangers.

Jan Litynski: Poland

Jan Litynski (pronounced YAHN lee-TEEN-skee) was thrown out of the mathematics department of Warsaw University in March 1968 and spent two and half years in jail for taking part in anti-Soviet protests. In the late 1970's he was a founder of the Committee to Defend Workers and edited underground papers.

He helped organize Solidarity, and when the movement was crushed under martial law in 1981, he was arrested and spent another year and a half in jail. He escaped into the underground when he was given a furlough to attend the communion of his daughter.

Mr. Litynski worked as an adviser to Silesian coal miners during the strike-filled summer of 1988. He was elected to Parliament as a candidate of the Solidarity-backed party.

"I guess what surprised me most is that I just did not think it would happen so soon," he said.

"The next major step? I think it should be real change in Czechoslovakia. For us, this is much more important than Germany, because it affords the chance of developing a common line for Hungary, Poland and Czechoslovakia. This would mean the end of Soviet domination in this region.

Danger and the Soviet Economy

"By common line I mean we should work out a kind of common foreign policy. Now there are discrepancies, contradictions. I'm not talking about a confederation, as some have suggested, but simply to do our best to avoid the mistakes of the 1920's and 1930's.

"Dangers? Altogether, the economy, and especially the economic situation in the Soviet Union. I hope and think we can cope with our economic situation, and first symptoms are emerging that we will be able to do it. But there is the possibility of a crash in the Soviet Union, especially because of the nationalities problem. And then there is the situation in East Germany. If the Soviet Union lost its influence on East Germany it could result in a kind of

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military coup in Moscow.''

Mr. Litynski was asked whether in his prison years he ever fantasized about the kind of changes that have taken place.

'Never, not at all. Even after I got out of prison, in the underground, I never dreamed of it. As for myself, I used to think maybe someday there'd be a role for me as a trade-union activist. But never as a politician, someone sitting in Parliament.'

Miklos Vasarhelyi: Hungary

Miklos Vasarhelyi is a writer and former journalist who was sentenced to five years in prison for his role in the 1956 Hungarian uprising, which was crushed by the Soviet Army. Mr. Vasarhelyi, who was press secretary to the reformist Prime Minister Imre Nagy, was a defendant in the same secret trial in 1958 at which Mr. Nagy and three others were condemned to death. They were executed; he was sentenced to five years and released after four years.

Mr. Vasarhelyi (his full name is pronounced mick-LOHSH VAH-shahr-HAY-ee) lives in Budapest. He was interviewed in Washington, where he is doing research on the Western role and response to the Soviet invasion of Budapest in 1956.

Referring to the events in East Germany, he said: 'What was most surprising was the speed with which it happened. Since last May we thought and we hoped there would be changes. But what's happening now and especially in Berlin is a major surprise. Nobody dared to think about such big changes. Even to have mentioned such things three months ago would have seemed crazy.

'What was so unusual is that it was all the will of the people. It was not figured out by intellectuals or politicians or diplomats.

Europe's 'Irreversible' Changes

'It's very different than in 1956. Then, we were crushed because we were alone. Hungary was isolated. This today is impossible to crush because it is going on almost everywhere behind the Iron Curtain. It is irreversible and I can tell you sincerely, I never expected to live to see it.'

Asked what he thought would happen now, he replied: 'First of all, there will really be a Europe again. The countries of Central and Eastern Europe will finally get an opportunity to unite with the West. We will begin to live under the same conditions.

'It will take time, but socially, politically and economically we will achieve what the Western countries have already achieved. The doors are open now.'

On the question of dangers, he said they were fewer than they had been. 'There are problems, but they don't worry me. What worried me was to live under a dictatorial system and foreign domination. All other worries are peanuts compared to that.

'Nor am I afraid of a united Germany. The Germans have changed very much. In the last century, the French wanted to take all of Europe. Now they are the

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most civilized and cultured of nations. The Germans had the terrible experience of Nazism for 10 years 50 years ago. Should we now have to say forever that we have to be afraid of the Germans?''

Jiri Dienstbier: Czechoslovakia

Jiri Dienstbier (pronounced YEE-ree DEENST-beer) is one of the founders of the Czechoslovak human-rights group Charter 77. He was a Communist Party member and radio commentator on foreign affairs in 1968 when the Soviets invaded to crush the liberalization begun by the Communist Government of Alexander Dubcek. He spent three years in prison, lost his job and has not been allowed a telephone because of his work.

This is what he said in an interview this week at his home in Prague:

''What surprised everybody was the quick unraveling of things in East Germany. The opposition there wasn't very much bigger than in Czechoslovakia, which is pretty small. It was based almost completely on the evangelical church. In fact, the East German movement started outside the country, with the opening of the border between Austria and Hungary, which gave the East Germans an escape route. This shows that no matter where the rot sets in, the Communist system collapses very quickly.

''The next step? I hope it's Czechoslovakia. I think it could be. The leadership here is dead, only waiting to be carried away. Jakes is completely discredited. The party's only alternative to the status quo is to open up the system, but they know that once they open it up, they are doomed.

''As for dangers, the main problems are the potential economic collapse in Russia and Poland. Whether that pulls us all down would depend mainly on the scope and the nature of the collapse.''

GRAPHIC: Jan Litynski, Poland (Associated Press); Jiri Dienstbier, Czechoslovakia (Helsinki Watch); Miklos Vasarhelyi, Hungary (Associated Press)

NAME: LITYNSKI, JAN; VASARHELYI, MIKLOS; DIENSTBIER, JIRI

GEOGRAPHIC: EUROPE, EAST; POLAND; HUNGARY; CZECHOSLOVAKIA

4TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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November 18, 1989, Saturday, Late Edition - Final

SECTION: Section 1; Page 7, Column 1; Foreign Desk

LENGTH: 894 words

HEADLINE: Clamor in the East;
Riot Police in Prague Beat Marchers and Arrest Dozens

BYLINE: AP

DATELINE: PRAGUE, Nov. 17

BODY:

The largest anti-Government rally in more than 20 years ended in violence today when riot police officers attacked demonstrators trying to march to downtown Wenceslas Square.

At least 13 protesters were reported admitted to a Prague hospital and dozens were arrested.

The clash came five hours after thousands of young people taking part in a memorial service for a student killed by the Nazis 50 years ago began walking from Vysehrad Cathedral to the square.

Many of the demonstrators, bleeding after clubbings by the police, fled down side streets. Witnesses said scores of people were arrested but they did not have an exact number.

They also said the police used tear gas to disperse marchers chanting slogans against the hard-line Communist regime of the Communist Party leader. Milos Jakes.

'Dinosaurs, Resign!'

Reporters said tens of thousands of people were at the rally. The Government press agency estimated the size of the crowd at 15,000.

The memorial was organized by the official students' organization in honor of the Czechoslovak student Jan Opletal, who was killed in an uprising 50 years ago against the Nazi occupation.

During the rally, the protesters shouted, 'Dinosaurs, resign!' and 'We want freedom and free elections! Communists get out!' It was the largest public protest since August 1969, when crowds gathered in downtown Prague a year after a Soviet-led invasion crushed the liberal Government led by Alexander Dubcek, the Communist Party leader.

'Many People Were Bleeding'

In Bratislava, the capital of Slovakia, about 500 students walked from Peace Square to Comenius University and placed flowers where a young woman was

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reportedly killed during the 1968 invasion. The police did not interfere.

In Prague, Michael Schwarz, a staff photographer for The Atlanta Journal and Constitution, said he went with the crowd trying to march to Wenceslas Square but was beaten on the head by the police and chased away.

"Many people were bleeding on their faces," said Mr. Schwarz, who said he saw about 12 ambulances taking people to hospitals. He also said he saw at least three busloads of people being taken away by the police. The police did not say how many arrests had been made.

Mr. Schwarz said one policeman walked up to him and tried to grab his camera. Another policeman came and then a third one. "I resisted, but when I saw how serious they were, I let go," he said.

Official Student Groups Booed

The photographer said he was chased away and his camera was thrown after him down the street.

Paula Butturini, a Warsaw-based correspondent of the Chicago Tribune, was beaten and required 15 stitches on the head, the paper said in Chicago. She was treated at a Prague hospital and then released.

During the rally, Martin Klima, a student who addressed the rally, declared: "Oppression is worse than death! We should not only remember the past with piety, we must care for the present and even more for the future!"

"We must fight for freedom because you cannot live without it," Mr. Klima said.

But speakers representing the official student organizations urged "constructive cooperation" and were booed when they said the people should "rectify past mistakes."

Slogans Against Prague Leader

Karel Srp, head of the dissident group the Jazz Section, said of the rally: "This is the biggest and best demonstration I have ever seen, better than in 1969 because the atmosphere is much better. We know that we can win. This is unstoppable."

When the crowd started moving toward the cathedral and its cemetery, where the laying of flowers and candles was scheduled, many students began shouting slogans against Mr. Jakes and others of the aging leadership.

"You have lost already!" the crowd yelled.

Government television said some participants "misused the mass gathering for anti-socialist performances. One part of the march returned from Vysehrad to the center of town, where they attempted to violate public order."

Environmental March Allowed

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'Attempted violation of public order' has been used in the past as a reason for police intervention. The television report said the police tried to disperse the crowd on its way to downtown Prague.

Some students at the rally shouted 'Masaryk!' for Tomas Garrigue Masaryk, who was Czechoslovakia's first President and is credited with founding the country after the Austro-Hungarian Empire collapsed in World War I. They also chanted the name of Jan Palach, a student who burned himself to death to protest the Soviet-led invasion.

On Wednesday, the police permitted a demonstration by about 1,000 environmentalists in downtown Prague but prevented 300 to 500 people from marching to Government headquarters.

PRAGUE DISSIDENT TO ACCEPT PRIZE

STOCKHOLM, Nov. 17 (Reuters) -Czechoslovakia will allow the dissident playwright Vaclav Havel to go to Stockholm to receive the 1989 Olof Palme prize, the Swedish Foreign Ministry said today.

'We were informed today by the Prague authorities that Havel has been granted a passport so that he can travel to Sweden to receive the prize,' a ministry spokesman, Bo Heineback, said.

Foreign Minister Sten Andersson of Sweden had been scheduled to go to Prague next Thursday to present the \$15,000 prize to Mr. Havel for his struggle for human rights. s

SUBJECT: DEMONSTRATIONS AND RIOTS

GEOGRAPHIC: CZECHOSLOVAKIA; PRAGUE (CZECHOSLOVAKIA)

1ST STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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November 18, 1989, Saturday, Home Edition

SECTION: Part A; Page 1; Column 5; Foreign Desk

LENGTH: 1127 words

HEADLINE: RIOT POLICE SMASH PROTEST BY CZECHS;
EAST BLOC: MORE THAN 15,000 STUDENTS VENT THEIR WRATH BEFORE BEING ROUTED. BUT
THE MARCH MAY MARK THE BEGINNING OF THE END FOR THE HARD-LINE REGIME.

BYLINE: By TYLER MARSHALL, TIMES STAFF WRITER

DATELINE: PRAGUE, Czechoslovakia

BODY:

More than 15,000 Czechoslovak students shouting anti-government slogans marched through the streets of Prague on Friday before riot police brutally broke up the demonstration. The protest was the largest show of public dissent in more than 20 years against the hard-line regime.

Several times during the course of the four-hour demonstration, the crowd chanted, "Jakes out! Jakes out!" -- a reference to Communist Party chief Milos Jakes.

In ending the demonstration, police systematically split up the crowd and viciously beat groups of demonstrators with clubs. Witnesses said police also used tear gas.

Scores of people were injured, several seriously, and many Western reporters covering the demonstration also were attacked.

The demonstration took place in an atmosphere of growing anticipation that Czechoslovakia's hard-line Communist government, one of the last such governments in Eastern Europe, might be entering its final phases.

Protesters Friday appeared in larger numbers and were bolder and more aggressive in their opposition to the government than at any time in the past, according to those who had witnessed previous demonstrations in the city.

The police action was also the severest in memory.

Reporters estimated the crowd at tens of thousands, but the state news agency CTK said only 15,000 took part.

Chants from the crowd, vowing to meet again at a main square today, raised the possibility of a second street confrontation between students and police.

The demonstration began at Prague's Charles University, just south of the city's center, and commemorated Czechoslovak student martyr Jan Opletal, who died at the hands of the country's Nazi occupation forces 50 years ago. The occasion has long been commemorated in Stalinist Czechoslovakia, and Friday's demonstration began as an example of a government-touted liberalization.

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It was only the second officially sanctioned non-government demonstration permitted in the country since Czechoslovak hard-liners crushed then-Communist Party leader Alexander Dubcek's liberal experiment in 1968.

The official Communist youth organization, the Union of Student Youth, was a main sponsor of the rally. But it quickly became clear that the majority of those who gathered had come to demand change.

The main speaker from the Communist group was whistled down, while independent speakers calling for change were cheered loudly.

"We've never doubted that oppression is worse than death," said Martin Klima, an independent student spokesman. "You cannot live without freedom."

Other speakers also called for change as the crowd chanted, "Resign! Resign!" and "Freedom! Freedom!"

Several large banners also proclaimed opposition to the government. One read "Stop Beating Students," while another proclaimed: "We Want Freedom for Christmas." A third declared, "Who, If Not Us? When, If Not Now?"

At the same time, some officially sanctioned student youth banners called for dialogue.

In the past few weeks, Czechoslovak government leaders, apparently after prodding from the Soviet Union, have begun to emphasize the need for political as well as economic liberalization.

The recent, sudden unraveling of a similar hard-line Communist regime in neighboring East Germany, along with the arrival of democracy in Hungary and Poland, has heightened expectations of possible change here -- especially among young people.

Western diplomats say they now believe that major change is inevitable in the country. The only question remains when.

Following the rally, the demonstrators marched to a nearby cemetery where Opletal is buried. There, they lit candles and sang the Czechoslovak national anthem.

Along the route to the cemetery, the only police visible were four traffic officers, who smiled when the students began to chant, "Join us! Join us!"

When the large crowd began snaking its way toward the city's central Wenceslas Square, bystanders waved and residents watched from upper-floor windows.

The square is a traditional place of protest in Prague. It was here that an illegal demonstration of about 10,000 Czechoslovaks was broken up by riot police last month. It was also here where another Czechoslovak youth, Jan Palech, set himself afire in 1969 to protest the Soviet invasion of a few months earlier.

On the way toward the square Friday, some well-dressed people attending a National Theater performance appeared at the theater's windows and waved. Students responded with shouts of "Stage Havel plays!" -- a reference to

playwright and leading Czech dissident Vaclav Havel.

However, when they neared the square itself, the crowd met a phalanx of riot police. Following a 20-minute confrontation, during which students placed lighted candles at the feet of police and tossed flowers into police ranks, the students turned and began moving toward the square via a different route, where a similar, hourlong confrontation took place.

But that incident ended with police wading into the crowd, systematically seizing small groups of people and then beating them.

With the mass of demonstrators trapped in a main street, lines of police moved in from both the front and rear of the crowd.

Police trapped many in doorways or just pulled them to the ground and beat them repeatedly. At one point, the only visible movement above the panicked crowd was the rising and falling of police truncheons. Some of those beaten were merely walking in the area.

Within 10 minutes, the streets were largely clear except for the sound of police boots and the whimpering and crying of the injured.

A camera crew from Cable News Network was attacked and a cameraman was beaten severely as he cried out, "I am an accredited journalist!" A correspondent for the Chicago Tribune, Paula Butturini, was briefly hospitalized.

State television said that some of the demonstrators "misused the mass gathering for anti-socialist performances" and "attempted to violate public order." Attempted violation of public order has been used previously as a pretext for police intervention.

Western diplomats said they found it hard to assess the possible political repercussions of Friday's demonstration.

"It's hard to know whether this action will politicize the students (further) or subdue them," one diplomat said.

Until now, Czechoslovakia's small opposition has been comprised largely of intellectuals, with the students remaining mostly passive and on the sidelines. If this group of the population begins taking to the streets in large numbers, as they did Friday, it would signal a major escalation in the opposition to the Czechoslovak regime.

With the exception of Romania, Czechoslovakia remains the only East Bloc country that has not begun to move toward liberalization.

GRAPHIC: Photo, (Orange County Edition) COLOR, Police in Prague, Czechoslovakia, confront demonstrators Friday. Some protesters were arrested later. MICHAEL A. SCHWARZ / Atlanta Journal and Constitution

DEMONSTRATIONS -- CZECHOSLOVAKIA; CZECHOSLOVAKIA -- GOVERNMENT; GOVERNMENT REFORM; JAKES, MILOS; COMMUNIST PARTY (CZECHOSLOVAKIA); DISSIDENTS -- CZECHOSLOVAKIA; STUDENTS

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PAGE 1 OF 2 PAGES (INCLUDING COVER PAGE)

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HISTORY OF SCHONBORN PALACE

The Schönborn Palace was acquired by the United States Government at a cost of \$117,000 in 1925 from Richard Crane for the use of its mission at Prague. It is built on the site of an earlier house that was destroyed during the Thirty Years War (1618-1648) when the Mala Strana Quarter of Prague was occupied for a time by the Swedes. The present palace was erected by Count Colloredo-Mansfeld, one of the Austro-Hungarian generals who lost a leg at the battle of Lützen. The inclined flight of steps leading to the first garden terrace was purposely built in order to enable him to ride on horseback into his residence. The palace had the following owners before it was acquired by the United States:

Cardinal Prince Dietrichstein
Count Rudolph Colloredo
Charles, Count of Hatzfeld
The Prince of Hatzfeld
Count Schönborn
Hon. Richard Crane.

The palace was erected in 1643-56. It was later rebuilt by an Italian architect Giovanni Santini in 1715, who was architect for Prince Charles of Liechtenstein. The decorative moldings around the windows are adorned with ornamental heads and garlands in the baroque taste, and the arch leading to the central courtyard is supported by two gigantic caryatids (Atlantes), the work of Mathias Braun, one of the best sculptors of that age. Behind the palace stretches a terraced garden and orchard of seven acres which climbs up a hillside surmounted by a Belvedere, from which one enjoys a famous view of Prague.

The Palace has a frontage of several hundred feet on the street and is built in four wings around three courtyards. The Palace is referred to as Schönborn after the last titled owner before it was purchased by Mr. Crane, first U.S. Minister to Czechoslovakia. The Crane family was very close to the Masaryk family and was related by marriage. Altogether, the Palace contains over one hundred rooms. Those on the first floor are over 30 feet high, and many were originally hung with a damask and decorated with a stucco, subsequently removed by a former owner. Franz Kafka lived here briefly in 1917.

The building houses the American Embassy Offices, and additionally has eleven staff apartments and Marine Security Guard quarters.

Grant/Dooley
Draft one
November 9, 1990
A:CZECH.TOA

**PRESIDENTIAL TOAST: CZECHOSLOVAKIA DINNER
AMBASSADOR'S RESIDENCE
SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 17, 1990**

First of all, my sincere thanks to our hostess, Ambassador Shirley Temple Black, for her warm hospitality.

((I was going to change my clothes tonight in honor of President Havel, but unfortunately, I forgot my bluejeans.))

I am delighted to have this opportunity to visit the Czech and Slovak Federated Republic, and to see first-hand the remarkable changes taking place here. I always enjoy seeing President Havel, and we spent a glorious day together -- going from the Federal Assembly to Wenceslas Square, the place where the "Velvet Revolution" first began.

For it was there, a year ago tonight that the nation's largest political rally since the Prague Spring was held. Thirty thousand students gathered to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the death of a Czech student -- killed at the hands of the Nazis in another protest, that time on the eve of World War II. "We are remembering our predecessors, who did not hesitate to give their lives for what they believed in at that time," a student of the Velvet Revolution said. "They didn't doubt that being oppressed is worse than being dead. They died -- but they preserved their honor."

What those courageous patriots taught us was this: that appeasement toward an aggressor does not pay. And their honor is

preserved today by the multinational forces standing up to aggression elsewhere in the world. Because of the bitter lesson learned at Munich in 1938, all now agree: **there will be no appeasement this time.**

That night a year ago, the Czechoslovak protestors taught the world something else: that the power of the people is invincible.

And over the last year, the power of the people has shown through: they've formed a new constitution, renamed the country, and held the first democratic elections in 44 years -- electing this man, Vaclav Havel, the first non-communist President of Czechoslovakia since 1950, and elected the legendary Alexander Dubcek to the Presidency of the Federal Parliament. All in the name of democracy and freedom for the Czechoslovak people.

The Czechoslovaks have a bright future: new voices speaking out, steering the course of the nation -- assuming its rightful place in the new world order -- and in a new emerging Europe, **whole and free.**

The road ahead will be uphill. But I believe in the power of the Czech and Slovak people to meet the challenge -- and to win. For when power lies in the hands of every individual, each with his own broad potential to contribute to the future of your nation, then the future is indeed a bright one.

So let us all lift our glasses. I now propose a toast: **To the power of your people, and to the power of the friendship between our two great nations.**

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