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Remarks at Wenceslas Square [Czechoslovakia] 11/17/90 [OA 8318] [1]

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REMARKS AT WENCESLAS SQUARE

EVENT INFORMATION

- 1) Event will take place in Wenceslas Square on Saturday, November 17th. Perhaps as many as 200,00 are expected to attend. In all likelihood, Czech President Vaclav Havel will introduce POTUS. Looks like no more than 15 mins.
- 2) DAY IN HISTORY: This is a biggie--exactly one year ago on the date POTUS is scheduled to deliver his remarks, Czechoslovakia's "Velvet Revolution" began with a student confrontation with police in Prague (see ARTICLES).
- 3) An address to the Czech legislature will precede the remarks in Wenceslas Square.
- 4) NSC is working on the possibility that the original copy of Czechoslovakia's 1918 Declaration of Independence be presented to Havel during the event.
- 5) Two areas of sensitivity:
 - a. The first is the delicate balance between Slovak, Czech, and Czechoslovakian nationalism. Hutchins of NSC suggests that, without fanning the flames of Slovak nationalism, we make some sort of bow to their cultural integrity and uniqueness--to show that POTUS understands and appreciates their cultural separateness.
 - b. The second area is the economic hardship Czechs are dealing with at this time. POTUS should show that he understands how hard the ramifications of the Gulf crisis is hitting the Czech economy. POTUS should express America's gratitude--indeed the world's--at Czech sacrifice in the face of brutal aggression against another member of the international community.
- 6) While there are some parallels between Kuwait in 1990 and Czechoslovakia in 1938, we should hold off on any "Saddam as Hitler" analogies until that debate clears up at NSC. The point to remember, and one that transcends that debate, is that **aggression against a faraway country is everybody's business**. It's not about oil. It's not about Israel. It's about the world community united against international bullies, united for peace and national integrity.
- 7) Hutchins says any reference to Wilson can't miss. Wilson's a hero over there; he was the first world leader to recognize Czechoslovakian independence. (see Masaryk-Wilson connection).

WENCESLAUS SQUARE HISTORY/COLOR

- 1) On 28 October 1918, after hearing that the Austrian Empire fell apart, huge crowds celebrated on WS the birth of the independent Czechoslovak Republic. They cheered Thomas Masaryk and Woodrow Wilson.
- 2) In September 1939 thousands protested here against the Munich diktat, i.e. the dismemberment and political enslavement of Czechoslovakia by the Nazis.
- 3) Not far from WS, on 28 October 1939, the Nazis shot and mortally wounded Jan Opletal, one of the students who demonstrated against the Nazi oppression. New students' demonstration after Jan Opletal's death led to the complete suppression of the Czech universities on 17 November 1939.
17 November became a symbolical day for freedom-loving students all over the world.
- 4) In May 1945, when W W II ended, thousands of people again came to WS to celebrate the liberation of their country.
- 5) In February 1948 the Communist leaders announced on the WS the overthrow of a freely-elected democratic coalition government.
- 6) In August 1968 huge crowds gathered here to protest the invasion which crushed the Czechoslovak Reform Movement.
- 7) On 19 January 1969 the student Jan Palach set himself afire in the WS and sacrificed his life in protest against foreign intervention.
- 8) On 17 November 1989 demonstrations which started as a commemoration of the students' revolt 40 years ago, were the beginning of the Czechoslovak "Velvet Revolution". Again, as many times before, most of the demonstrations of hundreds of thousands of people took place here, on WS.

U.S.-CZECHOSLOVAK TIES

- 1) "Masaryk, the first president of Czechoslovakia, had a lifelong intellectual relationship with America which must be called unique even today, fifty years after his death. His practical contacts with the American people spread over four decades and consisted of four visits paid to the United States in the years 1878, 1902, 1907, and 1918, The crowning achievement of this relationship was American recognition of Czechoslovak independence on September 3, 1918."

--Masaryk and America, by George Kovtun,
p.vii

- 2) "America meant more to Masaryk than the powerful, prosperous country whose entry into the war turned the scales in favor of the Allies. Masaryk regarded America as a **spiritual force**."

--ibid., p. 47

- 3) Excerpt from Masaryk's speech at the American Unitarian Association in Boston, reported by the Christian Science Monitor on May 21, 1918:

"It is the American idea of a liberated mankind, that nations should not be forced to live under a sovereignty against their will. They should be allowed to seek refuge in the equality of nations which is preached by President Wilson, which was preached by President Lincoln and which we regard as the real Kingdom of God."

- 4) Excerpt from the final version of the Czechoslovak Declaration of Independence, sent to President Wilson:

"We accept and shall adhere to the ideals of modern democracy, as they have been the ideals of our nation for centuries. We accept the American principles laid down by President Wilson: the principles of liberated mankind--of the actual equality of nations--and of governments deriving all their just powers from the consent of the governed. We, the nation of Comenius, cannot but accept these principles expressed in the American Declaration of Independence, the principles of Lincoln, and the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen. For these principles our nation shed its blood in the memorable Hussite Wars five hundred years ago, for these same principles, beside her Allies in Russia, Italy, and France, our nation is shedding its blood today."

- 5) Masaryk and Woodrow Wilson were called "liberators" in the first proclamation of the revolutionary Czechoslovak National Council to the people issued on 28 November 1918:

"At the beginning of a new great work the National Council calls on you, Czech and Slovak people, to show by your behavior and by your joy that you are worthy of this great hour. Our liberators Masaryk and Wilson shall not be disappointed in their conviction that they had won freedom for a people who is able to govern itself."

- 6) At a celebration of the Fourth of July in Prague in 1919, attended by a group of Czech-American soldiers, Masaryk

described his leaning toward American democracy in a brief speech which had a strong personal note. An excerpt follows:

"...I had the privilege of visiting the battlefield of Gettysburg and I think I can say I was never more deeply impressed...And then I came to the cemetery and read the eternal message of Lincoln, I read of that true 'government of the people, by the people, for the people' that never shall perish from off the earth. This message touched me deeply and I realized what American democracy means...and I accepted the principles of American democracy. I can say that these principles have been and ever will be the policy of my government and my life. They appeal to our people, our people have adopted them as their own and through them we shall for ever be united with the American people, united with them in the spirit of liberty and democracy. You, boys, are returning to your homes. We shall never forget what you have done for us. We have been and are united in endeavor for liberty and I hope that one day I may once more meet with you out there in your adopted country. Do not forget that the same ideals, the same principles ever unite us. Do not forget us, as we shall never forget you."

- 7) Iwo Jima Memorial: one of the men from the most famous battle photographs ever taken, raising the U.S. flag, was a Slovak by origin, Mikhael Strank (Sh-trank). The soldier was born at Conemaugh, PA, on 10 November 1919; his parents were natives of Czechoslovakia. Strank fought with the 3rd Battalialion, 7th Marines.

On 1 March 1945, while attacking Japanese positions in northern Iwo Jima, he was fatally wounded by enemy artillery fire. Sgt. Strank was entitled to the following decorations and medals: Purple Heart (awarded posthumously), Presidential Unit Citation with one star (for Iwo Jima), and many more (see xerox).

- 8) Captain John Smith on his first trip to America in 1607 brought with him two Slovak carpenters. They died during their first year in Jamestown of Typhoid fever, which killed almost all the new settlers of Jamstown. They are buried in Jamestown. Cpt. Smith claims in his memoirs that **he hired the two Slovaks since Slovaks are the best carpenters in the world.** **This makes a nice analagous lead into: "and now those carpenters are lending their skills to the reconstruction of one of the world's greatest democracies."

- 9) McDonald Restaurants Founder Ray A. Kroc was a Czech by origin. Maybe there's a line in this, like:

POTUS: "And I think we all want to recognize the man who started a worldwide revolution, a man whose influence is

even felt today in the capital of the Soviet Union, that great Czechoslovak---Ray Kroc, founder of McDonald's."

- 10) One of the most famous astronauts of our times, Cpt. Eugene Andrew Cernan, traces his roots back to the Kysuca valley, North Slovakia. He took part in some of the most significant space flights of our time.

With his legitimate title to immortality, Cernan has remained closely attached to the religious tradition of his Slovak forefathers. Before takeoff on his last lunar flight he made this profound statement about the Creator of the Universe: "When you look back at the earth from the moon and you see the perfectness of it and the beauty of it and the logic of it all, you know it didn't happen by accident.."

- 11) Places in America with Czech names: Bohemia, NY; New Prague and Moravia, Minnesota; Prague, Nebraska; Moravia, Texas; and Slovaktown, Arkansas.
- 12) Czech-ered canvas: Andy Warhol, the artist who turned soup cans into money-making canvases, was born sometime between 1927 and 1932 in Pennsylvania. His father was a Czechoslovakian coal miner and his mother was an immigrant from Mikova.

JOKES

- 1) Sometimes the Czechs and Slovaks accuse each other of mutual bad influence: Slovaks learned to drink beer from Czechs and the Czechs learned to drink wine from Slovaks. Maybe we can extend this, something along the lines of...
POTUS: "And I think we have a similar exchange going on between the Americans and the people of Czechoslovakia...you gave us the polka, and we give you breakdancing."

OR: "...you gave us Dvorak, and we give you rap-music."

CZECHOSLOVAK COLOR

- 1) The Czechoslovak National Anthem gets a little complicated with parts that are "Czech parts" and others that are "Slovak parts." Nonetheless, per your request, here are some excerpts:

CZECH PART

"Where is my home, where is my home?
Streams are rushing through the meadows,
'Mid the rocks sigh fragrant pine groves,
Orchards decked in Spring's array
Scenes of Paradise portray.
And this land of wond'rous beauty
Is the Czech land, home of mine,

Is the Czech land, home of mine."

SLOVAK PART

"Lightning strikes our mighty Tatra tempest-shaken,
Lightning strikes our mighty Tatra tempest-shaken.
Stand we fast, friends of mine,
Storms must pass, sun will shine,
Slovaks shall awaken."

ARTICLES

- 1) "Czechoslovakia's Velvet Revolution, as it came to be called, began with the crack of riot sticks against student heads...On Friday night, Nov. 17, more than 3,000 young people stood in the cold and faced down a line of riot police. As the students chanted for elections and entry into Wenceslas Square, hundreds more police moved in behind them, sealing off connecting streets and forming a human cage...At about 10 p.m., the police attacked. With help from the Red Berets, an anti-terrorist squad, they bashed, bludgeoned and kicked with methodical fury, continuing even as unarmed students fell bleeding to the ground..."

"The blood that stained Narodni Street that night, and the rumor that a student had been killed, worked like a red flag before the Czechoslovak people..."

"Czechoslovakia's hard-line leadership, installed by Leonid Brezhnev to crush reform after the Soviet-led invasion of 1968, had for two decades treated independent thought as treason. Gorbachev presented them with an unsolvable problem. If they allowed democratic reform, they faced certain extinction. If they didn't they increased Czechoslovakia's isolation..."

"Operation Student, as the Interior Ministry called it, proved to be the worst incident of government violence against citizens in 20 years. The next day, protesters crept back toward Wenceslas Square, to light candles and sing anthems where the students had fallen..."

--Washington Post

- 2) "After the First World War, independence returned. The new democratic Czechoslovak Republic united the agricultural, often impoverished Slovaks and the industrial, prosperous Czechs..."

"Soon came the tragic Hitler years the partition of Czechoslovakia, and liberation by the Soviet Army. By 1948 the postwar coalition government succumbed to the country's militant Communist Party, which was aided by the Soviet Union..."

"..Czechs often dismiss Slovaks as hillbillies, lacking culture, while many Slovaks perceive Czechs as cold and conceited."

"That year (1968) a Slovak, Alexander Dubcek, Czechoslovakia's Communist Party general secretary, aided by party members and ordinary citizens sanctioned an unprecedented drive toward liberalization. His attempt to create 'socialism with a human face' shook the country, ending abruptly with the Soviet-led invasion of Warsaw Pact troops. The 'Prague Spring' of 1968 was discredited as an attempt to disrupt the very foundation of socialist order. Disgraced, Dubcek was forced to resign."

The article quotes a Slovak woman as confiding: "'We have a saying: 'From anything old a new sapling must grow.' That's what happened after the war. Facism rotted away, and on its ruins we built socialism, such as it is. It could be better if people were better. Bad often tries to destroy the good.'"

--National Geographic, "Slovakia's Spirit of Survival," Yva Momatiuk, January, 1987

- 3) "(in Prague)..street vendors sell not only folk art but also anti-Communist buttons, including a cute one with a skull and a red hammer and sickle instead of crossbones..

"Not included in the tour was the Prague monument to Soviet liberators. A statue of a Russian soldier locked in an embrace with a Czech civilian, it has become, I was told, a gathering place and an ironic symbol for the country's budding gay liberation movement, its pedestal plastered with the movement's leaflets."

--The American Spectator, Cathy Young, October 1990

QUOTES

- 1) "Let us have but one end in view, the welfare of humanity; and let us put aside all selfishness in consideration of language, nationality, or religion."

--John Comenius (1592-1670) **he is Czechoslovakia's greatest philosopher. To give you an idea of his stature among Czechs, note that Masaryk often referred to Czechoslovakia as "the home of Comenius."

- 2) "O holy simplicity!"

--John Huss, the great Czech martyr, his last words at the stake.

- 3) This would be a great quote to pay deference to Havel as a man of letters. Franz Kafka, the great Czech poet once said, "A book must be the axe for the frozen sea inside us." Maybe we could paraphrase "the book" into "the power of the written word" or something along those lines.
- 4) "PRAVDA VITEZI" (THE TRUTH WILL WIN) This is Czechoslovakia's motto, adopted by the Czech Republic in the 15th century.

COME ON BABY LIGHT MY FIRE

- 1) In 1668 Comenius dedicated a treatise, The Way of Light (Via Lucis), "to the torch bearers of this enlightened age, members of the Royal Society of London, now bringing real philosophy to a happy birth." He expressed the "confident hope" that through their endeavors "philosophy brought to perfection" would "exhibit the true and distinctive qualities of things..for the constantly progressive increase of all that makes for good to mind, body, and estate.

For further information contact:

FROM REVOLUTION TO DEMOCRACY:
CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE
IN THE NEW EUROPE
ADDRESS BY
SECRETARY OF STATE JAMES A. BAKER, III
CHARLES UNIVERSITY
PRAGUE, CZECHOSLOVAKIA
Wednesday, February 7, 1990

FOR RELEASE: 6:01 a.m. LOCAL TIME
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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
PRESS
FILE

On an autumn day in Washington, D.C., seventy-two years ago, a messenger brought an envelope to the White House. A clerk stamped the enclosed letter, "Received, October 18, 1918."

The letter was sent by an elderly former professor from Prague to his friend, a former professor from Princeton.

The letter was timely, for on that very day, October 18, the Princeton professor, Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States, was considering a recent proposal from the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

That letter to the White House was the Declaration of Independence of the Czechoslovak Nation. Thomas Masaryk had sent it.

As our twenty-eighth President read the document from the man who would be your first President, he must have been stirred by the words that recalled our own declaration of independence from an empire. He must have been moved by the closing passage:

"The forces of darkness have served the victory of light, -- the longed-for age of humanity is dawning. We believe in democracy, we believe in liberty, -- and liberty ever more."

That same day, October 18, Woodrow Wilson sent his reply to the Austro-Hungarian Empire. He recognized the Czecho-Slovak National Council as a "government clothed with proper authority." And he insisted that Czechs and Slovaks, not an emperor in Vienna, should be the judges of their own destiny.

Special Initiatives
But the wisdom of Masaryk and Wilson, the rationality of democracy and self-determination, did not last.

The days of reason of 1918 yielded to the unreasoning darkness of 1938 and 1948. Czechoslovakia witnessed -- and endured -- frightening totalitarian power and the breakdown of the European order. The United States returned to Europe, and America's young men died, resisting Nazi and Fascist aggression. Then America stayed in Europe to contain Stalinist expansionism.

Now the revolutions of 1989 have revived an age of reason for Czechoslovakia and Eastern and Central Europe.

That is what brings us together in this special place. Twenty-two years ago, students just like you -- students like Jan Palach -- joined during a fateful Prague Spring to

restore the vibrant democratic society that once stood at the heart of Europe -- only to be crushed by the twisted normality of "normalization," by the unreason of the era of stagnation.

Now you -- the students of this great university -- have taken part, heroically and responsibly, in your velvet revolution.

So it is especially fitting for me to come here, to Czechoslovakia, to Prague, to this university, to talk with you about how we might promote, perpetuate, and protect Europe's democratic revolutions.

Never again should you -- or any other people -- have totalitarianism steal away your freedom.

Never again should you be just the objects of history, unable to effect, much less shape, your own destiny. Unable to do anything but cry out: "o nas, bez nas, proti nam" -- about us, without us, against us.

From Revolution to Lasting Democracy

In December in Berlin, I discussed four key features of the new European architecture: NATO, the EC, CSCE, and a continuing American role in Europe.

Here in Prague, I want to resume that discussion. I want to share my thoughts on how Czechoslovakia and its neighbors in Central and Eastern Europe can move from revolutions to lasting democracies that draw strength from the new architecture.

The historic, democratic movements that we are witnessing across Europe -- here in Prague and in Bratislava, in Warsaw and Budapest, in Berlin, Sofia, Belgrade, and Bucharest -- hold great promise for all of us. They hold the promise that Europe can achieve what President Havel has called "the era of freedom." What President Bush has called a "Europe whole and free."

We must work to fulfill that promise and to protect it. Indeed, we all know that initial impulses for democracy may not be enough. If 1989 was the year of sweeping away, 1990 must become the year of building anew.

Four challenges confront the newly emerging democracies of this region.

First, the spirit of revolution needs to move from the streets into the government. Transitional regimes need to give way to fair and free elections that establish open parliaments with a place for opposition. The new democratic political systems need to respect the rule of law and fundamental

individual rights and liberties -- including freedom of speech, assembly, religion, and the press. Majority rule must respect minority rights.

Second, the spirit of the New Europe needs to be reflected in security arrangements that remove the threat of military aggression or intimidation and promote the peaceful settlement of disputes. Elections and new security treaties will be mutually reinforcing, for only freely-elected governments can legitimize the security arrangements the treaties will codify.

Third, the spirit of economic reform needs to move forward to allow free men and women to enjoy economic liberty -- including the rights to private ownership and to work alone or collectively in markets where prices are set by individual choices, not centralized diktat. The improved performance and freedom of market economies will be necessary to help sustain popular support for the new democracies.

Following from these three challenges, I suggest there may also be a fourth: Some of the new democracies of the region may determine that they can better support and sustain their common effort if they do so in concert, perhaps through some form of regional cooperation.

In each of these efforts, the evolving institutions of a New Europe -- NATO, the EC, CSCE -- will play important roles.

So will America. For as you make progress toward democratic ideals, so do we, for that is the essence of America. Both Wilson and Masaryk understood that.

None of us should underestimate the difficulty of the work ahead. But neither should we underestimate the great opportunity presented all of us by your courage.

As President Havel said on New Year's Day, "Let us teach both ourselves and others that politics does not have to be the art of the possible, especially if this means the art of speculating, calculating, intrigues, secret agreements and pragmatic maneuvering, but that it also can be the art of the impossible, that is the art of making both ourselves and the world better."

Free Elections -- The First Challenge

Two months ago in Berlin, I emphasized that governments based on the consent of the governed are the first requirement for an enduring peace in Europe. Americans value self-determination because we value the dignity and freedom of the individual. We value it, too, because the principle of self-determination is the only basis upon which legitimate governments can stand.

The steps you take are not just your own. They are also steps forward for all states that have a stake in a legitimate European order, including the United States and the Soviet Union. Only through the legitimacy of democracy will we achieve a resilient and lasting stability.

Governments accountable to their peoples, and more concerned with the livelihood of their citizens than with their apparatus, armies, or secret police, will secure a Europe whole and free in a way armies of tanks never could. Democratic governments are far more likely to promote the well-being of their citizens than to pursue expansionist, aggressive aims.

President Gorbachev also appears to have understood this opportunity. By word and deed, this new Soviet leadership seems to agree that legitimacy, not force, is the only way to ensure European stability. As Foreign Minister Shevardnadze said just last month, "We are emerging from a difficult past. We are emerging from it, having learned well its main lesson: Only an advanced democracy can give guarantees against the abuse of power and can secure a nation against repression and violence."

Since self-determination through a free and fair election is the right that secures all others, President Bush has called for adding free elections to CSCE nations' human rights obligations. This proposal would commit all 35 CSCE participating states to hold periodic and genuine elections, permit free party activity, and require that elections be open to foreign observers. Between now and the Copenhagen CSCE conference, the United States will propose new provisions to support, monitor, and carry out a free elections regime within the CSCE process.

Indeed, I propose that all CSCE member states join with the United States in sending observer delegations to ensure that the people power elections of 1990 genuinely represent the will of the people.

No proposal could be more timely. Last month, Romania said it would invite U.N. observers to its elections. Now I hope Romania will give our CSCE observer proposal greater impetus by being the first nation to invite CSCE observers.

1989 was the year the people took to the streets. 1990 should be the year the people move into their parliaments.

I would like to add one cautionary note. We are troubled by indications that some of the governments in the region have engaged in practices that will obstruct truly free and fair elections. Let me be clear: The peaceful transition to democracy now under way in Central and Eastern Europe will not tolerate rear guard maneuvers from any quarter. As we have seen in the GDR and Romania, such actions will only undercut

the legitimacy of this vital process. And any steps that undercut the creation of legitimate governments will increase, not decrease, instability. That is in no one's interest.

We will proceed on the basis of a new democratic differentiation: any backsliding in the movement to create legitimate governments will isolate a nation from the support we can provide.

Consolidating Changes in Europe's Security: The Second Challenge

The democratic imperative is the first and most basic challenge. But the second challenge is no less important. I want to state our objective as clearly as possible: We must leave behind not only the Cold War but also the conflicts that preceded it.

After 1918, you built a strong democracy and a vibrant economy, but 1938 and 1948 proved the necessity for enduring, effective security.

The lesson is clear: Military changes must keep pace with political ones. And CFE is a critical step toward an agreed and codified security system. Last week President Bush made a new proposal that should bring an effective CFE Treaty to a rapid conclusion.

The United States is confident that such an agreement will promote a stable strategic relationship in Europe. That relationship should minimize and deter the threat of any army of invasion and end the unjust presence of any army of occupation.

We also believe that enduring security necessitates a continued U.S. military role on the continent -- for as long as our allies desire it -- to reassure the nations of Europe, large and small, that we will stand by them to resist invasion, intimidation, or coercion.

We can make the European strategic situation more predictable and perhaps less threatening by encouraging greater openness and transparency in military affairs. Next week, for example, Canada will host the Open Skies Conference in Ottawa, where we hope to begin negotiations toward implementing President Bush's proposal to overcome the suspicions of secrecy through a system of overflights on short notice.

The negotiations on Confidence and Security Building Measures within CSCE offer a vehicle for ongoing efforts to reduce tensions on the continent. Yet our present proposals are oriented primarily toward the danger of Eastern offensive action against the West. We also need to develop measures that would impede an assertion of military might by any European nation against any other.

So today I propose that we start exploring the expansion of the confidence and security building measures agenda. For example, we should consider new proposals to promote greater military transparency between neighboring states, especially along border areas, and to open the military budgets of all 35 CSCE nations to public scrutiny.

NATO will continue to play an important role in ensuring strategic stability and predictability in Europe -- West and East -- but NATO must also evolve to assume new missions. As a political alliance, NATO offers a cohesive structure that can help address old and new European animosities and fears -- outside and inside NATO. As a security alliance among sixteen like-minded democracies, NATO should consider how it might facilitate collective action against non-traditional threats -- such as proliferation and regional conflicts. As a political and a security alliance, NATO can assist in the verification of arms control and security agreements to the benefit of all Europeans.

Economic Requirements for the New Democracies: The Third Challenge

Free elections and treaties on conventional forces and confidence building measures will help advance and consolidate your people power revolutions. But if steps are not taken to promote economic vitality, then the stability of Europe may be threatened again. This is one of the painful lessons of the inter-war years. The newly emancipated peoples of this region now face the long and trying labor of regenerating societies devastated by half a century of totalitarian rule.

A major part of this effort must clean up your rivers, lakes, forests, soil, and air -- damaged just as badly by central-planning as were your economies themselves.

Because the circumstances of each nation differ considerably, it would be a mistake to apply a mechanistic assistance formula. I believe, however, we can, identify stages of economic reform to which the United States, the EC, and the other nations of the Group of 24 should tailor support.

First, some nations will need short-term emergency aid to cope with severe shortages of necessities -- for example, food, medicine, and disaster relief. We will be there to break the fall. But we will seek to do so in a way that does not undercut the revitalization of homegrown solutions -- especially in agriculture.

The private sector can play a key role here. For instance, the American organization, AmeriCares, has sent over \$80 million in medical supplies since 1982 to aid the people of this region. And their supplies are donated primarily from American pharmaceutical companies -- over 800 of them.

Second, all the new democracies will need help in the transition from broken down Stalinist command economies to market systems driven by the engine of private enterprise. Your new Finance Minister, Vaclav Klaus, recently made a succinct statement at an international meeting that went to the heart of the problem: We don't need the old types of cooperation, he reminded an old thinking Eastern colleague, we need business!

Businesses need market prices and an opportunity to compete. It is up to you to provide a conducive legal environment, to turn over or sell factories to private owners, and to lift the heavy hand of excessive government intervention. It is up to us to help draw foreign investors, offering incentives where appropriate, and even at times to supply seed money for local private ventures. It is up to all of us to lend a hand -- especially through multilateral financial support -- to democratic economies struggling to manage such difficult transition problems as debt payments, stabilization of currency values, and currency convertibility.

That is exactly what we are doing for Poland and Hungary, where the United States alone has offered about \$1 billion in various assistance measures. And just last week, President Bush asked Congress for \$300 million for assistance to Eastern Europe. While some of our assistance will be available to all, the progress a government makes in meeting the challenges I have outlined will influence the availability of the full range of aid.

Third, we must integrate the new market democracies into the international economic system. You need access to IMF and World Bank resources. You need barriers to trade removed bilaterally and through GATT, so potential investors will know they can export to other markets. You need access to high technology. To meet this need, the United States is considering with its allies adjustments in the COCOM system that could enable you to have access to technology, provided you will protect it and forego industrial espionage.

We have been pleased the European Community has assumed a major role in coordinating economic assistance, because the availability of the EC market for the nations of Central and Eastern Europe is vital. We recognize, as well, that others -- including the United States, Japan, and the EFTA nations -- should also play significant roles so the new market democracies can assume their proper independent place within the whole of Europe and the larger international system.

Czechoslovakia and other nations of Eastern Europe warrant special recognition at this historic time. Therefore, I am pleased to announce that we will support the offer of the government of Czechoslovakia to locate the new European Development Bank for Reconstruction and Development here in Prague, in the center and heart of Europe.

I also look forward to the Bonn CSCE economic conference as an opportunity to establish European-wide adherence to market principles. If CSCE is to fulfill its potential, it needs a better developed economic component that will aid the transition to market economies and promote ongoing respect for economic liberty and open markets.

CSCE Summit

Free elections. CFE and security. Dynamic market economies.

Standing alone, each of these is important. But together they are mutually reinforcing. Together they offer an agenda for the United States and others that want to ensure that the revolutions of 1989 become the democracies of the 1990s. Together they can help build governments that answer to only one power: the people.

This agenda draws from and builds on the CSCE framework.

It should be the agenda of a CSCE Summit.

Therefore, the United States stands ready to participate in a 35-nation CSCE Summit this year if the Summit addresses three points.

One, we need to make substantial progress on the U.S. and U.K. proposal to establish a CSCE commitment to hold periodic and genuine elections. Free elections should be a human right and are the baseline requirement for establishing a new, legitimate European political order.

Two, we must complete the CFE Treaty -- so it can be signed at the Summit -- establishing new, legitimate security arrangements.

Three, we should clearly define the Summit agenda based on substantive progress and possible proposals in other areas as well, including economics. This way, it can prepare for, not replace, the 1992 Helsinki Review Meeting and demonstrate CSCE's potential for advancing reform in a New Europe. For example, we might consider how CSCE can gradually develop institutions to support its work in the three baskets, as the FRG has suggested.

U.S. Bilateral Programs for Czechoslovakia

Let me say a word about our bilateral assistance program for Czechoslovakia. Under the sure guidance of the Civic Forum and the Public Against Violence, Czechs and Slovaks together have shown that no change is too rapid when it is peaceful, consolidates democratic gains, and leads to a legitimate government. Our assistance can help you continue your revolution.

In recognition of your country's dramatically changed human rights situation, I am pleased to announce that the President will notify the Congress that he is waiving the Jackson-Vanik Amendment. This waiver will open the way for Most Favored Nation status for Czechoslovakia after we negotiate a trade agreement. And when Czechoslovakia's parliament passes new, liberal legislation on free emigration, the United States will declare Czechoslovakia in full compliance with Jackson-Vanik, as we have done with Hungary, so that Czechoslovakia can enjoy MFN status without the requirement of an annual waiver.

The President will also request authority for the U.S. Overseas Private Investment Corporation to operate in Czechoslovakia to encourage and offer financial support to private U.S. investors.

And we will support your recent request to rejoin the IMF.

The United States will also:

- Support you economically by making Czechoslovakia eligible for the export-credit guarantees of our Export-Import Bank and Commodity Credit Corporation; by seeking legislation to promote technical assistance; by negotiating a bilateral investment treaty; and by coordinating this assistance with the multilateral efforts of the Group of 24.
- Support you ecologically by proposing a joint U.S.-Czechoslovak study to determine the most cost effective way to deal with your serious air pollution problems; by encouraging you to participate in the Budapest Regional Environmental Center announced by President Bush last July; and by intensifying our dialogue on all transnational issues, including the environment, drug trafficking, and terrorism.
- Support closer ties between our peoples by increasing cultural and educational exchange programs; by beginning a Peace Corps English language program here; by establishing USIA cultural centers in Bratislava and in Prague; and above all, by reopening our consulate in Bratislava. These steps will go far toward reestablishing our historical ties with both the Slovak and Czech peoples.

I also have one more U.S. initiative to announce today, an idea specially suited to safeguarding your democracy and those of your neighbors. It starts from the assumption that just as you have won your own freedom, so too will well informed citizens protect freedom by setting wrong to right. As Thomas Jefferson wrote almost 200 years ago, "Where the press is free, and every man able to read, all is safe."

These were and are wise words.

The United States proposes, therefore, the establishment of a Fund for Independent Broadcasting and a Free Press. Our goal

is to support cooperative development of commercial and non-profit radio and television broadcasting and free press in Czechoslovakia and the rest of Central and Eastern Europe. The Fund would solicit participation and contributions from Western private corporations and institutions. This Fund's principal purpose would be to assist groups in the region that wish to start independent radio, television, and print enterprises. The Fund could provide seed money for start-up costs as well as technical assistance. It would also provide training in the United States and other Western countries in the use of equipment and development of professional broadcast and print standards.

New Associations in the Region and Europe: The Fourth Challenge

In a region that has suffered so greatly from the distortion of national interest and from international isolation, I am encouraged by the first signs of coordination and possible new association among newly democratic states. President Havel and others have opened the discussion. We recognize that the growth of legitimate multilateral organizations that reflect the economic political and security interests of this region will develop as they are needed, but permit me, if you will, to think out loud for a few moments.

The United States has supported voluntary associations of independent nations in every other region in the world. As in Western Europe after World War II, we believe that the process of political and economic reconstruction may be strengthened by new forms of cooperation.

We believe voluntary associations follow naturally from democracy and are, in a sense, a natural way for democracies to build international civil society and overcome old animosities. Indeed, association may also give you additional strength to build democratic institutions at home, because the lessons and success of one may assist another.

We welcome, for example, the recent discussions of mutually beneficial economic cooperation in the region by officials of the governments of Hungary, Poland, and Czechoslovakia, including a possible free trade agreement, free flow of capital and labor, harmonized financial systems, and a convertible accounting unit. Economic integration can enhance efficiency and growth. Common infrastructure projects can assure compatible communications, transport, and energy networks.

The purpose of such closer ties should not be to isolate the countries in association from others. Indeed, your nations have every interest in overcoming the enforced associations of the past that actually discouraged your entry into the European and global economies. No longer should the circumstances of this continent subject you to characterization as "The Lands Between"; you can, instead, establish a region of recognition

and respect. Working together, you might strengthen your position and fashion a special relationship with the EC, the nations of EFTA, or the U.S.

If you do work together, we will respect your decision by providing our assistance in a way that supports your association. The choice of whether to associate and in what form is of course entirely yours to make.

A Commonwealth of Free Nations

Today in Prague and two months ago in Berlin, I have elaborated upon the President's vision of a Europe whole and free. I have described America's vital role in building that new Europe together with you. By respecting the principles of self-determination and democratic choice, we believe that the old divisions of Europe can be overcome. The legacy of 1938 and 1948 can be left behind, and the hopes of 1918 and 1968 can be fulfilled.

Before I came to speak to you this morning, I visited the place where, twenty-one years ago, Jan Palach set himself on fire to protest fear and terror. There is little that an American official can tell this audience about his sacrifice. But I know that among the students of his old university gathered here today, the student Palach would not be a lonely man.

For in affirming your dignity as individuals, you have reclaimed more than the future of your generation. In recovering your independence as Czechs and Slovaks, you have begun more than your country's historic return to Europe. You have shown that, in the words of your president, freedom is indivisible.

When the "freedom trains" bearing East German citizens pulled out of Prague last year, hundreds of your countrymen stood and cheered. But the freedom train of 1989 did not stop at the East German border or the Czechoslovak border or the Hungarian border, just as it did not stop at the border of Poland or Bulgaria or Romania or Yugoslavia.

It is the great promise of our historical moment that the return to freedom and the return to a whole Europe are bound together -- and can only succeed together. And I believe the day will come when any European can stand in any European city -- in Prague or Paris, in Berlin or Budapest -- and see only countries of free individuals, a continent of free parliaments, a commonwealth of free nations. For as more and more people today understand in more and more places, freedom's journey is one that should never end.

President Havel was right. Politics can be the art of the impossible.

*old notes
- syme link*

RLH draft, 11/8/90

SPEECH IN WENCESLAS SQUARE

It is a great honor for me, as the first American President ever to have visited Czechoslovakia, to join you in commemorating your revolution of one year ago today -- part of the revolutionary year that transformed Europe. Your "velvet revolution" inspired the world -- in the private acts of courage of individual Czechs and Slovaks, and in the triumph of principles that guide free men and women everywhere. Your revolution was our renewal; your freedom is our freedom.

Today, as we commemorate the past and celebrate the present, I want to share with you my vision of the future -- of a new **Atlantic partnership**, in which the rising democracies of central and eastern Europe are full participants, and of a new world order, in which the democratic principles that have been so spectacularly affirmed in Europe are extended beyond this Continent to the entire world.

*Q: Based to this
(not part of the
country's link -
Czechs have been
- inspiring*

Our two countries are linked by the closest of bonds -- the most deeply held national values and aspirations of our peoples. Your Declaration of Independence, written in the United States in 1918 by your first President, **Thomas Masaryk** (TOE-mas-MAS-ah-rick) and signed also by the great Slovak patriot **Milan Stefanik** (MEE-lan SHTEH-fah-neek), was inspired by our own Declaration of Independence. American soldiers liberated much of your country from Nazi occupation. And they remained in Europe under the North Atlantic Alliance to defend against a new threat to liberty and to maintain common cause with those for whom liberty was denied.

*- did really
info volume*

Just as Czechs and Slovaks refused to yield to oppression, so too did we Americans remain steadfast during your long decades of darkness. You never accepted Europe's division, nor did we. You never accepted the notion that part of Europe should be cut off, denied its liberty and its right of self-determination -- nor did we. Through Radio Free Europe and the Voice of America, we helped you keep the flame of liberty burning even through the darkest nights of repression.

for freedom

Today we share the fruits of our joint resolve. Czechoslovakia is free. Europe stands at the threshold of a new era of peace, prosperity and security. It is being built on the strong foundation of our common democratic principles -- those same principles that inspired our country's Founding Fathers, and yours, and which are enshrined in the Universal Declaration on Human Rights and the Helsinki Final Act. Americans and Europeans, working together in the partnership that made the revolutions of 1989 possible, now have the opportunity to consolidate those democratic triumphs and build a Europe that is truly whole and free.

*- Prague after
- Congress on course
- 500000 - 500000
- freedom -*

*- Pety - stand beside today
here in P., heart of Europe - can love have come
↑ (again, says?)*

- been

Our work is not complete. Czechoslovakia's revolution, like those of the other new democracies of central and eastern Europe, has just begun. You, like your neighbors to the north and south, face the unprecedented task of building stable democratic rule and a prosperous market economy on the ruins of totalitarianism. Today I pledge anew America's strong support for your efforts.

-- Later today, our two countries will sign a bilateral investment treaty and the documents that will grant Czechoslovakia Most Favored Nation status, giving your country the most liberal access possible to our markets.

-- (Other initiatives to be inserted by NSC.)

America is also committed to welcoming the new democracies of central and eastern Europe fully into the commonwealth of free nations and assuring them a secure place in the new Europe. We must not fail you in this decisive moment in your history. That is why I today reaffirm that Prague should be the site of a permanent Secretariat of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. It is right that Prague, at Europe's geographic center, should be at its political center as well.

In Paris a few days from now, we will sign historic documents: a CFE Treaty, providing for deep reductions in conventional armed forces in Europe, [[a U.S.-EC Declaration of Principles,]] and a CSCE Summit Declaration, charting the future role of CSCE in ending Europe's division. The Atlantic Alliance, the essential guarantor of European security, has pledged itself to that same goal; and a more united European Community, one that is open and outward-looking, can extend its prosperity to all of Europe. Working together, we can fulfill the promise of a Europe that is truly whole and free. But Europe's reconciliation will be incomplete without a vision that extends still farther.

A few years ago, Vaclav Havel wrote that when Western visitors came to see your so-called "dissidents," they generally asked how they could help your cause. Although grateful for such offers, Havel wondered why the Westerners couldn't see that your cause was their cause, too. He wrote the following: "Are not my dim prospects or my hopes his dim prospects and hopes as well? Is not the destruction of humans in Prague a destruction of all humans? Is not indifference to what is happening here a preparation for the same kind of misery elsewhere?" Dissident Havel, now President Havel, spoke in these words of a shared destiny -- that the fate of all mankind is linked.

In that spirit, let me say to you now that our challenge, even as we consolidate the gains of the past year, is to forge a new Atlantic partnership of shared values and common security -- a larger Atlantic community, open to all who are dedicated to

*read carefully
- this is Russian
- Paul of 1981.*

of New York

democracy and the rule of law, and a partnership that extends to the far horizons. The successes we have achieved together can show the way to a new world order, based on the same democratic principles now ascendant in Europe.

Czechs and Slovaks understand that vision and that challenge. The heirs of Jan Hus (Yon HOOSE), whose statue stands just a few blocks from us, and of Comenius (Koh-MAIN-ee-us), the Moravian whose name graces the great university at Bratislava, have always looked to the far horizon, with principles that are universal. As small nations, whose very existence may be called into question at any moment, you have always understood that your future depends not only on your own actions, heroic as they have been, but on the broader principles that govern the world in which you live. No people, no Continent, is secure unto itself. Our fates, our futures, are intertwined.

The current crisis in the Persian Gulf is a warning -- to America as well as to Europe -- that we cannot turn inward and insulate our own continental concerns from global challenges. For those in America who would retreat once again into isolationism, for those on this side of the Atlantic who believe in "Europe for the Europeans," Iraq's brutal aggression against Kuwait is a rude reminder of our shared global responsibilities.

No peoples understand better what is at stake in the Gulf than Czechs and Slovaks. You know from your own bitter experience that the world cannot turn a blind eye to aggression in the vain hope that the aggressor can be appeased. We Americans have learned, too, the costs to ourselves and to Europe of our isolationism after the First World War. Let us both, Americans and Europeans alike, pledge ourselves anew to looking outward -- to assume our global responsibilities in partnership.

The world's resolute action against Iraqi aggression and in support of fundamental principles of international conduct show what can be achieved when Americans and Europeans work together in common cause with the rest of the world. The Soviet Union has demonstrated convincingly its commitment to solving regional conflicts as a constructive and vital force for international stability. Through successive resolutions of the Security Council, the United Nations has shown that it can work as its creators intended it -- free from the ideological confrontation that frustrated collective action for the past forty years.

From this first crisis of the post-Cold War era has come an historic opportunity -- to extend our international solidarity and to build a new world order, based on the principles that undergird our own countries and the broader Atlantic community of nations:

-- democracy and the rule of law;

- respect for human rights and individual liberty;
- an open global trading system based on market economies;
- solidarity against aggression and coercion -- and against threats like terrorism, which respect no boundaries;
- promotion of enduring international peace and security.

The principles are familiar. They are your principles, our principles -- those for which we have fought and died. What is new is the opportunity we now have to consolidate them within our larger Atlantic community and to extend them beyond -- not as fine words, but as the governing principles of the world in which we live.

Americans and Europeans have learned these past thrilling months what our partnership can achieve -- the end of the Cold War and the creation of a Europe whole and free. We have the vision, the values, and the vitality to extend our Atlantic partnership to new horizons. We have that obligation as well.

Today, I join Czechs and Slovaks in celebration of freedom -- yours and ours. I salute you for your courage and your vision, for what you have achieved and what you will achieve. And I challenge you, as you take your rightful place in the center of Europe, to extend your vision beyond your continent -- to join an American-European partnership to build a new world, so that your peace and prosperity -- our shared peace and prosperity -- can be the peace and prosperity of all mankind.

((At the beginning of my remarks, I referred to your Declaration of Independence and the principles it embraced -- the principles about which I have spoken today. That stirring document has been preserved and cherished in our Library of Congress. We Americans have been its custodians, just as we have been the custodians of liberty during the "times of darkness" your country has so bravely endured through foreign occupation and totalitarian rule twice-imposed within the living memory of many who are gathered in this Square today.

((As humanity, liberty, and independence return to Czechoslovakia, so too should that document we have guarded these many years. President Havel, on behalf of the American people and particularly of those who gave their lives in the cause of liberty, I am honored to return to the people of Czechoslovakia your original Declaration of Independence. May you keep it, as we have, as a reminder for the generations of the ties that bind our nations and the principles that bind all humanity.))

and return

*not to be some certificate
signed by
Havel*

November 7, 1990

MEMORANDUM FOR CHRISS WINSTON

FROM: BOB SIMON 

SUBJECT: PRAGUE SPEECHES

General

- o Czechoslovakia is made up of two separate states: Czech and Slovakia. It is a sensitive subject with the Slovaks that the President is not visiting Slovakia, so he should say "I wish I had time to visit Slovakia (or Bratislava, their biggest city). When referring to the people, always refer to Czechs and Slovaks, not just Czechs. >
- o The people are friendly, wear Western style clothing, and like Americans very much.
- o The economy is better than Poland; there is merchandise to buy. However, they have almost no experience with private retailing like in Hungary. They are about to undergo a wrenching switch to capitalism. Havel is a populist. He says, "Why should the people suffer? They did nothing wrong." However, Havel's new finance minister urges a quick change to private enterprise. It will be painful, but should succeed.
- o I saw no evidence of 40 years of communist rule on the streets. No red stars. No hammers and sickles. No communist statues.
- o Prague is a stunningly beautiful city on a level with Paris and Budapest. There is a mixture of medieval, gothic, Baroque and Classical architecture that is unique in Europe. However, all of the buildings are covered in heavy soot from the heavy use of coal. If cleaned, Prague would rank high on a list of Europe's wonders. The Czechs say, "Don't judge us now. Wait five years." It will take longer, but they should make a lot of progress. >
- o The U.S. is held in high regard. Woodrow Wilson was considered crucial in forming the country in 1918. They also appreciate us for standing up against communism, particularly during the Prague Spring in 68. They are not expecting lots of \$\$\$ but do want technical assistance and advice. Radio Free Europe is also credited with keeping the dissident movement going. >
- o The press is now totally free. I saw a Playboy-style Czech calendar on sale in the Metro station under Wenceslas Square for \$1.30. (Didn't buy it.)

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ADDRESS TO FEDERAL ASSEMBLY

This should be 12-15 minutes on teleprompter. About 300 legislators will be seated in an austere, modern auditorium. The building, built by the communists, is modern and fairly ugly. The only interesting item is that the new government installed two busts in the entry lobby of Thomas G. Masaryk and M.R. Stefanik. Masaryk was the country's first President. Stefanik was general under Masaryk. They are considered the founders of the country.

ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE IN WENCESLAS SQUARE

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Wenceslas Square is the spiritual and emotional heart of this nation. It is the grandest boulevard in Prague. It is the heart of the commercial district. It is where the Soviet tanks rolled in to crush dissent in 68. It is where the Velvet Revolution peacefully overthrew the communists in 89. King Wenceslas was also the originator of Czech nationalism several centuries ago. It was suggested to me that the speech be built around the phrase: "The history of freedom was written here." This should go over well. Maybe the President could say it in Czech? I don't know if it's pronounceable.

A crowd of 50,000 to 100,000 is planned. Maybe more will come.

EMBASSY GREETING

Ambassador Black packs a .357 magnum when she takes her dog for a walk in her back yard. The President mentioned her marksmanship skills in his Glynco, GA speech last year. The dog, a boxer, is named Gorby. (Joke; I just had a summit meeting with Gorby.) Black said she hopes the USSS puts lights in the back yard, because it's very dark at night. Acknowledge Admin, officer Frank Coulter, & DCM Ted Russell.

GENERAL

Call Tom Hull at US Embassy and ask him for a list of communist place names that have been changed in the last year. Also, check to see if the Railroad Station has been renamed. It was originally named for President Wilson, but the communists eliminated that name. The new government may rename it for Wilson soon.

The garden behind the US Embassy slopes up a terraced hill that is topped by a little portico called a glorieta. Atop it flies the American flag. Near the top of this hill, the flag is visible throughout

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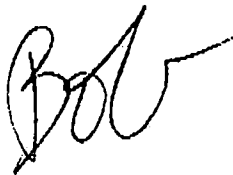
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By the way, the only remarks in Paris is an Embassy greeting on 11/21 in the a.m. See the President's remarks, from last year. Acknowledge Amb. Walter Curley, DCM Mark Lissfelt, and Administrative Minister-Counselor Bruce Clark. The President will overnight at Curley's residence. (It's at least as fancy as the White House, maybe more so.)

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No report tomorrow, We are travelling to Saudi all day long.

A handwritten signature, likely of the President, in dark ink, located at the bottom center of the page.

November 7, 1990

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FROM:

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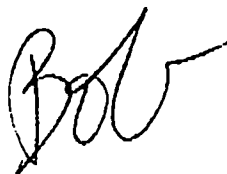
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A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'Bob' or similar, written in a cursive style.

Week Ending Friday, July 21, 1989

**Advance Text of Remarks Upon
Departure for Europe**

July 9, 1989

This morning, I depart for Europe, my second visit in 2 months to a continent in the midst of change, a time of unprecedented opportunity for peace, prosperity, and freedom. I'm especially pleased to make my trip at this time. Just 5 days ago, we celebrated the birth of our nation. Just 5 days from now, France will celebrate its rebirth as a modern nation, the 14th of July. This year, it's a special celebration: the bicentennial of Bastille Day.

Two hundred years ago, the democratic revolution that began here in America crossed the Atlantic. The gates of the Bastille opened onto a new era, the era of the rights of man. In Europe, as in America, an idea was unleashed that would change the face of history, an idea that is still shaping our world today. That idea is democracy.

Then and now, freedom finds its allies everywhere. Lafayette and Rochambeau, Kosciuszko and Pulaski—these names are engraved in American history, patriots not only in their own countries but in America as well. And the Revolution of 1789 had its roots in the Spirit of 1776. Remember what James Monroe said about the French who fought at our side for America's independence: "They caught the spirit of liberty here and carried it home with them." Today that spirit of liberty remains strong, and the United States remains the friend of any nation, any people, who love freedom and cherish the rights of man.

This morning I begin a journey that will take me to Europe—East and West—a journey that underscores the tremendous changes, challenges, and opportunities ahead of us. I travel first to Poland and Hungary, nations on the threshold of a new era, nations where the spirit of freedom is strong. In both countries, we're witnessing remarkable changes, welcome developments no one would have thought possible

even a year ago. New voices are shaping the course of national affairs, and both countries are on the path towards economic rebirth and political pluralism. My visit underscores the growing importance our nation sees in the changing face of central Europe.

I will travel from Poland and Hungary to France, to join leaders from the 6 major industrial democracies in my first economic summit as President. Together, we are working to spread the benefits of political freedom and economic prosperity around the world. The summit is a unique opportunity to assess our progress. It's also an opportunity to show that we can forge a common response to new challenges, such as the need to protect the global environment.

Our agenda at the economic summit will include both political and economic issues of global impact. We will review the international economic scene, and we'll identify where we can improve coordination. We'll focus on the problem of debt in the developing world. I expect summit leaders to make a firm commitment to complete the Uruguay round of trade negotiations by December 1990.

And we will discuss ways of dealing with a number of critical environmental issues that affect us all, problems including global warming, deforestation, and the pollution of the world's oceans. We know there are no easy solutions. Provided we work together, I'm confident we can find common solutions to problems none of us can solve alone.

And finally, before returning home, I will visit an old and honored ally: The Netherlands. Our friendship with the Dutch is older than our own Constitution, with a nation whose long tradition of union and liberty shaped and inspired our own. Today our two nations are partners in commerce and common defense, and the common values that bind us have never been stronger.

Europe is at a turning point. A continent cruelly divided for more than four decades now dreams of being whole and free. Our task is clear: to see that we mend old divisions, that we fulfill the decades-old dream, and that the new Europe emerges secure, prosperous, peaceful, and free.

Note: The President spoke at approximately 7:10 a.m. on the tarmac at Andrews Air Force Base, Camp Springs, MD. The Office of the Press Secretary has issued this advance text, but a transcript of the actual address has not been released.

Remarks at the Arrival Ceremony in Warsaw, Poland July 9, 1989

Well, thank you, Mr. Chairman, for your hospitable and gracious words of welcome. To you and to the people of Poland, friends and cousins of so many in my homeland, we extend the heartfelt best wishes of the American people. And here in the heart of Europe, the American people have a fervent wish: that Europe be whole and free.

In my first moments as President, I told my countrymen that a new breeze was blowing across the world. And the winds of change have surely touched the land here, where so much has happened since my last visit. It is wonderful to be back at such an exciting time. History, which has so often conspired with geography to deny the Polish people their freedom, now offers up a new and brighter future for Poland.

I listened carefully, sir, to your words of welcome, and yes, Poland has started along an ascending path of change—democratic change. And this climb is exhilarating, but not always easy, and will require further sacrifices. But, if followed, it will lead to a renaissance for this remarkable nation.

These are great days for Poland. Solidarity is legal. The beginnings of a free press now exist. A new Parliament is in place. The Polish Senate has been restored through free and fair elections. And Poland is making its own history. And America, and the whole world, is watching. The Govern-

ment of Poland and you, Mr. Chairman, have shown wisdom and courage in taking the path of those roundtable accords. And the world is inspired by what is happening here.

Mr. Chairman, we do look forward to our talks with you and other representatives of the Polish Government, with the democratic opposition as well. While in your country, I want to hear the many voices of the people of Poland.

And as we begin these discussions, I carry with me many happy memories of my first visit to Poland. And my thoughts turn on this Sunday to the memory of another Sunday outside Warsaw, when we attended morning mass at St. Margaret's Church in Lomianki. The cracks of her historic walls were filled with flowers, and the church itself was filled to overflowing with your countrymen, their devoted faces touched by tears of joy. And it reminds me of other churches that I've visited since that morning at St. Margaret's, churches like St. Adalbert's in Philadelphia, St. Hyacinth's in Chicago, churches built by Polish hands and nurtured by Polish dreams. In America and in Poland those dreams are as ancient and as fundamental as the courageous spirit of the Polish people. And as we meet this evening in Warsaw, the sun still shines on those churches across the sea. It's still Sunday afternoon there, and America's churches are filled with people in prayer. And as we begin these discussions—and as your country continues its hard journey up the path it has chosen—my prayers and the prayers of the American people remain with Poland, as they have throughout its long struggle.

And, yes, there is a good deal of work to be done, and we will work together to gain new ground, to expand our common ground and U.S.-Polish ties.

So, thank you again, sir, for this warm welcome. Rest well on this Sunday night. And long live Poland. Thank you very much.

Note: The President spoke at 10:25 p.m. on the tarmac of Okecie Airport. In his remarks, the President referred to Wojciech

Jaruzelski, State. Foll and Mrs. House.

Statement on the Pr Wojciech Council o July 10, 19

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For further information contact:

Wednesday, February 7, 1990
PRAGUE, CZECHOSLOVAKIA
CHARLES UNIVERSITY
SECRETARY OF STATE JAMES A. BAKER, III
ADDRESS BY

IN THE NEW EUROPE
CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE
FROM REVOLUTION TO DEMOCRACY

6:01 a.m. LOCAL TIME
12:01 a.m. EST

FOR RELEASE:

393-1490



DEPARTMENT OF STATE
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

On an autumn day in Washington, D.C., seventy-two years ago, a messenger brought an envelope to the White House. A clerk stamped the enclosed letter, "Received, October 18, 1918."

The letter was sent by an elderly former professor from Prague to his friend, a former professor from Princeton.

The letter was timely, for on that very day, October 18, the Princeton professor, Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States, was considering a recent proposal from the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

That letter to the White House was the Declaration of Independence of the Czechoslovak Nation. Thomas Masaryk had sent it.

As our twenty-eighth President read the document from the man who would be your first President, he must have been stirred by the words that recalled our own declaration of independence from an empire. He must have been moved by the closing passage:

"The forces of darkness have served the victory of light, -- the longed-for age of humanity is dawning. We believe in democracy, we believe in liberty, -- and liberty ever more."

That same day, October 18, Woodrow Wilson sent his reply to the Austro-Hungarian Empire. He recognized the Czecho-Slovak National Council as a "government clothed with proper authority." And he insisted that Czechs and Slovaks, not an emperor in Vienna, should be the judges of their own destiny.

But the wisdom of Masaryk and Wilson, the rationality of democracy and self-determination, did not last.

Special Initiatives
The days of reason of 1918 yielded to the unreasoning darkness of 1938 and 1948. Czechoslovakia witnessed -- and endured -- frightening totalitarian power and the breakdown of the European order. The United States returned to Europe, and America's young men died, resisting Nazi and Fascist aggression. Then America stayed in Europe to contain Stalinist expansionism.

Now the revolutions of 1989 have revived an age of reason for Czechoslovakia and Eastern and Central Europe.

That is what brings us together in this special place. Twenty-two years ago, students just like you -- students like Jan Palach -- joined during a fateful Prague Spring to

restore the vibrant democratic society that once stood at the heart of Europe -- only to be crushed by the twisted normality of "normalization," by the unreason of the era of stagnation.

Now you -- the students of this great university -- have taken part, heroically and responsibly, in your velvet revolution.

So it is especially fitting for me to come here, to Czechoslovakia, to Prague, to this university, to talk with you about how we might promote, perpetuate, and protect Europe's democratic revolutions.

Never again should you -- or any other people -- have totalitarianism steal away your freedom.

Never again should you be just the objects of history, unable to effect, much less shape, your own destiny. Unable to do anything but cry out: "o nas, bez nas, proti nam" -- about us, without us, against us.

From Revolution to Lasting Democracy

In December in Berlin, I discussed four key features of the new European architecture: NATO, the EC, CSCE, and a continuing American role in Europe.

Here in Prague, I want to resume that discussion. I want to share my thoughts on how Czechoslovakia and its neighbors in Central and Eastern Europe can move from revolutions to lasting democracies that draw strength from the new architecture.

The historic, democratic movements that we are witnessing across Europe -- here in Prague and in Bratislava, in Warsaw and Budapest, in Berlin, Sofia, Belgrade, and Bucharest -- hold great promise for all of us. They hold the promise that Europe can achieve what President Havel has called "the era of freedom." What President Bush has called a "Europe whole and free."

We must work to fulfill that promise and to protect it. Indeed, we all know that initial impulses for democracy may not be enough. If 1989 was the year of sweeping away, 1990 must become the year of building anew.

Four challenges confront the newly emerging democracies of this region.

First, the spirit of revolution needs to move from the streets into the government. Transitional regimes need to give way to fair and free elections that establish open parliaments with a place for opposition. The new democratic political systems need to respect the rule of law and fundamental

individual rights and liberties -- including freedom of speech, assembly, religion, and the press. Majority rule must respect minority rights.

Second, the spirit of the New Europe needs to be reflected in security arrangements that remove the threat of military aggression or intimidation and promote the peaceful settlement of disputes. Elections and new security treaties will be mutually reinforcing, for only freely-elected governments can legitimize the security arrangements the treaties will codify.

Third, the spirit of economic reform needs to move forward to allow free men and women to enjoy economic liberty -- including the rights to private ownership and to work alone or collectively in markets where prices are set by individual choices, not centralized diktat. The improved performance and freedom of market economies will be necessary to help sustain popular support for the new democracies.

Following from these three challenges, I suggest there may also be a fourth: Some of the new democracies of the region may determine that they can better support and sustain their common effort if they do so in concert, perhaps through some form of regional cooperation.

In each of these efforts, the evolving institutions of a New Europe -- NATO, the EC, CSCE -- will play important roles.

So will America. For as you make progress toward democratic ideals, so do we, for that is the essence of America. Both Wilson and Masaryk understood that.

None of us should underestimate the difficulty of the work ahead. But neither should we underestimate the great opportunity presented all of us by your courage.

As President Havel said on New Year's Day, "Let us teach both ourselves and others that politics does not have to be the art of the possible, especially if this means the art of speculating, calculating, intrigues, secret agreements and pragmatic maneuvering, but that it also can be the art of the impossible, that is the art of making both ourselves and the world better."

Free Elections -- The First Challenge

Two months ago in Berlin, I emphasized that governments based on the consent of the governed are the first requirement for an enduring peace in Europe. Americans value self-determination because we value the dignity and freedom of the individual. We value it, too, because the principle of self-determination is the only basis upon which legitimate governments can stand.

The steps you take are not just your own. They are also steps forward for all states that have a stake in a legitimate European order, including the United States and the Soviet Union. Only through the legitimacy of democracy will we achieve a resilient and lasting stability.

Governments accountable to their peoples, and more concerned with the livelihood of their citizens than with their apparatus, armies, or secret police, will secure a Europe whole and free in a way armies of tanks never could. Democratic governments are far more likely to promote the well-being of their citizens than to pursue expansionist, aggressive aims.

President Gorbachev also appears to have understood this opportunity. By word and deed, this new Soviet leadership seems to agree that legitimacy, not force, is the only way to ensure European stability. As Foreign Minister Shevardnadze said just last month, "We are emerging from a difficult past. We are emerging from it, having learned well its main lesson: Only an advanced democracy can give guarantees against the abuse of power and can secure a nation against repression and violence."

Since self-determination through a free and fair election is the right that secures all others, President Bush has called for adding free elections to CSCE nations' human rights obligations. This proposal would commit all 35 CSCE participating states to hold periodic and genuine elections, permit free party activity, and require that elections be open to foreign observers. Between now and the Copenhagen CSCE conference, the United States will propose new provisions to support, monitor, and carry out a free elections regime within the CSCE process.

Indeed, I propose that all CSCE member states join with the United States in sending observer delegations to ensure that the people power elections of 1990 genuinely represent the will of the people.

No proposal could be more timely. Last month, Romania said it would invite U.N. observers to its elections. Now I hope Romania will give our CSCE observer proposal greater impetus by being the first nation to invite CSCE observers.

1989 was the year the people took to the streets. 1990 should be the year the people move into their parliaments.

I would like to add one cautionary note. We are troubled by indications that some of the governments in the region have engaged in practices that will obstruct truly free and fair elections. Let me be clear: The peaceful transition to democracy now under way in Central and Eastern Europe will not tolerate rear guard maneuvers from any quarter. As we have seen in the GDR and Romania, such actions will only undercut

the legitimacy of this vital process. And any steps that undercut the creation of legitimate governments will increase, not decrease, instability. That is in no one's interest.

We will proceed on the basis of a new democratic differentiation: any backsliding in the movement to create legitimate governments will isolate a nation from the support we can provide.

Consolidating Changes in Europe's Security: The Second Challenge

The democratic imperative is the first and most basic challenge. But the second challenge is no less important. I want to state our objective as clearly as possible: We must leave behind not only the Cold War but also the conflicts that preceded it.

After 1918, you built a strong democracy and a vibrant economy, but 1938 and 1948 proved the necessity for enduring, effective security.

The lesson is clear: Military changes must keep pace with political ones. And CFE is a critical step toward an agreed and codified security system. Last week President Bush made a new proposal that should bring an effective CFE Treaty to a rapid conclusion.

The United States is confident that such an agreement will promote a stable strategic relationship in Europe. That relationship should minimize and deter the threat of any army of invasion and end the unjust presence of any army of occupation.

We also believe that enduring security necessitates a continued U.S. military role on the continent -- for as long as our allies desire it -- to reassure the nations of Europe, large and small, that we will stand by them to resist invasion, intimidation, or coercion.

We can make the European strategic situation more predictable and perhaps less threatening by encouraging greater openness and transparency in military affairs. Next week, for example, Canada will host the Open Skies Conference in Ottawa, where we hope to begin negotiations toward implementing President Bush's proposal to overcome the suspicions of secrecy through a system of overflights on short notice.

The negotiations on Confidence and Security Building Measures within CSCE offer a vehicle for ongoing efforts to reduce tensions on the continent. Yet our present proposals are oriented primarily toward the danger of Eastern offensive action against the West. We also need to develop measures that would impede an assertion of military might by any European nation against any other.

So today I propose that we start exploring the expansion of the confidence and security building measures agenda. For example, we should consider new proposals to promote greater military transparency between neighboring states, especially along border areas, and to open the military budgets of all 35 CSCE nations to public scrutiny.

NATO will continue to play an important role in ensuring strategic stability and predictability in Europe -- West and East -- but NATO must also evolve to assume new missions. As a political alliance, NATO offers a cohesive structure that can help address old and new European animosities and fears -- outside and inside NATO. As a security alliance among sixteen like-minded democracies, NATO should consider how it might facilitate collective action against non-traditional threats -- such as proliferation and regional conflicts. As a political and a security alliance, NATO can assist in the verification of arms control and security agreements to the benefit of all Europeans.

Economic Requirements for the New Democracies: The Third Challenge

Free elections and treaties on conventional forces and confidence building measures will help advance and consolidate your people power revolutions. But if steps are not taken to promote economic vitality, then the stability of Europe may be threatened again. This is one of the painful lessons of the inter-war years. The newly emancipated peoples of this region now face the long and trying labor of regenerating societies devastated by half a century of totalitarian rule.

A major part of this effort must clean up your rivers, lakes, forests, soil, and air -- damaged just as badly by central-planning as were your economies themselves.

Because the circumstances of each nation differ considerably, it would be a mistake to apply a mechanistic assistance formula. I believe, however, we can, identify stages of economic reform to which the United States, the EC, and the other nations of the Group of 24 should tailor support.

First, some nations will need short-term emergency aid to cope with severe shortages of necessities -- for example, food, medicine, and disaster relief. We will be there to break the fall. But we will seek to do so in a way that does not undercut the revitalization of homegrown solutions -- especially in agriculture.

The private sector can play a key role here. For instance, the American organization, AmeriCares, has sent over \$80 million in medical supplies since 1982 to aid the people of this region. And their supplies are donated primarily from American pharmaceutical companies -- over 800 of them.

Second, all the new democracies will need help in the transition from broken down Stalinist command economies to market systems driven by the engine of private enterprise. Your new Finance Minister, Vaclav Klaus, recently made a succinct statement at an international meeting that went to the heart of the problem: We don't need the old types of cooperation, he reminded an old thinking Eastern colleague, we need business!

Businesses need market prices and an opportunity to compete. It is up to you to provide a conducive legal environment, to turn over or sell factories to private owners, and to lift the heavy hand of excessive government intervention. It is up to us to help draw foreign investors, offering incentives where appropriate, and even at times to supply seed money for local private ventures. It is up to all of us to lend a hand -- especially through multilateral financial support -- to democratic economies struggling to manage such difficult transition problems as debt payments, stabilization of currency values, and currency convertibility.

That is exactly what we are doing for Poland and Hungary, where the United States alone has offered about \$1 billion in various assistance measures. And just last week, President Bush asked Congress for \$300 million for assistance to Eastern Europe. While some of our assistance will be available to all, the progress a government makes in meeting the challenges I have outlined will influence the availability of the full range of aid.

Third, we must integrate the new market democracies into the international economic system. You need access to IMF and World Bank resources. You need barriers to trade removed bilaterally and through GATT, so potential investors will know they can export to other markets. You need access to high technology. To meet this need, the United States is considering with its allies adjustments in the COCOM system that could enable you to have access to technology, provided you will protect it and forego industrial espionage.

We have been pleased the European Community has assumed a major role in coordinating economic assistance, because the availability of the EC market for the nations of Central and Eastern Europe is vital. We recognize, as well, that others -- including the United States, Japan, and the EFTA nations -- should also play significant roles so the new market democracies can assume their proper independent place within the whole of Europe and the larger international system.

Czechoslovakia and other nations of Eastern Europe warrant special recognition at this historic time. Therefore, I am pleased to announce that we will support the offer of the government of Czechoslovakia to locate the new European Development Bank for Reconstruction and Development here in Prague, in the center and heart of Europe.

I also look forward to the Bonn CSCE economic conference as an opportunity to establish European-wide adherence to market principles. If CSCE is to fulfill its potential, it needs a better developed economic component that will aid the transition to market economies and promote ongoing respect for economic liberty and open markets.

CSCE Summit

Free elections. CFE and security. Dynamic market economies.

Standing alone, each of these is important. But together they are mutually reinforcing. Together they offer an agenda for the United States and others that want to ensure that the revolutions of 1989 become the democracies of the 1990s. Together they can help build governments that answer to only one power: the people.

This agenda draws from and builds on the CSCE framework.

It should be the agenda of a CSCE Summit.

Therefore, the United States stands ready to participate in a 35-nation CSCE Summit this year if the Summit addresses three points.

One, we need to make substantial progress on the U.S. and U.K. proposal to establish a CSCE commitment to hold periodic and genuine elections. Free elections should be a human right and are the baseline requirement for establishing a new, legitimate European political order.

Two, we must complete the CFE Treaty -- so it can be signed at the Summit -- establishing new, legitimate security arrangements.

Three, we should clearly define the Summit agenda based on substantive progress and possible proposals in other areas as well, including economics. This way, it can prepare for, not replace, the 1992 Helsinki Review Meeting and demonstrate CSCE's potential for advancing reform in a New Europe. For example, we might consider how CSCE can gradually develop institutions to support its work in the three baskets, as the FRG has suggested.

U.S. Bilateral Programs for Czechoslovakia

Let me say a word about our bilateral assistance program for Czechoslovakia. Under the sure guidance of the Civic Forum and the Public Against Violence, Czechs and Slovaks together have shown that no change is too rapid when it is peaceful, consolidates democratic gains, and leads to a legitimate government. Our assistance can help you continue your revolution.

In recognition of your country's dramatically changed human rights situation, I am pleased to announce that the President will notify the Congress that he is waiving the Jackson-Vanik Amendment. This waiver will open the way for Most Favored Nation status for Czechoslovakia after we negotiate a trade agreement. And when Czechoslovakia's parliament passes new, liberal legislation on free emigration, the United States will declare Czechoslovakia in full compliance with Jackson-Vanik, as we have done with Hungary, so that Czechoslovakia can enjoy MFN status without the requirement of an annual waiver.

The President will also request authority for the U.S. Overseas Private Investment Corporation to operate in Czechoslovakia to encourage and offer financial support to private U.S. investors.

And we will support your recent request to rejoin the IMF.

The United States will also:

- Support you economically by making Czechoslovakia eligible for the export-credit guarantees of our Export-Import Bank and Commodity Credit Corporation; by seeking legislation to promote technical assistance; by negotiating a bilateral investment treaty; and by coordinating this assistance with the multilateral efforts of the Group of 24.
- Support you ecologically by proposing a joint U.S.-Czechoslovak study to determine the most cost effective way to deal with your serious air pollution problems; by encouraging you to participate in the Budapest Regional Environmental Center announced by President Bush last July; and by intensifying our dialogue on all transnational issues, including the environment, drug trafficking, and terrorism.
- Support closer ties between our peoples by increasing cultural and educational exchange programs; by beginning a Peace Corps English language program here; by establishing USIA cultural centers in Bratislava and in Prague; and above all, by reopening our consulate in Bratislava. These steps will go far toward reestablishing our historical ties with both the Slovak and Czech peoples.

I also have one more U.S. initiative to announce today, an idea specially suited to safeguarding your democracy and those of your neighbors. It starts from the assumption that just as you have won your own freedom, so too will well informed citizens protect freedom by setting wrong to right. As Thomas Jefferson wrote almost 200 years ago, "Where the press is free, and every man able to read, all is safe."

These were and are wise words.

The United States proposes, therefore, the establishment of a Fund for Independent Broadcasting and a Free Press. Our goal

-10-

is to support cooperative development of commercial and non-profit radio and television broadcasting and free press in Czechoslovakia and the rest of Central and Eastern Europe. The Fund would solicit participation and contributions from Western private corporations and institutions. This Fund's principal purpose would be to assist groups in the region that wish to start independent radio, television, and print enterprises. The Fund could provide seed money for start-up costs as well as technical assistance. It would also provide training in the United States and other Western countries in the use of equipment and development of professional broadcast and print standards.

New Associations in the Region and Europe: The Fourth Challenge

In a region that has suffered so greatly from the distortion of national interest and from international isolation, I am encouraged by the first signs of coordination and possible new association among newly democratic states. President Havel and others have opened the discussion. We recognize that the growth of legitimate multilateral organizations that reflect the economic political and security interests of this region will develop as they are needed, but permit me, if you will, to think out loud for a few moments.

The United States has supported voluntary associations of independent nations in every other region in the world. As in Western Europe after World War II, we believe that the process of political and economic reconstruction may be strengthened by new forms of cooperation.

We believe voluntary associations follow naturally from democracy and are, in a sense, a natural way for democracies to build international civil society and overcome old animosities. Indeed, association may also give you additional strength to build democratic institutions at home, because the lessons and success of one may assist another.

We welcome, for example, the recent discussions of mutually beneficial economic cooperation in the region by officials of the governments of Hungary, Poland, and Czechoslovakia, including a possible free trade agreement, free flow of capital and labor, harmonized financial systems, and a convertible accounting unit. Economic integration can enhance efficiency and growth. Common infrastructure projects can assure compatible communications, transport, and energy networks.

The purpose of such closer ties should not be to isolate the countries in association from others. Indeed, your nations have every interest in overcoming the enforced associations of the past that actually discouraged your entry into the European and global economies. No longer should the circumstances of this continent subject you to characterization as "The Lands Between"; you can, instead, establish a region of recognition

and respect. Working together, you might strengthen your position and fashion a special relationship with the EC, the nations of EFTA, or the U.S.

If you do work together, we will respect your decision by providing our assistance in a way that supports your association. The choice of whether to associate and in what form is of course entirely yours to make.

A Commonwealth of Free Nations

Today in Prague and two months ago in Berlin, I have elaborated upon the President's vision of a Europe whole and free. I have described America's vital role in building that new Europe together with you. By respecting the principles of self-determination and democratic choice, we believe that the old divisions of Europe can be overcome. The legacy of 1938 and 1948 can be left behind, and the hopes of 1918 and 1968 can be fulfilled.

Before I came to speak to you this morning, I visited the place where, twenty-one years ago, Jan Palach set himself on fire to protest fear and terror. There is little that an American official can tell this audience about his sacrifice. But I know that among the students of his old university gathered here today, the student Palach would not be a lonely man.

For in affirming your dignity as individuals, you have reclaimed more than the future of your generation. In recovering your independence as Czechs and Slovaks, you have begun more than your country's historic return to Europe. You have shown that, in the words of your president, freedom is indivisible.

When the "freedom trains" bearing East German citizens pulled out of Prague last year, hundreds of your countrymen stood and cheered. But the freedom train of 1989 did not stop at the East German border or the Czechoslovak border or the Hungarian border, just as it did not stop at the border of Poland or Bulgaria or Romania or Yugoslavia.

It is the great promise of our historical moment that the return to freedom and the return to a whole Europe are bound together — and can only succeed together. And I believe the day will come when any European can stand in any European city — in Prague or Paris, in Berlin or Budapest — and see only countries of free individuals, a continent of free parliaments, a commonwealth of free nations. For as more and more people today understand in more and more places, freedom's journey is one that should never end.

President Havel was right. Politics can be the art of the impossible.

RLH draft, 11/8/90

SPEECH IN WENCESLAS SQUARE

It is a great honor for me, as the first American President ever to have visited Czechoslovakia, to join you in commemorating your revolution of one year ago today -- part of the revolutionary year that transformed Europe. Your "velvet revolution" inspired the world -- in the private acts of courage of individual Czechs and Slovaks, and in the triumph of principles that guide free men and women everywhere. Your revolution was our renewal; your freedom is our freedom.

Today, as we commemorate the past and celebrate the present, I want to share with you my vision of the future -- of a new Atlantic partnership, in which the rising democracies of central and eastern Europe are full participants, and of a new world order, in which the democratic principles that have been so spectacularly affirmed in Europe are extended beyond this Continent to the entire world.

Our two countries are linked by the closest of bonds -- the most deeply held national values and aspirations of our peoples. Your Declaration of Independence, written in the United States in 1918 by your first President, Thomas Masaryk (TOE-mas-MAS-ah-rick) and signed also by the great Slovak patriot Milan Stefanik (MEE-lan SHTEH-fah-neek), was inspired by our own Declaration of Independence. American soldiers liberated much of your country from Nazi occupation. And they remained in Europe under the North Atlantic Alliance to defend against a new threat to liberty and to maintain common cause with those for whom liberty was denied.

Just as Czechs and Slovaks refused to yield to oppression, so too did we Americans remain steadfast during your long decades of darkness. You never accepted Europe's division, nor did we. You never accepted the notion that part of Europe should be cut off, denied its liberty and its right of self-determination -- nor did we. Through Radio Free Europe and the Voice of America, we helped you keep the flame of liberty burning even through the darkest nights of repression.

Today we share the fruits of our joint resolve. Czechoslovakia is free. Europe stands at the threshold of a new era of peace, prosperity and security. It is being built on the strong foundation of our common democratic principles -- those same principles that inspired our country's Founding Fathers, and yours, and which are enshrined in the Universal Declaration on Human Rights and the Helsinki Final Act. Americans and Europeans, working together in the partnership that made the revolutions of 1989 possible, now have the opportunity to consolidate those democratic triumphs and build a Europe that is truly whole and free.

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Our work is not complete. Czechoslovakia's revolution, like those of the other new democracies of central and eastern Europe, has just begun. You, like your neighbors to the north and south, face the unprecedented task of building stable democratic rule and a prosperous market economy on the ruins of totalitarianism. Today I pledge anew America's strong support for your efforts.

-- Later today, our two countries will sign a bilateral investment treaty and the documents that will grant Czechoslovakia Most Favored Nation status, giving your country the most liberal access possible to our markets.

-- (Other initiatives to be inserted by NSC.)

America is also committed to welcoming the new democracies of central and eastern Europe fully into the commonwealth of free nations and assuring them a secure place in the new Europe. We must not fail you in this decisive moment in your history. That is why I today reaffirm that Prague should be the site of a permanent Secretariat of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. It is right that Prague, at Europe's geographic center, should be at its political center as well.

In Paris a few days from now, we will sign historic documents: a CFE Treaty, providing for deep reductions in conventional armed forces in Europe, [[a U.S.-EC Declaration of Principles,]] and a CSCE Summit Declaration, charting the future role of CSCE in ending Europe's division. The Atlantic Alliance, the essential guarantor of European security, has pledged itself to that same goal; and a more united European Community, one that is open and outward-looking, can extend its prosperity to all of Europe. Working together, we can fulfill the promise of a Europe that is truly whole and free. But Europe's reconciliation will be incomplete without a vision that extends still farther.

A few years ago, Vaclav Havel wrote that when Western visitors came to see your so-called "dissidents," they generally asked how they could help your cause. Although grateful for such offers, Havel wondered why the Westerners couldn't see that your cause was their cause, too. He wrote the following: "Are not my dim prospects or my hopes his dim prospects and hopes as well? Is not the destruction of humans in Prague a destruction of all humans? Is not indifference to what is happening here a preparation for the same kind of misery elsewhere?" Dissident Havel, now President Havel, spoke in these words of a shared destiny -- that the fate of all mankind is linked.

In that spirit, let me say to you now that our challenge, even as we consolidate the gains of the past year, is to forge a new Atlantic partnership of shared values and common security -- a larger Atlantic community, open to all who are dedicated to

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democracy and the rule of law, and a partnership that extends to the far horizons. The successes we have achieved together can show the way to a new world order, based on the same democratic principles now ascendant in Europe.

Czechs and Slovaks understand that vision and that challenge. The heirs of Jan Hus (Yon HOOSE), whose statue stands just a few blocks from us, and of Comenius (Koh-MAIN-ee-us), the Moravian whose name graces the great university at Bratislava, have always looked to the far horizon, with principles that are universal. As small nations, whose very existence may be called into question at any moment, you have always understood that your future depends not only on your own actions, heroic as they have been, but on the broader principles that govern the world in which you live. No people, no Continent, is secure unto itself. Our fates, our futures, are intertwined.

The current crisis in the Persian Gulf is a warning -- to America as well as to Europe -- that we cannot turn inward and insulate our own continental concerns from global challenges. For those in America who would retreat once again into isolationism, for those on this side of the Atlantic who believe in "Europe for the Europeans," Iraq's brutal aggression against Kuwait is a rude reminder of our shared global responsibilities.

No peoples understand better what is at stake in the Gulf than Czechs and Slovaks. You know from your own bitter experience that the world cannot turn a blind eye to aggression in the vain hope that the aggressor can be appeased. We Americans have learned, too, the costs to ourselves and to Europe of our isolationism after the First World War. Let us both, Americans and Europeans alike, pledge ourselves anew to looking outward -- to assume our global responsibilities in partnership.

The world's resolute action against Iraqi aggression and in support of fundamental principles of international conduct show what can be achieved when Americans and Europeans work together in common cause with the rest of the world. The Soviet Union has demonstrated convincingly its commitment to solving regional conflicts as a constructive and vital force for international stability. Through successive resolutions of the Security Council, the United Nations has shown that it can work as its creators intended it -- free from the ideological confrontation that frustrated collective action for the past forty years.

From this first crisis of the post-Cold War era has come an historic opportunity -- to extend our international solidarity and to build a new world order, based on the principles that undergird our own countries and the broader Atlantic community of nations:

-- democracy and the rule of law;

- respect for human rights and individual liberty;
- an open global trading system based on market economies;
- solidarity against aggression and coercion -- and against threats like terrorism, which respect no boundaries;
- promotion of enduring international peace and security.

The principles are familiar. They are your principles, our principles -- those for which we have fought and died. What is new is the opportunity we now have to consolidate them within our larger Atlantic community and to extend them beyond -- not as fine words, but as the governing principles of the world in which we live.

Americans and Europeans have learned these past thrilling months what our partnership can achieve -- the end of the Cold War and the creation of a Europe whole and free. We have the vision, the values, and the vitality to extend our Atlantic partnership to new horizons. We have that obligation as well.

Today, I join Czechs and Slovaks in celebration of freedom -- yours and ours. I salute you for your courage and your vision, for what you have achieved and what you will achieve. And I challenge you, as you take your rightful place in the center of Europe, to extend your vision beyond your continent -- to join an American-European partnership to build a new world, so that your peace and prosperity -- our shared peace and prosperity -- can be the peace and prosperity of all mankind.

((At the beginning of my remarks, I referred to your Declaration of Independence and the principles it embraced -- the principles about which I have spoken today. That stirring document has been preserved and cherished in our Library of Congress. We Americans have been its custodians, just as we have been the custodians of liberty during the "times of darkness" your country has so bravely endured through foreign occupation and totalitarian rule twice-imposed within the living memory of many who are gathered in this Square today.

((As humanity, liberty, and independence return to Czechoslovakia, so too should that document we have guarded these many years. President Havel, on behalf of the American people and particularly of those who gave their lives in the cause of liberty, I am honored to return to the people of Czechoslovakia your original Declaration of Independence. May you keep it, as we have, as a reminder for the generations of the ties that bind our nations and the principles that bind all humanity.))

and return

*not to be
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over*

Week Ending Friday, July 21, 1989

**Advance Text of Remarks Upon
Departure for Europe
July 9, 1989**

This morning, I depart for Europe, my second visit in 2 months to a continent in the midst of change, a time of unprecedented opportunity for peace, prosperity, and freedom. I'm especially pleased to make my trip at this time. Just 5 days ago, we celebrated the birth of our nation. Just 5 days from now, France will celebrate its rebirth as a modern nation, the 14th of July. This year, it's a special celebration: the bicentennial of Bastille Day.

Two hundred years ago, the democratic revolution that began here in America crossed the Atlantic. The gates of the Bastille opened onto a new era, the era of the rights of man. In Europe, as in America, an idea was unleashed that would change the face of history, an idea that is still shaping our world today. That idea is democracy.

Then and now, freedom finds its allies everywhere. Lafayette and Rochambeau, Kosciuszko and Pulaski—these names are engraved in American history, patriots not only in their own countries but in America as well. And the Revolution of 1789 had its roots in the Spirit of 1776. Remember what James Monroe said about the French who fought at our side for America's independence: "They caught the spirit of liberty here and carried it home with them." Today that spirit of liberty remains strong, and the United States remains the friend of any nation, any people, who love freedom and cherish the rights of man.

This morning I begin a journey that will take me to Europe—East and West—a journey that underscores the tremendous changes, challenges, and opportunities ahead of us. I travel first to Poland and Hungary, nations on the threshold of a new era, nations where the spirit of freedom is strong. In both countries, we're witnessing remarkable changes, welcome developments no one would have thought possible

even a year ago. New voices are shaping the course of national affairs, and both countries are on the path towards economic rebirth and political pluralism. My visit underscores the growing importance our nation sees in the changing face of central Europe.

I will travel from Poland and Hungary to France, to join leaders from the 6 major industrial democracies in my first economic summit as President. Together, we are working to spread the benefits of political freedom and economic prosperity around the world. The summit is a unique opportunity to assess our progress. It's also an opportunity to show that we can forge a common response to new challenges, such as the need to protect the global environment.

Our agenda at the economic summit will include both political and economic issues of global impact. We will review the international economic scene, and we'll identify where we can improve coordination. We'll focus on the problem of debt in the developing world. I expect summit leaders to make a firm commitment to complete the Uruguay round of trade negotiations by December 1990.

And we will discuss ways of dealing with a number of critical environmental issues that affect us all, problems including global warming, deforestation, and the pollution of the world's oceans. We know there are no easy solutions. Provided we work together, I'm confident we can find common solutions to problems none of us can solve alone.

And finally, before returning home, I will visit an old and honored ally: The Netherlands. Our friendship with the Dutch is older than our own Constitution, with a nation whose long tradition of union and liberty shaped and inspired our own. Today our two nations are partners in commerce and common defense, and the common values that bind us have never been stronger.

Europe is at a turning point. A continent cruelly divided for more than four decades now dreams of being whole and free. Our task is clear: to see that we mend old divisions, that we fulfill the decades-old dream, and that the new Europe emerges secure, prosperous, peaceful, and free.

Note: The President spoke at approximately 7:10 a.m. on the tarmac at Andrews Air Force Base, Camp Springs, MD. The Office of the Press Secretary has issued this advance text, but a transcript of the actual address has not been released.

Remarks at the Arrival Ceremony in Warsaw, Poland July 9, 1989

Well, thank you, Mr. Chairman, for your hospitable and gracious words of welcome. To you and to the people of Poland, friends and cousins of so many in my homeland, we extend the heartfelt best wishes of the American people. And here in the heart of Europe, the American people have a fervent wish: that Europe be whole and free.

In my first moments as President, I told my countrymen that a new breeze was blowing across the world. And the winds of change have surely touched the land here, where so much has happened since my last visit. It is wonderful to be back at such an exciting time. History, which has so often conspired with geography to deny the Polish people their freedom, now offers up a new and brighter future for Poland.

I listened carefully, sir, to your words of welcome, and yes, Poland has started along an ascending path of change—democratic change. And this climb is exhilarating, but not always easy, and will require further sacrifices. But, if followed, it will lead to a renaissance for this remarkable nation.

These are great days for Poland. Solidarity is legal. The beginnings of a free press now exist. A new Parliament is in place. The Polish Senate has been restored through free and fair elections. And Poland is making its own history. And America, and the whole world, is watching. The Govern-

ment of Poland and you, Mr. Chairman, have shown wisdom and courage in taking the path of those roundtable accords. And the world is inspired by what is happening here.

Mr. Chairman, we do look forward to our talks with you and other representatives of the Polish Government, with the democratic opposition as well. While in your country, I want to hear the many voices of the people of Poland.

And as we begin these discussions, I carry with me many happy memories of my first visit to Poland. And my thoughts turn on this Sunday to the memory of another Sunday outside Warsaw, when we attended morning mass at St. Margaret's Church in Lomianki. The cracks of her historic walls were filled with flowers, and the church itself was filled to overflowing with your countrymen, their devoted faces touched by tears of joy. And it reminds me of other churches that I've visited since that morning at St. Margaret's, churches like St. Adalbert's in Philadelphia, St. Hyacinth's in Chicago, churches built by Polish hands and nurtured by Polish dreams. In America and in Poland those dreams are as ancient and as fundamental as the courageous spirit of the Polish people. And as we meet this evening in Warsaw, the sun still shines on those churches across the sea. It's still Sunday afternoon there, and America's churches are filled with people in prayer. And as we begin these discussions—and as your country continues its hard journey up the path it has chosen—my prayers and the prayers of the American people remain with Poland, as they have throughout its long struggle.

And, yes, there is a good deal of work to be done, and we will work together to gain new ground, to expand our common ground and U.S.-Polish ties.

So, thank you again, sir, for this warm welcome. Rest well on this Sunday night. And long live Poland. Thank you very much.

Note: The President spoke at 10:25 p.m. on the tarmac of Okecie Airport. In his remarks, the President referred to Wojciech

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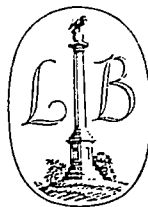
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FIFTEENTH AND 125TH ANNIVERSARY EDITION
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John Bartlett

Edited by EMILY MORISON BECK
and the editorial staff of Little, Brown and Company



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Franz Kafka¹

1884-1924

- 1 "This village belongs to the Castle, and whoever lives here or passes the night here does so in a manner of speaking in the Castle itself. Nobody may do that without the Count's permission."

The Castle [1926]²

- 2 The true way goes over a rope which is not stretched at any great height but just above the ground. It seems more designed to make people stumble than to be walked upon.

The Great Wall of China. Reflections

- 3 You do not need to leave your room. Remain sitting at your table and listen. Do not even listen, simply wait. Do not even wait, be quite still and solitary. The world will freely offer itself to you to be unmasked, it has no choice, it will roll in ecstasy at your feet.

Ib.

- 4 I think we ought to read only the kind of books that wound and stab us. . . . We need the books that affect us like a disaster, that grieve us deeply, like the death of someone we loved more than ourselves, like being banished into forests far from everyone, like a suicide. A book must be the axe for the frozen sea inside us.

Letter to Oskar Pollak [January 27, 1904]

- 5 Only our concept of time makes it possible for us to speak of the Day of Judgment by that name; in reality it is a summary court in perpetual session.

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Ib.

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- 7 If you can't say anything good about someone, sit right here by me.

Embroidered on a pillow in her sitting room

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- 8 Is war a biological necessity? As regards the earliest cultures the answer is emphatically negative. The blow of the poisonous dart from behind a bush, to murder a woman or a child in their sleep, is not pugnacity. Nor is head-hunting, body-snatching, or killing for food instinctive or natural.

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- 9 The whole world is in a state of chassis.

*Juno and the Paycock*³ [1924]

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- 11 A few hundhred scrawls o' chaps with a couple o' guns and Rosary beads, again' a hundhred thousand thrained men with horse, fut an' artillery . . . an' he wants us to fight fair!

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- 12 No one can make you feel inferior without your consent.

This Is My Story [1937]

- 13 You gain strength, courage and confidence by every experience in which you really stop to look fear in the face. You are able to say to yourself, "I lived through this horror. I can take the next thing that comes along." . . . You must do the thing you think you cannot do.

You Learn by Living [1960]

- 14 Life was meant to be lived, and curiosity must be kept alive. One must never, for whatever reason, turn his back on life.

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¹See Aesop, 66:12.

²I have lost more than a friend, I have lost an inspiration. She would rather light candles than curse the darkness and her glow has warmed the world. — ADLAI E. STEVENSON [November 7, 1962]

³It is better to light one candle than curse the darkness. — Motto of the Christopher Society

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6 Let it Forgo' go Let it Time

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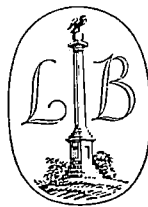
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LITTLE, BROWN AND COMPANY • BOSTON • TORONTO

- ¹ For dronkenesse is verray sepulture
Of mannes wit and his discrecioun.
Ib. The Pardoner's Tale, l. 558
- ² Mordre wol out, certeyn, it wol nat faille.¹
Ib. The Prioress's Tale, l. 1776
- ³ This may wel be rym dogerel.
Ib. Chaucer's Tale of Sir Thopas, l. 2115
- ⁴ Ful wys is he that kan hymselfen knowe!²
Ib. The Monk's Tale, l. 3329
- ⁵ He was of knyghthod and of freedom flour.
Ib. l. 3832
- ⁶ For whan a man hath over-greet a wit,
Ful oft hym happeth to mysusen it.
Ib. The Canon Yeoman's Prologue, l. 648
- ⁷ My sone, keep wel thy tonge, and keep thy
freend. *Ib. The Manciple's Tale, l. 319*
- ⁸ Thing that is seyde, is seyde; and forth it
gooth.³ *Ib. l. 355*
- ⁹ For the proverbe seith that "manye smale
maken a greet."⁴
Ib. The Parson's Tale, l. 361
- ¹⁰ Reule wel thyself, that other folk canst rede.
And trouthe thee shal delivere, it is no drede.
Truth [c. 1390], l. 6
- ¹¹ The wrastling for this world axeth a fal.
Ib. l. 16

John Huss

c. 1370-1415

¹² O holy simplicity!⁵*Last words, at the stake*

- ¹Proverbial.
Also in *The Nun's Priest's Tale, ll. 4242 and 4247*.
How easily murder is discovered!—SHAKESPEARE,
Titus Andronicus [1593-1594], *act II, sc. iii, l. 28*
Truth will come to light; murder cannot be hid long.
—SHAKESPEARE, *The Merchant of Venice* [1596-1597],
act II, sc. ii, l. 86
Murder, though it have no tongue, will speak / With
most miraculous organ.—SHAKESPEARE, *Hamlet* [1600-
1601], *act II, sc. ii, l. 630*
Murder will out.—CERVANTES, *Don Quixote, pt. I*
[1605], *bk. III, ch. 8*
Carcasses bleed at the sight of the murderer.—ROBERT
BURTON, *Anatomy of Melancholy* [1621-1651], *pt. I, sec. I*
member 2, subsec. 5
Other sins only speak; murder shrieks out.—JOHN
WEBSTER, *Duchess of Malfi* [1623], *act IV, sc. ii*
²See *The Seven Sages, 62:4*.
³See Horace, 109:10.
⁴The proverb goes back to St. Augustine.
See Hesiod, 61:20, and Cervantes, 170:9.
Many small make a great.—JOHN HEYWOOD, *Proverbs*
[1546], *pt. I, ch. II*
⁵O sancta simplicitas!

Chaucer — Charles d'Orléans

Thomas à Kempis

1380-1471

- ¹³ Sic transit gloria mundi [So passes away
the glory of this world].⁶
*Imitation of Christ [c. 1420],
bk. I, ch. 3*
- ¹⁴ Be not angry that you cannot make others
as you wish them to be, since you cannot
make yourself as you wish to be.
Ib. 16
- ¹⁵ Man proposes, but God disposes.⁷
Ib. 19
- ¹⁶ What canst thou see elsewhere which thou
canst not see here? Behold the heaven and
the earth and all the elements; for of these
are all things created.
Ib. 20
- ¹⁷ No man ruleth safely but he that is will-
ingly ruled.
Ib.
- ¹⁸ And when he is out of sight, quickly also is
he out of mind.⁸ *Ib. 23*
- ¹⁹ First keep the peace within yourself, then
you can also bring peace to others.
Ib. II, 3
- ²⁰ Love is swift, sincere, pious, pleasant, gen-
tle, strong, patient, faithful, prudent, long-
suffering, manly and never seeking her own;
for wheresoever a man seeketh his own,
there he falleth from love.⁹ *Ib. III, 5*

Charles d'Orléans

1391-1465

- ²¹ I am dying of thirst by the side of the foun-
tain.¹⁰ *Ballades, 2*
- ²² The season has shed its mantle of wind and
chill and rain.¹¹ *Rondeaux, 63*
- ⁶These words are used in the crowning of the pope.
⁷Homo proponit et Deus disponit.—WILLIAM LANG-
LAND [c. 1330-c. 1400], *The Vision of Piers Plowman, l.*
13.994 [1550 edition]
Man appoints, and God disappoints.—CERVANTES, *Don*
Quixote, pt. II [1615], *bk. IV, ch. 55*
See *Proverbs 16:9, 24:11*.
⁸Out of sight, out of mind.—BARNABE GOOGE, *Eglogs*
[1563]
And out of mind as soon as out of sight.—FULKE GRE-
VILLE [1554-1628], *Sonnet 56*
Fer from eze, fer from herte, / Quoth Hendyng.—HEN-
DYNG [1272-1307], *Proverbs, MS*
I do perceive that the old proverbs be not always true,
for I do find that the absence of my Nath. doth breed in
me the more continual remembrance of him.—LADY ANN
BACON [1528-1610], *letter to Lady Jane Cornwallis*
⁹See *I Corinthians 13:4* and *13:7, 48:23* and *48:24*.
¹⁰Je meurs de soif en cousté la fontaine.
See Wilbur, 900:4.
¹¹Le temps a laissé son manteau / De vent, de froidure
et de pluie.

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¹⁰Translated by
Thou shalt mak
of joye, all but in
of the Rose [c. 12
CHAUCER

¹¹A great cry, bu
ote, pt. II [1615],
All cry and no w
[1663], *canto 1, l.*

¹²This was a wel
tury, and has been
Shakespeare, and
See Donne, 253:
"The Holy Grail

Franz Kafka¹

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It is better to light one candle than curse the darkness.
— *Motto of the Christopher Society*

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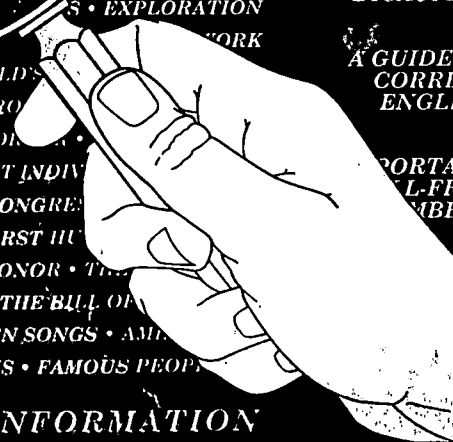
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U.S. Capitol

When the French architect and engineer Maj. Pierre L'Enfant first began to lay out the plans for a new Federal city (now Washington, D.C.), he noted that Jenkins' Hill, overlooking the area, seemed to be "a pedestal waiting for a monument." It was here that the U.S. Capitol would be built. The basic structure as we know it today evolved over a period of more than 150 years. In 1792, a competition was held for the design of a capitol building. Dr. William Thornton, a physician and amateur architect, submitted the winning plan, a simple, low-lying structure of classical proportions with a shallow dome. Later, internal modifications were made by Benjamin Henry Latrobe. After the building was burned by the British in 1814, Latrobe and architect Charles Bulfinch were responsible for its reconstruction. Finally, under Thomas Walter, who was Architect of the Capitol from 1851 to 1865, the House and Senate wings and the imposing cast iron dome topped with the Statue of Freedom were added, and the Capitol assumed the form we see today. It was in the old Senate chamber that Daniel Webster cried out, "Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable!" In Statuary Hall, which used to be the old House chamber, a small disk on the floor marks the spot where John Quincy Adams was fatally stricken

after more than 50 years of service to his country. A whisper from one side of this room can be heard across the vast space of the hall. Visitors can see the original Supreme Court chamber a floor below the Rotunda.

In addition to its historical association, the Capitol Building is also a vast artistic treasure house. The works of such famous artists as Gilbert Stuart, Rembrandt Peale, and John Trumbull are displayed on the walls. The Great Rotunda, with its 180-foot- (54.9-m-) high dome, is decorated with a massive fresco by Constantino Brumidi, which extends some 300 feet (90 m) in circumference. Throughout the building are many paintings of events in U.S. history and sculptures of outstanding Americans. The Capitol itself is situated on a 68-acre (27.5-ha) park designed by the 19th-century landscape architect Frederick Law Olmsted. There are free guided tours of the Capitol, which include admission to the House and Senate galleries. Those who wish to visit the visitors' gallery in either wing without taking the tour may obtain passes from their Senators or Congressmen. Visitors may ride on the monorail subway that joins the House and Senate wings of the Capitol with the Congressional office buildings.

Washington Monument

Construction of this magnificent Washington, D.C., monument, which draws some two million visitors a year, took nearly a century of planning, building, and controversy. Provision for a large equestrian statue of George Washington was made in the original city plan, but the project was soon dropped. After Washington's death it was taken up again, and a number of false starts and changes of design were made. Finally, in 1848, work was begun on the monument that stands today. The design, by architect Robert Mills, then featured an ornate base. In 1854, however, political squabbling

and a lack of money brought construction to a halt. Work was resumed in 1880, and the monument was completed in 1884 and opened to the public in 1888. The tapered shaft, faced with white marble and rising from walls 15 feet thick (4.6 m) at the base was modeled after the obelisks of ancient Egypt. The monument, one of the tallest masonry constructions in the world, stands just over 555 feet (169 m). Memorial stones from the 50 States, foreign countries, and organizations line the interior walls. The top, reached only by elevator, commands a panoramic view of the city.

The Liberty Bell

The Liberty Bell was cast in England in 1752 for the Pennsylvania Statehouse (now named Independence Hall) in Philadelphia. It was recast in Philadelphia in 1753. It is inscribed with the words, "Proclaim liberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof" (Lev. 25:10). The bell was rung on July 8, 1776, for the first public reading of

the Declaration of Independence. Hidden in Allentown during the British occupation of Philadelphia, it was replaced in Independence Hall in 1778. The bell cracked on July 8, 1835, while tolling the death of Chief Justice John Marshall. In 1976 the Liberty Bell was moved to a special exhibition building near Independence Hall.

Arlington National Cemetery

Arlington National Cemetery occupies 612 acres in Virginia on the Potomac River, directly opposite Washington. This land was part of the estate of John Parke Custis, Martha Washington's son. His son, George Washington Parke Custis, built the mansion which later became the home of Robert E. Lee. In 1864, Arlington became a military cemetery. More than 200,000 servicemembers and their dependents are buried there. Expansion of the cemetery began in 1966, using a 180-acre tract of land directly east of the present site.

In 1921, an Unknown American Soldier of World War I was buried in the cemetery; the monument

at the Tomb was opened to the public without ceremony in 1932. Two additional Unknowns, one from World War II and one from the Korean War, were buried May 30, 1958. The Unknown Serviceman of Vietnam was buried on May 28, 1984. The inscription carved on the Tomb of the Unknowns reads:

HERE RESTS IN
HONORED GLORY
AN AMERICAN
SOLDIER
KNOWN BUT TO GOD

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in early American history was profound in shaping the doctrines of American ideology. The constitutional provisions protecting freedom of speech, religion, assembly, and the press, and defending the rights to HABEAS CORPUS, jury trial, property, life, and liberty are notable expressions of liberal thought. Although there never has been a strong national liberal party in the United States, local and state political movements have been organized around liberal principles. Such movements generally were supported by labor, professional, intellectual, and FARMER groups.

Liberal Republican Party. Organized in the late 1860's by Republican leaders who opposed the conservative policies and the scandals of the first GRANT administration. Its program included leniency to the South, Civil service reform and a lower tariff. Among leaders were CARL SCHURZ, CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS and HORACE GREELEY, the latter of whom was the party's candidate in the election of 1872. A political compromise was made with the Democratic party in this election whereby Greeley was named its candidate as well. The reform movement within the Republican Party failed with the re-election of Grant and the continued leadership of such figures as BLAINE, Grant, and COLAX.

Liberator. The. The abolitionist newspaper founded by WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in 1831. The paper pursued a vigorous anti-slave policy under Garrison's editorship and was instrumental in rousing public sentiment against the institution of SLAVERY.

Liberia. One of the only two wholly sovereign states in Africa. It is a Negro republic whose population of 1,600,000 occupies an area of 43,000 square miles. It was first settled in 1822, six years after Congress conferred a charter upon the AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY, authorizing it to transport emancipated

slaves to the west African coast. Its independence was officially proclaimed in 1847. In 1942 and 1944 treaties between Liberia and the United States permitted the latter to establish troops, airports, and military and naval bases in Liberia. The nation's major enterprise is the million acre rubber concession granted to the Firestone Plantations Company in 1925. An iron ore concession has been developed by the Republic Steel Corporation. Its principal crops are coffee, rice, and sugar cane. The city of Monrovia is the capital and chief port.

Liberty Bell. A new bell cast by Thomas Lister of London to celebrate the sesquicentennial of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. It cracked during its testing in Philadelphia in 1752 and was twice recast by two Philadelphia workmen, Pass and Snow. It was placed in the State House in Philadelphia in June 1753. Early in September it was cracked during another testing. The bell was then recast and hung permanently in a steeple where it remained until 1846. The cracked relic now known to the public resulted from its tolling at the funeral procession of Chief Justice JOHN MARSHALL in 1835. It gets its name from the inscription from Leviticus XXV, 10: "Proclaim liberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof."

Liberty Loans. A series of five bond issues floated by the United States TREASURY DEPARTMENT between May, 1917 and April, 1919 for the purpose of financing the conduct of World War I. Including the fifth, or "Victory Loan", the total amount subscribed to was \$21,435,-370,600. The Liberty Loans were bonds bearing interest rates of 3% to 4% percent. The "Victory Loan" comprised two series of short term notes bearing interest of 3% percent and 4% percent. The loans were oversubscribed as a result of the energetic canvassing of the American population by means of mass meetings and

pleas in public places such as theaters, motion picture halls, restaurants, hotels, and churches. Liberty Bonds have been either paid or refunded as they have matured.

Liberty Party. A minor party movement organized in April 1840 at Albany, New York by delegates from six states. With an ABOLITIONIST platform it polled only 7,000 votes in that year's election, but in the ensuing years was to succeed in splitting the WHIG PARTY and thus contribute to the creation of the anti-slave Republican party in 1854. Its candidate JAMES C. BIRNEY, with a total of 62,300 votes in the election of 1844, drew enough votes from CLAY, the Whig candidate, to throw New York State into the Democratic column thus electing its candidate JAMES K. POLK. The party merged into the FREE-SOIL MOVEMENT in 1848. Among its leaders were SALMON P. CHASE, Myron Holley, and Charles Torrey.

Liberty Poles. Trees or poles before which the SONS OF LIBERTY convened and pledged their efforts in the cause of liberty. The best known Liberty Pole was constructed in New York City in 1766 to celebrate the repeal of the STAMP ACT. It rapidly became the scene of street fights between the Sons of Liberty and British troops. The first Liberty Pole was an elm tree at Washington and Essex Streets in Boston.

Libraries, Public. The first public library collection in America was formed by the donation by John Harvard of 300 volumes to the Harvard College Library in 1636. South Carolina enacted the first library law in 1700. The Library Company of Philadelphia, established in 1732, was the first subscription library. In 1752 the Redwood Library erected the first library building in Newport, Rhode Island. By the mid-19th century tax-supported libraries had been established in the larger eastern cities. The largest of these was the Boston Public Library, es-

LEVEL 1 - 4 OF 13 STORIES

Copyright (c) 1989 The Financial Times Limited;
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December 23, 1989, Saturday

SECTION: SECTION I; Pg. 6

LENGTH: 1064 words

HEADLINE: A Catholic Christmas in Prague

BYLINE: JOHN LLOYD

HIGHLIGHT:

John Lloyd listens to the singing in Czechoslovakia's churches

BODY:

Christmas Eve services will be held in churches all over Czechoslovakia this year: in the beautiful high-arched churches of Prague, in the grimy modern chapels of the post-war industrial sprawl of Ostrava in northern Moravia, in the strongly Catholic parishes of Slovakia. It will be quite a Christmassy Christmas, or so everyone expects.

(c) 1989 Financial Times, December 23, 1989

that carries a penalty.' When they graduated with good marks, the general comments on their reports - where a warm endorsement might have been expected - were: 'He comes from a believer's family.'

Rudolf himself could never have expected to get promotion, or to be sent abroad. 'But that will all change now; you can become the director.' 'No,' he answered, 'I couldn't: I haven't had the training and now I have lost any ambition.'

Religion was tolerated when it was confined to a small, inwardly turned circle. But now the circle can be enlarged: it will be a Catholic Christmas, on the streets, in the churches, even on television. 'The church has gained great credit for its opposition these last 40 years,' says Father Kinsky, and that is obviously true. There is a kind of fusion between the religious life and the awakened national life: a little shrine appeared the other night on Wenceslas Square, composed of a Christmas tree, candles, a cross and posters saying ' (Vaclav) Havel for President.' Czechoslovak catholicism, unpopular when the republic was founded in 1918 because of its close identification with the Austrian Imperial state (and thus never able to fuse national and religious feeling as the Polish and Irish churches have done) has staged a late comeback. Still, the question of Mr Hromadka - 'do they know what they are singing?' needs an answer. *

Proprietary to the United Press International, December 19, 1989

Night after night, Wenceslas Square was packed with hundreds of thousands of protesters.

'We want democracy for Christmas,' they chanted, politely but firmly.

They demanded a return to the democratic ideals of the Czechoslovak state that was created in 1918 after World War I. It fell as a result of Britain's appeasement to Hitler two decades later.

As students and artists announced a strike, more than a dozen opposition groups formally created 'Civic Forum,' a group led by playwright Vaclav Havel to voice the people's dissatisfaction with their leadership.

Within a mere 10 days, in what Havel dubbed 'The Velvet Revolution,' most of the Communist Party Politburo had resigned and the government agreed for the first time to speak with the opposition.

That was followed in quick order by Parliament's decision to eliminate the party's constitutionally guaranteed monopoly on power and to create the nation's first government dominated by non-communists since the communist takeover in February 1948.

The Associated Press, December 10, 1989

democratic reform were out in force Sunday morning but this time to shop for Christmas.

As political leaders searched for a new president for the nation, crowds lined up in Wenceslas Square to buy candles set in sparkled pine cones and gold-sprayed mistletoe. Later, they returned to celebrate the naming of a new government.

But revolution or not, it was Silver Sunday.

Stores open on Sunday only during the three weeks before Christmas. Bronze Sunday, the first, is subdued. Gold, the last, is chaos. Silver is merely frenetic.

Mothers with prams plowed through crowds in the biting cold. Speakers blared "White Christmas" sung in Czech by someone who was not Bing Crosby.

Scrawny trees sickened by acid-rain were on sale. But on Prague's picture-book Old Town Square, a giant healthy fir was alight with gay color.

Tinsel and ornaments hung in windows displaying fish food and deodorant. Fake snow made of plastic foam swirled over stacks of grapefruit juice labeled in

The Associated Press, December 10, 1989

Politics pervaded the scene in posters taped to walls and windows, but shoppers had other things on their mind.

Martin Cipro, a philosophy student wheeling a full basket in the Kotva food section, paused for a brief interview. "I think there will be more to buy with freedom," he said, edging off toward the canned fruit.

On an open square near Kotva, artisans of Czechoslovakia's minuscule private sector sold clay bells, ceramic jewelry and odd bits of decoration in a market that appears only at Christmas.

The busiest stand sold walnuts and apples.

No Santa Claus was in sight. The Slavic St. Nicholas wears a robe and miter, carries a fancy shepherd's crook and does not hang out on street corners.

Each Dec. 6, costumed St. Nicks flanked by devils and angels help begin the holiday season with a moonlight procession on the medieval Charles Bridge. This year, a horned and tailed marcher carried a sign reading:

"Even devils stay clear of the hellish politics of the Communist Central Committee."

LEVEL 1 - 2 OF 10 STORIES

Copyright (c) 1989 The Christian Science Publishing Society;
The Christian Science Monitor

December 28, 1989, Thursday

SECTION: THE WORLD; Wenceslas Square; Pg. 5

LENGTH: 915 words

HEADLINE: Prague Square's Poignant Role in History

BYLINE: Eric Bourne

DATELINE: VIENNA

HIGHLIGHT:

Over the decades, Czechs have gathered in 600-year-old landmark to witness their most tragic and hopeful moments

BODY:

CZECHS, at times of great public joy or sorrow, have always gathered on Prague's Wenceslas Square.

(c) 1989 The Christian Science Publishing Society, December 28, 1989

Just recently they have been there to jubilate over a noncommunist majority government.

And they returned a week later (Dec. 17) to mourn police brutality against students during a human rights rally a month before. This violence proved to have been the catalyst for the momentous events that followed.

For one who saw so much Czech history first hand - in good times and bad - played out on Wenceslas Square, it has been heartening indeed to watch (this time via TV) as this new Prague Spring in autumn unfolded to bring freedom again to Central and Eastern Europe's oldest democracy.

Vaclavske Namesti ... Wenceslas Square. For any whose acquaintance with Prague is more than a Christmas carol about "Good King Wenceslas," it is a great name.

The square is notable for its grace and symmetry at the heart of one of the world's most beautiful capitals and for the history it has witnessed since its first stones were laid 600 years ago.

In 1918, Czechs and Slovaks rejoiced there at the statehood won from the collapse of that old "prison of the nations," the Austro-Hungarian empire.

(c) 1989 The Christian Science Publishing Society, December 28, 1989

Unhappily, the new statehood lasted only 20 years.

In September 1938, the children of the crowds of 1918 gathered on the square in bitter grief at the West's sacrifice of their 'distant country of which we know little,' in the vain belief they were deterring Adolf Hitler's march to war. Six months later, Czechoslovakia ceased to exist.

Prague, right after World War II's end, was not much damaged. Within moments of liberation, the square was its gay, lively, colorful prewar self.

Shops and stores bloomed overnight with all the display panache of Czech tradition. The famous Cafe Srobek, was 'home' just as before to a polyglot collection of intellectuals, journalists, and politicians of every party and hue. The cafe, alas, was later renamed by the Communists, just as they also rubbed out the name of Tomas Masaryk, the nation's founding father.

The liberators, the Russians, were popular then. So, too, were the Communists who, in the first postwar free, democratic election, emerged the biggest party, with 36 percent of the vote. Within two years, however, they had destroyed the bourgeois parties and won absolute control.

(c) 1989 The Christian Science Publishing Society, December 28, 1989

On those fateful late February crisis days in 1948, Wenceslas Square was as tightly filled as in these recent weeks. The Communists still had their popular following. But only 10 days after the hapless President Eduard Benes accepted a new Communist-dominated government, the death of Foreign Minister Jan Masaryk precipitated a fresh crisis.

Masaryk, seeing himself as possibly a moderating influence, had agreed to remain as foreign minister, a prized accomplishment for the Communist government. But the son of Tomas Masaryk had fallen (or been pushed) from a window to his death.

I recall an ashen-faced, shaken Klement Gottwald (the party leader) in the Pantheon behind the Wenceslas statue delivering the funeral oration to 'our Jan.' As the coffin was borne through the square, there was new tension in the air. One felt anything could happen.

Grim portent of the shape of things that did come was the presence of the Communist factory workers' militia. They stood, every few yards, not presenting their tommy guns in salute as the cortege passed, but nervously facing inward on the anguished sidewalk crowds on the square.

(c) 1989 The Christian Science Publishing Society, December 28, 1989

Two decades of increasing repression followed.

January 1968. Enter Alexander Dubcek, to popular relief. In March, Wenceslas Square erupted still more joyfully when Stalinist President Antonin Novotny was finally forced out.

Among many vivid memories of the months that followed is May 1, date of the first spontaneous May Day festival the East bloc had seen.

The Big Five champions of reform - Mr. Dubcek, Ludwig Svoboda, Josef Smrkovsky, Oldrich Cernik, and Husak - walked together, hand-in-hand, the length of the square, cheered all the way.

I recall a young Czech writer friend remarking of the new press freedom: "When I look at the papers in the morning, I cannot believe my eyes. It is all too good to be true. I wonder, 'Will it last?'"

Jiri soon had his answer. On Aug. 21, the square was packed with tanks.

Czechs - anger in their voices but always with typically reasoning Czech restraint - surrounded them demanding of the crews, "Why are you here?"

(c) 1989 The Christian Science Publishing Society, December 28, 1989

An underground press poured out news sheets and picture protests. A photo montage showed a crippled tank outside Prague Radio with one word printed across it - Proc? - and the Russian equivalent, Pochemu? (Why?)

Twenty-one years on the Czechoslovaks are getting an answer - from the Russians, Poles, Hungarians, East Germans, and (almost as its last deed in office) from the Husak regime for which a few months ago the Prague Spring was still "counterrevolution."

Intervention, they all say in a monumental understatement, was "a mistake."

A costly mistake for my friend Jiri and tens of thousands like him, whose support for reform brought exclusion from their callings through the important middle years of their working lives.

One likes to think that Jiri does not need to be as skeptical this time as in 1968. Maybe not. There is a fundamental difference between Mikhail Gorbachev and Leonid Brezhnev.

And the way the old East-bloc monolith has crumbled, who now is going to be left to invade whom?

The Associated Press, December 26, 1989

In Vilnius, the capital of Lithuania, Roman Catholic activist Antanas Terleskas said many people attended church as usual. But he said people were not especially happy, because "the freedom of expressing religious beliefs is just an illusion we are permitted to toy with," he said.

In Riga, Latvia, radio and television broadcast the pope's mass and activists said church attendance was up.

In Tallinn, Estonia, people were able to watch the pope's mass on Finnish television, which they receive easily, and for 12 hours Estonian television broadcast Christmas carols.

On Christmas Eve, millions of Czechoslovaks watched Christmas Mass on an unprecedented live television broadcast. The Mass from Prague's 13th century Strahov Monastery was said by the Rev. Vaclav Maly, who the government had banned from the priesthood for 11 years because of his human rights activities.

Millions of believers jammed into churches and Cathedrals throughout the country for midnight Mass. On Christmas Day, 90-year-old Cardinal Frantisek Tomasek said Mass at the gothic St. Vitus Cathedral overlooking the city, delivering a sermon on the responsibility that freedom brings.

The Associated Press, December 26, 1989

In central Prague, on the site where mass pro-democracy rallies turned the tide of Czechoslovak history last month, crowds of students gathered to sing and share the holiday at the statue of Bohemia's patron saint - good King Wenceslas.

(c) 1989 The Christian Science Publishing Society, December 7, 1989

Wenceslas Square - and yes, that's Wenceslas as in 'Good King,' of Christmas carol fame - is where the crowds gathered to cheer the declaration of Czechoslovakia as a sovereign republic after the First World War.

Prague, the splendid baroque 'city of a hundred spires,' often seems to have been asleep for centuries under a fairy-tale spell. And yet the painful struggle for democracy is part of this century, not an awakening so much as a reawakening.

The Czechoslovak Republic of the interwar years was a product of the breaking up of the old empires vanquished during the war. The peace-loving idealism of the American president, Woodrow Wilson, also played no small part in establishing the new nation.

Americans watching events in Czechoslovakia and the rest of Eastern Europe should be wondering what role there is for late 20th-century American idealism in this part of the world.

But one has to wonder, do we ahistorical Americans have enough of a sense of history to understand what's going on in the transforming East bloc? The issue may be less names and dates than a sense of general historical context - a sense of the story of history, with its plot lines and heroes. Or to use another

(c) 1988 The Washington Post, December 23, 1988

Nearby, bright blue concession stands sell ornaments, gifts and food treats, and in the Old Town, a Christmas tree and choir stand have been erected in front of the towering Tyn Church.

This is the first year that Czechoslovakia's Marxist leaders have so assiduously indulged their citizens' holiday spirits.

Although the practice of religion in several other Eastern European countries is expanding, the government here continues to repress the church and many of its believers with Stalinist fervor. Even as the carols ring in Prague this month, one Catholic activist, Augustin Navratil, is confined in a psychiatric institution in the northern town of Kromeriz, deemed insane after he launched a petition for religious freedom that gathered half a million signatures earlier this year.

The government continues to block the church from filling its 10 vacant bishoprics or constructing new churches.

Explanations for this year's holiday displays in the capital vary. Government spokesmen evasively argue that the special stands -- if not the carolers and the tree -- stood in one of the two squares last year and that this year's celebrations thus are not new. Some Czechoslovaks figure that the government

WENCESLAS SQUARE \ PRAGUE, CZECHOSLOVAKIA
NOVEMBER 17, 1990 \ 3:20 P.M.

THANK YOU, MY CZECH AND SLOVAK FRIENDS. IT IS A
TREMENDOUS HONOR FOR ME TO BE THE FIRST SITTING
AMERICAN PRESIDENT TO VISIT YOUR PROUD AND BEAUTIFUL
COUNTRY -- \\ AND TO BE ABLE TO JOIN YOU ON THE FIRST
ANNIVERSARY OF YOUR EXTRAORDINARY VELVET REVOLUTION.
WHAT A POWERFULLY MOVING SIGHT. \\ THERE ARE NO
LEAVES ON THE TREES -- AND YET IT IS PRAGUE SPRING. \\

- 2 -

THERE ARE NO FLOWERS IN BLOOM -- AND YET IT IS PRAGUE
SPRING. \\ THE CALENDAR SAYS NOV. 17 -- AND YET IT IS
PRAGUE SPRING. ///

YOUR DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE PROCLAIMS: "THE
FORCES OF DARKNESS HAVE SERVED THE VICTORY OF LIGHT.
THE LONGED-FOR AGE OF HUMANITY IS DAWNING." TODAY, THE
FREEDOM-LOVING PEOPLE OF THE WORLD CAN BEAR WITNESS
THAT THIS AGE OF HUMANITY HAS NOW FINALLY -- AND
TRULY -- DAWNED FOR THIS SPLENDID NATION. ///

- 3 -

SEVEN DECADES AGO, AN UNPRECEDENTED PARTNERSHIP BEGAN BETWEEN TWO PRESIDENTS \\ -- THE PHILOSOPHER, TOMAS MASARYK [TOE-MAS MAS-AH-RICK] \\ -- AND THE IDEALISTIC SCHOLAR -- WOODROW WILSON. \\ IT WAS A PARTNERSHIP, AS WELL, AMONG CZECHS AND SLOVAKS TO JOIN TOGETHER IN FEDERATION.

IT WAS A LONG, HARD ROAD FROM THEIR WORK ON YOUR DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE TO THIS CELEBRATION TODAY.

- 4 -

I AM PROUD TO WALK THESE LAST STEPS WITH YOU AS ONE SHARED JOURNEY ENDS AND ANOTHER BEGINS. \\

OUR COUNTRIES SHARE A HISTORY. WE SHARE A VISION. AND WE SHARE FRIENDSHIP. A FRIENDSHIP MASARYK [MAS-AH-RICK] DESCRIBED TO CZECH-AMERICAN SOLDIERS 70 YEARS AGO. HE SAID: "DO NOT FORGET THAT THE SAME IDEALS, THE SAME PRINCIPLES EVER UNITE US. DO NOT FORGET US AS WE SHALL NEVER FORGET YOU."

- 5 -

THAT IS WHY I AM HERE TODAY. WE HAVE NOT
FORGOTTEN. \\\

AND THE WORLD WILL NEVER FORGET WHAT HAPPENED
HERE -- IN THIS SQUARE WHERE THE HISTORY OF FREEDOM WAS
WRITTEN. THE DAYS OF ANGUISH. THE DAYS OF HOPE.

SO MANY TIMES, YOU CAME HERE BEARING CANDLES
AGAINST THE DARK NIGHT, ANSWERING THE CALL OF COMENIUS
[KOH-MAIN-EE-US] TO FOLLOW "THE WAY OF LIGHT." \\
THOSE BRAVE FLAMES CAME TO SYMBOLIZE YOUR FIERCELY
BURNING NATIONAL PRIDE.

- 6 -

A YEAR AGO, THE WORLD SAW YOU FACE DOWN
TOTALITARIANISM. WE SAW THE PEACEFUL CROWD SWELL DAY
BY DAY IN NUMBERS AND IN RESOLVE. WE SAW THE FEW
CANDLES GROW INTO A BLAZE. WE SAW THIS SQUARE BECOME A
BEACON OF HOPE FOR AN ENTIRE NATION AS IT GAVE BIRTH TO
YOUR NEW ERA OF FREEDOM. \\

THIS VICTORY OWES ITS HEART TO TWO GREAT HEROES.
ALEXANDER DUBCEK. TWENTY-TWO YEARS AGO, HE LED THIS
NATION IN ITS FIRST SWEET TASTE OF LIBERTY.

- 7 -

HIS ARE THE WILL AND COMPASSION THAT ARE THE LIVING
CZECHOSLOVAKIA. \\\

AND PRESIDENT HAVEL. A MAN OF WISDOM, AND
TREMENDOUS MORAL COURAGE. IN THE DARK YEARS, ON ONE
SIDE STOOD THE STATE. ON THE OTHER -- HAVEL. \\\ ON
ONE SIDE, TYRANNY. ON THE OTHER -- THIS MAN OF VISION
AND TRUTH. \\\ AMONG THE FIRST WAS HAVEL. NOW THERE
ARE MILLIONS. \\\

- 8 -

TODAY, A EUROPE WHOLE AND FREE IS WITHIN OUR REACH.
WE HAVE SEEN A NEW WORLD OF FREEDOM BORN AMID SHOUTS OF
JOY. BORN FULL OF HOPE, BARRELING WITH CONFIDENCE
TOWARD A NEW CENTURY.

A NEW WORLD BORN OF A REVOLUTION THAT LINKED THIS
SQUARE WITH OTHERS -- GDANSK, BUDAPEST, BERLIN -- A
REVOLUTION THAT JOINED TOGETHER PEOPLE FUELED BY
COURAGE AND BY HUMANITY'S ESSENTIAL QUEST FOR FREEDOM.

\\\

- 9 -

FOR FOUR DECADES, OUR TWO NATIONS WAITED ACROSS THE DIVIDE BETWEEN EAST AND WEST. TWO PEOPLES UNITED IN SPIRIT AND VISION -- AND YET SEPARATED BY CONFLICT. TODAY, THE UNITED STATES AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA STAND TOGETHER, UNITED ONCE MORE IN OUR DEVOTION TO THE DEMOCRATIC IDEAL.

NOW, WITH THE DIVISION OF EUROPE ENDING, AND DEMOCRACY ASCENDING IN THE EAST, THE CHALLENGE IS TO MOVE FORWARD.

- 10 -

IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA: FROM REVOLUTION TO RENAISSANCE. \\
ACROSS THIS CONTINENT: TOWARD A NEW EUROPE, IN WHICH EACH NATION AND EVERY CULTURE CAN FLOURISH AND BREATHE FREE. \\
ON BOTH SIDES OF THE ATLANTIC: TOWARD A COMMONWEALTH OF FREEDOM BASED ON OUR SHARED PRINCIPLES AND OUR HOPES FOR THE WHOLE WORLD. A COMMONWEALTH INSPIRED BY THE WORDS OF YOUR GREAT COMENIUS [KOH-MAIN-EE-US] WRITTEN THREE CENTURIES AGO: "LET US HAVE BUT ONE END IN VIEW, THE WELFARE OF HUMANITY." \\\

- 11 -

A THOUSAND MILES TO THE SOUTH, THIS NEW COMMONWEALTH OF FREEDOM FACES A TERRIBLE TEST. \\ CZECHOSLOVAKIA WAS ONE OF THE FIRST NATIONS TO CONDEMN THE OUTRAGE IN THE PERSIAN GULF. ONE OF THE FIRST TO MEASURE THE MAGNITUDE OF THE WRONG COMMITTED IN THE NAME OF TERRITORIAL AMBITION.

IT IS NO COINCIDENCE THAT APPEASEMENT'S LONELY VICTIM HALF A CENTURY AGO SHOULD BE AMONG THE FIRST TO UNDERSTAND THAT THERE IS RIGHT -- \\ AND THERE IS WRONG. THERE IS GOOD -- \\ AND THERE IS EVIL. \\

- 12 -

AND THERE ARE SACRIFICES WORTH MAKING. ///

THERE IS NO QUESTION ABOUT WHAT BINDS OUR NATIONS -- AND SO MANY OTHERS -- IN COMMON CAUSE. THERE IS NO QUESTION THAT OURS IS A JUST CAUSE. AND THAT GOOD WILL PREVAIL. \\ THE DARKNESS IN THE DESERT SKY CANNOT STAND AGAINST THE WAY OF LIGHT. ///

EARLIER TODAY, I TOLD YOUR PARLIAMENT WE KNOW THIS IS A DIFFICULT TIME FOR YOU -- BUT ALSO A TIME OF EXTRAORDINARY OPTIMISM.

- 13 -

AS YOU UNDERTAKE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC REFORM \\ KNOW
ONE THING. AMERICA WILL NOT FAIL YOU IN THIS DECISIVE
MOMENT. AMERICA WILL STAND WITH YOU. ///

WE WILL CONTINUE ALONG THE ROAD MAPPED OUT BY OUR
PRESIDENTS MORE THAN 70 YEARS AGO. A ROAD WHOSE GOAL
WAS DESCRIBED BY WOODROW WILSON: "TO BRING PEACE AND
SAFETY TO ALL NATIONS AND MAKE THE WORLD ITSELF AT LAST
FREE." ///

- 14 -

FOR THE PAST 70 YEARS, YOUR DECLARATION OF
INDEPENDENCE HAS BEEN PRESERVED AND CHERISHED IN OUR
LIBRARY OF CONGRESS. I SAY: IT IS TIME FOR MASARYK'S
WORDS TO COME HOME. ///

AS HUMANITY AND LIBERTY RETURN TO CZECHOSLOVAKIA:
SO TOO WILL THIS TREASURED DOCUMENT.

- 15 -

ON BEHALF OF THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES, I AM PROUD TO BE ABLE TO TELL THE PEOPLE OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA: 1989 WAS THE YEAR THAT FREEDOM CAME HOME TO CZECHOSLOVAKIA -- 1990 WILL BE THE YEAR YOUR DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE CAME HOME TO THE GOLDEN CITY OF PRAGUE. \\\

MAY IT BE FOR FUTURE GENERATIONS A REMINDER OF THE TIES THAT BIND OUR NATIONS -- AND THE PRINCIPLES THAT BIND ALL HUMANITY.\\\

- 16 -

IN 1776, WHEN OUR DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE WAS FIRST READ IN PUBLIC, A BELL TOLLED TO PROCLAIM THE DEFIANT THRILL OF THAT MOMENT. THAT BELL -- WE CALL IT THE LIBERTY BELL -- HAS FOR 200 YEARS SYMBOLIZED OUR NATION'S DEEPEST DEDICATION TO FREEDOM. DEDICATION LIKE YOUR OWN.

INSCRIBED ON THIS BELL ARE THE WORDS: "PROCLAIM LIBERTY THROUGHOUT ALL THE LAND."

- 17 -

WE WANT TO HELP YOU PROCLAIM YOUR NEW LIBERTY
THROUGHOUT ALL THIS PROUD AND BEAUTIFUL LAND -- AND SO
TODAY WE GIVE TO YOU OUR LAST REPLICA OF THE LIBERTY
BELL. \\\

ONE OF OUR PATRIOTIC SONGS PROCLAIMS "SWEET LAND OF
LIBERTY ... FROM EVERY MOUNTAIN SIDE, LET FREEDOM RING."
\\

- 18 -

AND SO WHEN BELLS RING IN WENCESLAS SQUARE OR IN
BRATISLAVA OR ANYWHERE IN THIS GLORIOUS COUNTRY, THINK
OF THIS BELL, AND KNOW THAT ALL BELLS ARE TOLLING FOR
YOUR PRECIOUS LIBERTY -- NOW AND FOREVER.

GOD BLESS CZECHOSLOVAKIA!

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no corrections,
just new language
11/19 8:05 PM

(Hinchliffe/Grossman)
November 14, 1990 3 p.m.
CZECH

**PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: WENCESLAS SQUARE, PRAGUE
November 17, 1990**

Thank you, my Czech and Slovak friends. It is a tremendous honor for me to be the first American President to visit your proud and beautiful country -- and to be able to join you on the 1st anniversary of your extraordinary Velvet Revolution.

What a powerfully moving sight. There are no leaves on the trees -- and yet it is Prague spring. There are no flowers in bloom -- and yet it is Prague spring. The calendar says November 17 -- and yet it is Prague spring. As your legendary Tomas Masaryk wrote in your Declaration of Independence: "The forces of darkness have served the victory of light. The longed-for age of humanity is dawning." Together, the freedom-loving people of the world say to you: we rejoice that this age of humanity has now finally -- and truly -- dawned for this splendid nation.

I'm here today on a pilgrimage. One that began 7 decades ago with an unprecedented partnership between two presidents: the philosopher who liberated Czechoslovakia politically and intellectually, Tomas Masaryk -- and the idealistic scholar who led the United States through WWI, Woodrow Wilson. It was a long, hard road from their work on your Declaration of Independence to this celebration today. I am proud to be the one to walk these last steps with you as this shared journey ends and a new one begins.

For our countries share a past. We share a vision. We share a dream. A dream that became the torch held by our Statue of Liberty. A dream that is reflected in the soft shadows cast by

candles in this square. And we share friendship. A friendship Masaryk described to American soldiers here 70 years ago. He said: "Do not forget that the same ideals, the same principles ever unite us. Do not forget us, as we shall never forget you."

That is why I am here today. We will never forget you.

And the world will never forget what happened here -- in this square where the history of freedom was written. Wenceslas Square still reverberates with all the emotions your nation has felt for generations. The days of anguish. The days of hope.

So many times you came here bearing candles against the dark night, answering the call of Comenius to follow "the way of light." Those brave flames came to symbolize your fiercely burning national pride. When I finally arrived in this square today, the first thing I looked for was the candle wax. Mounds of it, from the thousands of candles left here over the years.

I just came here from your great St. Vitus Cathedral. I wanted to visit because it's part of a special bond our countries share. In Washington, our nation's capital, we have a Czechoslovakian Chapel in our Shrine of the Immaculate Conception. In that Chapel is earth taken from under St. Wenceslas' tomb in this magnificent Cathedral -- a literal, and spiritual, foundation.

And when I see this extraordinary mosaic of melted wax in front of me, I find myself thinking back to St. Vitus. And to what happens at its Easter midnight service. The priest brings a candle from the altar into the unbroken darkness. Then he passes the flame to each worshipper's own individual candle. Soon the

church is ablaze with flickering lights that shine together to defeat the dark and to herald the resurrection. You -- the proud Czech and Slovak people -- you are that candle. The light of your vision has redeemed you from darkness. And that light is now spreading through the world.

For nothing could stop a dream "whose time has come." A year ago the world saw you face barbaric totalitarianism. We saw the miraculously peaceful crowd swell day by day in numbers and in resolve. We saw the few candles grow into a blaze. We saw this square burst into life with the explosion of dreams too long deferred. We listened as the words of your leader became "the axe for the frozen sea inside you." As this square gave birth to your "era of freedom," we rejoiced as if it the victory were our own.

A victory that owes its heart to two heroes who honor us by their presence. Alexander Dubcek. 22 years ago he led this nation in its first sweet taste of liberty. Through the dark years he inspired its spiritual and moral resistance. His is the will of steel and the heart of love that are the living Czechoslovakia

And President Havel. My friend. A man of warmth, compassion, wisdom, and tremendous moral courage. He blesses the lives he touches and the country he leads. In the dark years, on one side stood the state. On the other -- Havel. On one side, the trappings of tyranny. On the other -- this man of vision. On one side, the cold jail. On the other -- this man who even in prison was free -- with the freedom that comes from living in truth. First, there was this man. Now there are millions.

Millions who answered, as Tomas Masaryk wrote: "Not with violence but with love. Not with the sword but with the plough. Not with blood but with work. Not with death but with life."

Yours was the light that led us out of the chill winter of the Cold War's darkness and sorrow - and to the brink of a Europe healed and whole. A Europe intrepid and free. We have seen a New World of freedom born amid shouts of joy and triumph. Born full of hope, barreling with confidence toward a new century. In Poland it took 10 years. In Hungary, 10 months. East Germany, 10 weeks. Here, 10 days. Ten days that shook your world. And ours.

A New World born of a revolution that linked this place with places like Budapest's Kossuth Square, and the Gdansk Shipyards in Poland. A revolution that joined together people fueled by bravery, defiance, and by humanity's essential quest for freedom.

You have done miraculous work. You have embodied one of my favorite sayings: "Whatever you can do, or dream you can, begin it! Boldness has genius, power, and magic in it."

And now you are at the threshold of a new era. But you do not stand there alone. For four decades, our two nations waited across the divide between East and West. Two peoples united in spirit, bonded by visions -- and yet separated by conflict.

Today we stand together, united once more in our devotion to the democratic ideal. And we stand with the other inspiring, emerging democracies of central and eastern Europe, and we welcome them into the commonwealth of freedom. Into this moral community united in its dedication to the ideals of liberty.

For along with the precious new breeze of freedom that is sweeping this continent comes a new responsibility. Now there is the opportunity -- and the challenge -- to move forward. In Czechoslovakia: from revolution to renaissance. Across this continent: toward a new Europe, in which each nation and every culture can flourish and breathe free. On both sides of the ocean: toward a new Atlantic partnership of freedom based on our shared heritage and common values.

A partnership inspired by words which are as true today as they were when your great Comenius wrote them 3 centuries ago: "Let us have but one end in view, the welfare of humanity." If there is one thought I want you to take from this historic afternoon, it is that we must look beyond our own borders, to true global partnership. The situation in the Gulf teaches us this harsh lesson. We know that Czechoslovakia was one of the first nations to endorse sanctions. We know how hard this has hit your economy. And we want you to know how your example inspires the rest of the world. You show that aggression against another member of the international community -- be it next door or across the world -- is everyone's business. You show that all peoples must defend the oppressed as they throw off the yoke of tyranny which no man has the right to impose on another.

Earlier, I told your Parliament we know this is a difficult time. As you undertake political and economic reform, we know you will draw on your strong industrial tradition -- your courage -- your strength -- and your indomitable spirit. But I want you

to know one more thing. You also have our pledge of friendship.

I only wish I could also bring this message in person to Bratislava -- to the brave children of Comenius. For I want to tell this entire nation that I look forward to working with President Havel, and with all of you, as we are finally able to continue along the road mapped out by our presidents more than 70 years ago. A road whose destination was described by Woodrow Wilson as: "A universal dominion of right by ... free peoples (to) bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself at last free."

For the last 70 years, your Declaration of Independence -- shared by these two men and signed by Milan Stefanik among others -- has been preserved and cherished in our Library of Congress. It is time for Masaryk's words to come home. As humanity, liberty and independence return to Czechoslovakia -- so will this treasured document.

President Havel, on behalf of the people of the United States of America, I have a very special gift for the people of Czechoslovakia. Before carollers and their candles gather in this square to welcome the Christmas season, your original Declaration of Independence will have returned home. May it be for future generations a reminder of the ties that bind our nations -- and the principles that bind all humanity. \\\

In 1776, when our Declaration of Independence was first read in public, a bell tolled to proclaim the defiant thrill of that moment. That bell -- we call it the Liberty Bell -- has for 200

years symbolized our nation's deepest dedication to freedom. A dedication like your own. Inscribed on the bell are words that apply to your country as well as to the United States: "Proclaim liberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof"

We want to help you proclaim your proud new liberty throughout all the land. And so, we are giving you our last replica of the Liberty Bell. In the words of one of our most patriotic songs: "Sweet land of liberty...from every mountainside, let freedom ring." Whenever bells ring in Wenceslas Square or keys clang in Bratislava, think of this Bell, and know that all bells are tolling for your precious liberty -- now and forever. God Bless Czechoslovakia!

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