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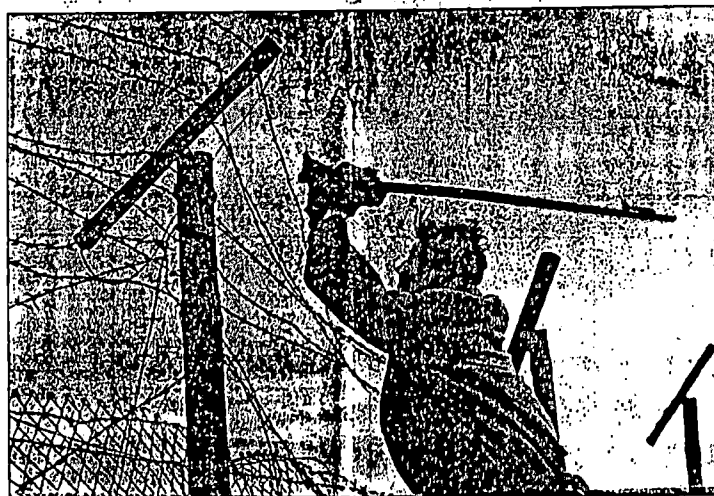
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UPHEAVAL IN EASTERN EUROPE

THE TURNING POINTS

Moscow's
Empire
Collapses

THE WALLS COME DOWN:
West Berliners celebrate on top of the Berlin Wall, above, in November; a month later, another hated symbol of the Cold War, the barbed-wire fence of the Iron Curtain, was being dismantled along the border between Czechoslovakia and Austria.

Eastern Europe enters the 1990s in the throes of a continuing anti-communist revolution. After a year of glorious and spontaneous rebellion led by average citizens, six nations have emerged from the shadow of the Soviet Union to take control of their own affairs.

Like the empires that preceded it in Eastern Europe, the Soviet Union controlled Poland, Hungary, East Germany, Czechoslovakia and the Balkan states of Romania and Bulgaria through a mixture of brute force, local apparatchiks and great-power politics. When people took to the streets, as they did in Berlin in 1953, Budapest in 1956, Prague in 1968 and Gdansk in 1981, the response was the same as it had been in 1795 or 1848: a bloody rout by troops, followed by a ruthless period of "normalization."

The revolution of 1989 spelled the belated collapse of that centuries-old logic of East European power. Inevitably, its protagonist was the Soviet leader, Mikhail Gorbachev. During the course of the year, Gorbachev withdrew the threat of Soviet force from East European politics for the first time since 1945. Once he had done so, the Communist regimes set up by Joseph Stalin had neither the material nor the political means to resist the demands of their own people.

The revolt was driven by the forces that are reshaping the world: modern media and technology, mounting material aspirations and consciousness of human rights. Yet it was also the result of Gorbachev's desperate struggle to modernize the Soviet Union's own unworkable system of government and pattern of alliances.

What follows is an account of Eastern Europe's revolution that focuses on the crucial days and decisions that propelled it. Like revolutions everywhere, this one was

shaped by conditions that had been accumulating for decades, but as the upheaval spread from Poland to Hungary and then exploded across the region, it passed a few crucial turning points in which small groups of people—party politicians, dissident leaders, Soviet onlookers and a few common citizens thrown up by circumstance—were compelled to make historic decisions.

Moscow's Crucial Role

Those decisions largely determined that the revolution of 1989 would be dominated by the ideals of pluralistic democracy and civil rights—a region-wide triumph for Western liberalism unknown even during Eastern Europe's brief, unstable freedom from foreign domination before World War II. They set opposition movements—both those in parliaments and those in the streets—on a course of nonviolence and negotiation with Communist rulers also unique in the history of European revolution. Finally, until the tragedy of Romania, Communist leaders around the region decided at the key moments of crisis to give up their power peacefully, an extraordinary concession motivated by a mixture of humanity, patriotism and sheer political exhaustion.

In the end, the tragedy of Romania revealed as much about the role of the Soviet Union in the drama as it did about one dictator's madness. Time and again, Gorbachev chose to encourage rather than dissuade local Communist leaders as they stood on the brink of opening borders, freeing prisoners or signing away their dictatorial powers. Even more crucially, the presence of Soviet troops in East Germany and Czechoslovakia helped dissuade desperate Communist hard-liners from lurching against their own people. Romania was the one country where no Soviet troops were stationed, and where Gorbachev's influence was muted.

Throughout the year, the role played by the United States and other Western countries was that of cheering but cautious spectators. In part, this was a stance that East Europeans had come to expect; in past crises, both at the onset and in the aftermath of World War II, the West had judged Eastern Europe outside its realm of action. At the same time, Western policy-makers could argue that their low profile had a positive effect, giving Gorbachev the assurance that the West did not intend to exploit his concessions to the region's democratic and pro-Western opposition movements.

Neither Gorbachev nor anyone in the West could have anticipated a year ago that such a momentous upheaval would come so quickly. It is doubtful that the Soviet leader had decided in advance to tolerate the magnitude of change that eventually took place. Yet as the events of the year moved forward with increasing speed, Gorbachev and his allies found themselves maneuvered by the stark choices of a crisis that had been building up in the region for decades.

At the beginning of 1989, the Communist regimes of Eastern Europe were divided into two contrary camps. In Poland and Hungary, reformist leaders had been working for years to liberalize and restructure the old Stalinist systems of centrally directed economic production and totalitarian politics, trying to accommodate the world's new economic forces and aspirations for pluralism. In East Germany, Czechoslovakia,

Bulgaria and Romania, elderly and often corrupt rulers were rigidly clinging to the old system, convinced that reforms would only invite chaos.

In fact, both forms of Communist rule in the region had quietly reached the point of collapse. *Perestroika* in Poland and Hungary had brought on economic crises but done nothing to satisfy popular aspirations. In the hard-line states, meanwhile, Communist apparatus rotted by years of corruption, secrecy and isolation from the public were struggling to conceal their own crises of industrial obsolescence and falling production.

A Two-Track Revolution

While the crisis of communism grew in the 1980s, its alternative, the opposition movements born in Eastern Europe in the 1970s, grew to full maturity. Inspired in part by the lessons of the region's many failed revolutions, by the European human rights movement born in the 1975 Helsinki conference and by such epiphanic events as Pope John Paul II's 1979 visit to Poland, intellectuals like Poland's Adam Michnik and Czechoslovakia's Vaclav Havel had formulated a new kind of Eastern European political movement based on grass-roots organization, democracy and nonviolence.

Poland's Solidarity, the first mass movement to embody the new strategy, was defeated by the old East European logic of martial law in 1981. Still, its leaders survived and spent eight years learning the hard political arts of tolerance, negotiation and compromise. Their ideals and experience, echoed by Czechoslovakia's Charter 77 movement and spread throughout the region by samizdat pamphlets and foreign radio broadcasts, prepared a whole generation of young intellectuals and workers for a rebellion that could be both massive and peaceful, irresistible and open to negotiation.

Once it began, in Poland in the early spring of 1989, the revolution followed two tracks and moved at two speeds. In Poland and Hungary, the states that had tried and failed to reform, weakened and discouraged Communist leaders withdrew step by step, negotiating their downfall with veteran opposition leaders while much of the public watched with faint hope and apathy. In East Germany, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia and Romania, sparks from the nearby changes—and from the attraction of Gorbachev—fell upon the rotten tinder of official corruption and popular discontent and ignited political explosions in which opposition movements arose and Communist establishments collapsed in a matter of weeks, or days.

In retrospect, it is clear that the two tracks of change fed each other as they crossed along the way. The collapse of the East German Communists, in turn, provided the swing point between the negotiated revolution in reformist Poland and Hungary and the upheaval that swept like a contagion through the region's four orthodox states. Demands spontaneously voiced by the crowds in Prague's Wenceslas Square soon echoed back into the more orderly parliamentary chambers where Poland's revolution played out.

Almost lost in the colorful crowds and collapsing walls in the final weeks was a stunningly silent, almost intangible climax: the disappearance of the last of the great empires in Central and Eastern Europe. Gorbachev, it became clear, had been determined from the beginning to avoid the historic tool of force; and that principle, step by step, had obliged him to accept the loss of his allied Communist rulers. Although its troops remained, the Soviet Bloc had vanished. And more than at any time in its history, Eastern Europe was free to shape its own future.

— Jackson Diehl

This special section was reported and written by Washington Post correspondents Jackson Diehl, Jim Hoagland, Blaine Harden and Mary Baltata, who covered events in the six countries of Eastern Europe.

THE TURNING POINTS

POLAND



**"What about this concept?
Let's have free elections
in the upper chamber."**

— ALEXANDER KWASNIEWSKI
Communist Party minister

The Communists Lose Control of the Process

WARSAW, March 1989

On the cold, gray morning of March 2, 1989, Poland's Solidarity leader, Lech Walesa, and 10 of his closest advisers filed into the conference room of a two-story government villa in the village of Magdalena, 17 miles outside Warsaw. There was fine food and drink to be had in this official sanctuary, but today Walesa and his companions had little to look forward to. Gen. Czesław Kiszczak, the Communist interior minister who had been the pillar of Solidarity in the early 1980s, had summoned the union leadership for an urgent private meeting.

The "round-table" talks between Solidarity and the Communist leadership of Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski, which had convened daily for nearly a month in a government palace in downtown Warsaw, were not going well. The party leadership's strategy was to persuade Solidarity, which had boycotted previous elections, to participate in a restructured political system in which a powerful president—presumably Jaruzelski—would preside over a parliament divided by fiat into blocs of 65 percent for the Communist-led alliance and 35 percent for the opposition. Solidarity, recognizing the token nature of its proposed presence in the parliament, was resisting the deal.

Kiszczak, hoping that a special bargaining session would break the impasse, offered a new proposal at this day's meeting. He said that to balance the new presidency, which Solidarity stoutly opposed, a second house of the parliament could be headed to the existing Sejm. Its membership, the interior minister went on, could be made up from several existing organs, such as the lay council advising Roman Catholic primate Cardinal Józef Glemp and the "consultative

council" of Jaruzelski, which included a few intellectuals sympathetic to the opposition.

This meager concession to Solidarity drew a quick response: hoots and jeers from the veteran dissidents and workers' leaders seated at the long, narrow conference table around Walesa. When the commotion died down, historian Bronisław Geremek, the bearded, pipe-smoking dean of Solidarity's brain trust, responded: "You can violate democracy once, but not three times." By his count, the Communists were now trying to prearrange the election of two parliamentary chambers as well as the presidency.

Unexpected Consequences

The discussion seemed to be going nowhere. Then suddenly, Alexander Kwasniewski, a newcomer to the Communist leadership who was serving as the government's liaison to labor unions, blurted an answer to Geremek. "What about this concept?" he said, according to accounts provided by the two men in interviews early this year. "Let's have free elections to the upper chamber."

The young minister confronted Geremek: "So how many times, professor, do you think democracy would be violated then?" Geremek grimaced. "This," he answered carefully, "would be very interesting."

With that exchange, Poland's Communist leadership lost control of the round-table negotiations with Solidarity and triggered a process that would end, six months later, with the first major event in Eastern Europe's revolution: the formation in Warsaw of a predominantly non-Communist government. Up until that meeting at the Magdalena villa, Jaruzelski's political strategy had hinged on his ability to control liberalization by dictating it from above, with each



SIDE BY SIDE: Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski, left, seated alongside Lech Walesa as the Sejm convenes July 4 for the first time since the elections, shows a rare smile as Solidarity's floor leader, Bronisław Geremek, watches.

new step offered like a gift from the Communist leadership. Yet now, the party was allowing the Polish people the chance to vote in a free and competitive election whose outcome—and impact—would be outside the party's control.

From the Communists' point of view, it was a grievous political error. Even before that day's meeting broke up, Kiszczak gravely informed the Solidarity delegation that Kwasniewski had not been speaking for the party leadership and had made only "a very individual proposal." Yet once the words "free elections" were out of Kwasniewski's mouth, Solidarity seized on them—and after a month of subsequent haggling and brinkmanship, Kiszczak signed the party's agreement.

To this day, it is not entirely clear why Kwasniewski made his revolutionary proposal. In an interview, the brash, outspoken Communist said he had not planned to use the words "free elections," but that they had just popped into his head. Geremek, however, said he did not believe the proposal was spontaneous. Kwasniewski, he pointed out, belonged to a liberal group within the Communist leadership; his remark, Geremek said, may have been calculated to put pressure on Politburo hard-liners.

In any case, the Communists had been cornered: Solidarity would not agree to the brokered Solidarity and Communist presidency without the free elections to the new Senate. Jaruzelski, who had staked his own political fortunes on the round table, could not afford not to make a deal with the union.

At the same time, the party leadership was lulled into acquiescence by a series of stunning miscalculations about the likely outcome and implications of the balloting.

The party strategists knew they would lose a free vote. But they thought they could offset this outcome by forcing Solidarity to agree that the new Senate would have only limited power. Even if the opposition held a big majority in the chamber, the Communists reasoned, they would be unable to do much with it.

The party negotiators also insisted on organizing the Senate elections by district, so that each of Poland's 49 provinces separately elected two senators. Since Solidarity had little formal organization left outside the big cities, the Communists figured they could win many seats in rural areas where the union would have little chance of organizing in the two months before the vote.

Finally, the party leadership relied on its polls. For years, the results of confidential public opinion surveys had shown that only a small minority of Poles declared themselves to be supporters of Walesa's Solidarity organization, or of the government, while a large number defined themselves as "independents." In an open election, officials reasoned, Solidarity's candidates would likely be outpolled by non-Communist activists claiming to represent this statistical middle ground.

By the time the elections were held June 4, these calculations had proved ludicrously short-sighted. Within days of the round-table agreement, a nationwide network of activists backed by the powerful Catholic church had sprung up to back Solidarity's campaign. Voters, eager to express their contempt for the Communists and confused by the large number of "independent" candidates, massively adopted the one sure-fire way of avoiding a mistake: they crossed every name off their ballots except those specifically endorsed by Walesa on the posters and handbills Solidarity distributed at polling stations.

An Electoral Catastrophe

The result was a catastrophe for the ruling party practically unparalleled in the annals of elections. Not only did Solidarity win 99 of 100 seats in the Senate, but a host of senior official candidates running uncontested for "safe" Sejm seats were rejected because they failed to receive 50 percent of the valid votes. Here, the party had made one last, breathtaking error, mindlessly clinging to the past convention of a "national

list" of top officials even though the election's new format created the risk that voters would respond with one, large cross-out—which they did. In some races, party candidates received less than 5 percent of the total vote.

Just as they had planned, the Communist alliance retained formal control over the parliament in spite of the election results. But what the party failed to anticipate was that the outcome would decisively change the real political balance of power. After such a devastating rejection by Poles, the Communists were in practice unable to form a government. Fearful of ignoring the popular will and anxious to preserve their own electoral prospects, the Communists' official allies in the Peasant and Democratic parties deserted, agreeing in late August to support a government led by Solidarity.

At this point, hard-line resistance by the Communists still could have caused the political process to break down, preventing a peaceful transition of power. But here Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev made his most decisive intervention in the Polish situation, devoting a 40-minute telephone call on Aug. 22 to urging the Communist leadership to join the Solidarity-led government in the interest of national unity.

Kwasniewski, who was ignominiously defeated in his own race for the Senate, ended up becoming chairman of a minor government committee for sports and education. Yet today, as he looks back on what happened, he is reconciled, and even a little proud. "You can imagine how much grief I had to take from them [the Communists]," he said, "but I don't regret it."

"It was good that it happened," Kwasniewski added, in view of the revolution that followed in the rest of Eastern Europe. "Now we do not need to have an inferiority complex vis-à-vis the others, because we had our real free elections much earlier on. The time for doing things like this had come anyway."

— Jackson Diehl

EASTERN EUROPE AT A GLANCE

BULGARIA
Current Population: 9.0 million
Area: 42,823 sq. mi., about the size of Ohio.
Government: Petar Mladenov, foreign minister in the government of deposed strongman Todor Zhivkov, is now chief of state and Communist Party chief. Georgi Atanasov has stayed on as prime minister, heading a government of 16 Communists and two non-Communists.
Elections: Multi-party elections have been called for June.
History: Ottoman Turks ruled Bulgaria for 500 years until 1878. A fully independent Bulgarian kingdom was proclaimed in 1908. The country was a German ally in both world wars, partly out of a desire to gain access to the Aegean Sea. Communist rule began in 1944, when a Communist-dominated coalition seized power from a government formed to arrange an armistice with the Allies.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA
Current Population: 15.6 million
Area: 49,370 sq. mi., about the size of New York.
Government: Dissident playwright Vaclav Havel was unanimously elected president by the Communist-dominated Federal Assembly but has said he will only serve until a new assembly is elected. Communist Prime Minister Marian Calfa leads a cabinet of 10 Communists and 11 non-Communists.
Elections: Scheduled for June 8.
History: Following World War I, the Czechs (ruled by the Austrian monarchy for 300 years) and the Slovaks (ruled by the Hungarians for 1,000 years) joined to form the state of Czechoslovakia. Hitler seized the Sudetenland in 1938 and what remained of the country in 1939. After the war, a multi-party parliamentary coalition ruled Czechoslovakia until the Communists seized power in 1948. A brief period of reform in 1968 was crushed by a Soviet-led invasion.

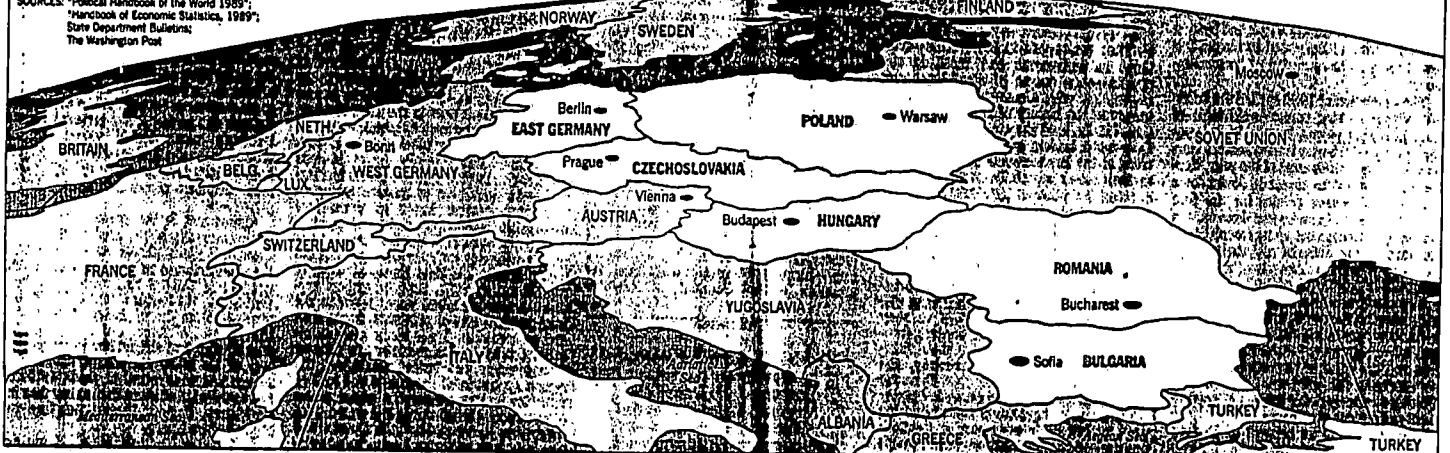
EAST GERMANY
Current Population: 16.6 million
Area: 41,768 sq. mi., the size of Virginia.
Government: Prime Minister Hans Modrow, a reform Communist from Dresden, leads a government of 17 Communists and 11 non-Communists. Gregor Gysi is Communist Party chairman, having replaced Egon Krenz, who had replaced Erich Honecker in October.
Election: Scheduled for May 6.
History: After the surrender of Germany to the Allies in 1945, the United States, Britain and the Soviet Union occupied the country. France later joined in responsibility for its government. The Soviet Military Administration forced the creation of a Socialist Unity (Communist) Party in its zone in 1946. Three years later, a German Democratic Republic was proclaimed in East Berlin and the Soviets turned over all government functions to the new republic.

HUNGARY
Current Population: 10.6 million
Area: 35,919 sq. mi., slightly smaller than Indiana.
Government: Matyas Szuros, who was speaker of the Communist-dominated parliament, is interim president. A member of the now-dissolved Communist Party, he has not joined its successor Socialist Party. Socialist Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth leads a government of 17 ministers, roughly half Socialists, the rest independents.
Elections: Scheduled for March 25.
History: Sharing the defeat of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Hungary lost two-thirds of its territory at the end of World War I. A brief Communist dictatorship after the war was followed by a 25-year reign under Adm. Nicholas Horthy. Though a German ally in World War II, Horthy was removed and replaced by a pro-Nazi dictatorship. The Soviet army drove out the Germans in 1945. Following almost two years of parliamentary, coalition government, Soviet occupation authorities helped the Communist minority seize power.

POLAND
Current Population: 38.0 million
Area: 120,725 sq. mi., about the size of Virginia and the Carolinas combined.
Government: Former Communist Party leader Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski became president last July. Solidarity Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki heads a coalition government dominated by Solidarity, with a total of 20 non-Communist members and four Communists.
Elections: Local elections are expected this spring.
History: A great power from the 14th to 17th centuries, Poland was later apportioned among Prussia, Russia and Austria in the 18th century. Polish independence was recognized by the Treaty of Versailles in 1919, but the Nazis and Soviets invaded and divided the country 20 years later. With Germany's defeat, a Polish government-in-exile in London was recognized by the United States, but the Soviets created and supported a rival group. Nominally free elections in 1947 were rigged by the Communists, who established a regime under their control.

ROMANIA
Current Population: 23.0 million
Area: 91,699 sq. mi., slightly smaller than New York and Pennsylvania combined.
Government: Ion Iliescu, a former Communist Central Committee member, is president of the National Salvation Front government that took power after the fall of dictator Nicolae Ceausescu Dec. 22. Prime Minister Petre Roman heads a governing council made up largely of former Communist officials.
Elections: Scheduled for April.
History: Romania was an independent kingdom from 1881 until 1947. In 1941, premier Ion Antonescu allied the country with Nazi Germany and went to war against the Soviets. Antonescu was overthrown in 1944 and Romania joined the Allies. After World War II, Soviet occupation forces supported Communist organizers and non-Communist politicians were eliminated from political life. King Michael was forced to abdicate, landowners were dispossessed and most major industries nationalized.

NOTE: Population figures are for midyear 1988.
SOURCES: "Political Handbook of the World 1989"; "Handbook of Economic Statistics, 1989"; State Department Bulletins; The Washington Post



COMPILED BY JAMES SCHMITZ, A.D. MOORE AND BILL WENZEL; MAP BY RICHARD FURNO AND MICHAEL GREW—THE WASHINGTON POST

THE TURNING POINTS

HUNGARY



"We had to look for the humanist solution no matter what sort of conflict might arise."

—GYULA HORN
Hungarian foreign minister

Refugees Force A Fateful Choice

BUDAPEST, August 1989

The foreign minister stayed up all night. He paced the floor of his living room until dawn, stopping only to scribble notes. Gyula Horn turned over and over in his mind what might happen if he were to break the rules that made Hungary a holding pen for East Germans on the run.

It was the night of Aug. 22, 1989, and the Hungarian foreign minister had a German problem that was getting worse by the hour.

Tens of thousands of East Germans were arriving on one-way summer vacations. These were not intellectual dissidents or political radicals. Their strength was in their numbers and in their ordinariness. They were the spine of Europe's middle classes—young couples with babies and marketable skills.

They said they would not return to a Communist homeland that combined secret police snooping with consumer shortages. They were galvanized by the inequity of a party elite that had first dibs on the best apartments, the newest cars, the freshest vegetables. They wanted nothing more than safe passage to a better life in West Germany's booming capitalist economy. They had picked their route carefully.

As Horn, 57, a diminutive man with steel-gray hair, paced back and forth in his Budapest home, he knew what the East German refugees had guessed: Hungary had painted itself into a corner. After rushing toward democratic reform, his country either had to let the East Germans go or return to the hypocrisy of its Communist past.

In the summer of Eastern Europe's great year of democratic change, Hungary was well ahead of the pack. Pressure for reform had come not from the streets but from within

the Communist Party itself. The process had been accelerating for more than a year.

It started when Janos Kadar, the party boss who took control in 1956 after Soviet tanks silenced an attempted revolution, was dumped by reformers. That was in May 1988. Less than a year later, Communists approved the creation of opposition parties and set the stage for free elections.

As far as free travel was concerned, there were new laws guaranteeing citizens the right to a passport and the right to emigrate. Hungary signed a 35-nation human rights agreement in Vienna in January 1989 that committed the government not to delay or deny a citizen's right to travel abroad. A U.N. protocol on refugees, which Hungary signed two months later, obligated the country not to force refugees to go back home.

As the warm weather began, Hungarian border guards tore down the fence that separated Hungary from Austria.

A Treaty-Busting Decision

The foreign minister felt the weight of all this as he paced through the warm August night. There was, however, one complication: a valid bilateral treaty. Hungary and East Germany signed the treaty in 1968. It committed the countries not to allow each other's citizens to cross into a third country without specific permission from the home government. Even though it had removed the border fence, Hungary continued to prevent East Germans from fleeing to Austria.

Horn brought a copy of the treaty home with him that night. He read it again and again as he paced. He thought that if his government violated the treaty, East Germany and its hard-line allies, Czechoslovakia and Romania, might try to get even. East Germany and Czechoslovakia were



BY CAROL QUINN—THE WASHINGTON POST

WAITING FOR PASSAGE:

An East German, left, comforts his daughter at a Budapest refugee camp in early September as thousands awaited the opening of Hungary's border with Austria.



LOOKING WEST:

A 3-year-old East German girl, above, peers through the fence of Budapest's Zugliget refugee camp.

major trading partners. Hundreds of thousands of ethnic Hungarians live in Romania.

"It caused me a great deal of headache and suffering. I had some fears of potential counter-steps, economic and other kinds of measures," Horn said.

"As the morning came, I had already arrived at my decision. There was simply no other way. . . . The agreement that we signed in 1968 was an anti-human agreement. We had to look for the humanist solution no matter what sort of conflict might arise. It was quite obvious to me that this would be the first step in a landslide-like series of events."

Before Horn's sleepless night of treaty-busting, his ministry had tested Soviet reaction to allowing the East Germans to

cross the border into Austria. According to Laszlo Kovacs, Horn's friend and the number two in the Foreign Ministry, informal channels were used to assess how the Soviet Union might react.

"We didn't specify, but we hinted. I was one of the men involved. We put it in such a way, that if things would go like they did, finally there will be no other choice for Hungary but just to let the East Germans go," Kovacs said. He said the Soviets did not object.

Horn traveled to East Berlin on Aug. 31 to break the news to the East German foreign minister, Oskar Fischer. Horn sat through an hour of Fischer telling him that Hungary must live up to its treaty obligations.

"I explained that I had not come with a proposal, but with a decision," Horn said.

Both Horn and Kovacs, as career Communists, have been driving forces in the party-led move toward democratic change in Hungary. They despised the intransigent policies of East German leader Erich Honecker. When Hungary let the East Germans go on Sept. 11, these two diplomats knew they were shaking the earth beneath Honecker's feet.

"In foreign policy, [pleasure] cannot be a motivation," said Kovacs, speaking for himself and for Horn. "We didn't want to enjoy ourselves. But we didn't mind. We didn't mind."

— Blaine Harden

UPHEAVAL IN EASTERN EUROPE

JANUARY 1989

15 HUNGARY

Hungary signs 35-nation human rights agreement committing government not to delay or deny a citizen's right to travel abroad.

15-21 CZECHOSLOVAKIA

More than 800 people, including playwright Vaclav Havel, are arrested in six days of human rights protests.



Czech opposition leader Vaclav Havel was co-founder of Charter 77 group.

18 POLAND

The Communist Party Central Committee adopts a resolution calling for the gradual legalization of the banned Solidarity trade union.



Solidarity leader Lech Walesa at opening of "round table."

FEBRUARY

6 POLAND

"Round-table" talks between the government and Solidarity begin in Warsaw.

11 HUNGARY

The Communist Party Central Committee approves the creation of independent political parties.

21 CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Havel is convicted and sentenced to nine months in jail. Seven other dissidents are convicted the following day.

MARCH

13 ROMANIA

News reaches the West that six retired Romanian senior officials signed a letter to President Nicolae Ceausescu criticizing his iron rule, violation of human rights agreements and mismanagement of the economy. The signers were arrested.

15 HUNGARY

Seventy-five thousand to 80,000 people march without interference through Budapest on the anniversary of an 1848 revolt against Austrian rule. Opposition speakers call for free elections and the removal of Soviet troops.



Protesters carrying a Solidarity flag as they march in Budapest to demand more democracy.

17 HUNGARY

Hungary signs U.N. refugee protocol, agreeing not to forcibly return refugees to countries where they have reason to fear prosecution.

APRIL

7 POLAND

The Communist government and Solidarity opposition sign an agreement to legalize Solidarity and hold elections in which the opposition can run for 35 percent of the seats in the lower house and all 100 seats in the new Senate.

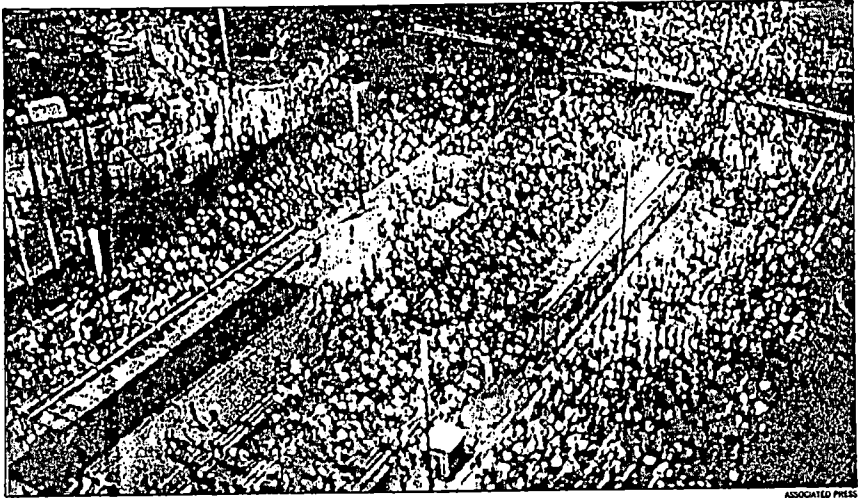
THE TURNING POINTS

EAST GERMANY



Gentlemen, our country cannot afford any violence tonight.

KURT MASUR
Orchestra conductor



PEACEFUL PROTEST: As police stand back, 70,000 marchers fill Leipzig's Karl Marx Platz on the night of Oct. 9.

Leipzig's Leaders Prevent a Bloodbath

LEIPZIG, October 1989

By 3:30 in the afternoon of Monday, Oct. 9, the center of Leipzig, East Germany's second largest city, resembled an armed camp. Riot police backed by water cannon stood watch over intersections around the broad Karl Marx Platz, the nearby Karl Marx University and the huge central train station. Lines of armored cars were backed up on nearby side streets, packed with thousands of police, "battle groups" of the Communist Party's militia and special fighting teams of the feared State Security organ, the "Stasi."

Nearby, at St. Nicholas Church, a huge crowd of people filled the pews, aisles and entryway and were spilling out the door. They were praying and waiting for a mass demonstration scheduled to begin at 6 p.m., a protest against the hard-line regime of Erich Honecker. Fired with the spirit of revolt, the people were determined to take to the streets despite the massive violence that seemed to await them. Local hospitals had called in extra staff and were preparing supplies of blood. Offices were closing early, and streetcars were packed with the uncommitted, hurrying home to get out of the way. The entire city appeared to have drawn in its breath.

At that moment, in a house in the residential district of Leutzsch on the city's western edge, six men were taking their places around a wooden table in the living room of Kurt Masur, the renowned director of Leipzig's Gewandhaus Orchestra. Masur served coffee to his guests, several of whom had never met each other before. They were a theologian and opposition activist, the Rev. Peter Zimmermann; a popular local

cabaret artist, Bernd Lutz Lange, and three "secretaries," or department chiefs, of Leipzig's Communist Party organization: Roland Woetzel, Jochen Pommer and Kurt Mayer. Masur had been scheduled to conduct a performance of Richard Strauss's "Till Eulenspiegel" in the modern Gewandhaus concert hall on the Karl Marx Platz that evening. Now, he pronounced an imperative that was to lead the men at his table to one of the most crucial acts of the revolution beginning to take hold of East Germany. "Gentlemen," he said, "our country cannot afford any violence tonight."

'We're Staying Here'

For weeks before, tension had been building in East Germany, which under the direction of the 77-year-old, ailing Honecker had refused to deviate from hard-line Communist rule even after thousands of its citizens began pouring through Hungary's open borders to the West. Two days before, as Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev wound up a visit to the country marking the 40th anniversary of East German statehood, police had violently dispersed mass demonstrations in East Berlin and Leipzig. A Communist militia commander, writing in Leipzig's state newspaper, had warned that any further protests would be decisively suppressed "with arms in hand, if necessary."

Since early in 1988, Leipzig—a traditional locus of ferment in Germany—had been the breeding ground of the opposition movement to Honecker. Since 1982, pastors at St. Nicholas Church had conducted a weekly "prayer for peace" service on Monday evenings that had become a gathering point for young people seeking to emigrate. By May 1989, attendance at the weekly

services had grown so large that police began to seal off the church every Monday night to prevent street demonstrations. Beginning the first Monday of September, following Hungary's decision to allow East Germans through its border to the West, the crowds gathering in and around the church doubled in size every week, and began to chant, "We're staying here."

Both Masur and the party officials he had invited that day to his home were convinced that Leipzig was on the verge of becoming the site of "another Beijing," as Mayer, the local Communist secretary for culture, later put it. Before Gorbachev's arrival, Honecker had issued an order to security forces telling them to put down "counterrevolutionary" demonstrations "by any means," party sources said. The show of force in Leipzig's streets early that afternoon suggested to the local party men that police planned a massive attack on demonstrators that, like that of China's Tiananmen Square four months earlier, would smash the incipient mass protest movement.

The six men at Masur's house decided that it was up to them to act. Two hours later, at 5:30 p.m., a tape of Masur reading a joint statement by the three party leaders and three public figures was broadcast over the public address speakers ringing the center of Leipzig. The text was also read in St. Nicholas Church and the three other churches where demonstrators were gathering, and transmitted over the internal radios of the police and security forces.

Appealing for calm on all sides, the statement offered a stunning commitment by the Leipzig Communist leaders. "We all need a free exchange of opinions about the continuation of socialism in our country," it said. "Therefore, we promise all citizens that we will use our full power and authority to ensure that this dialogue will occur, not only in the Leipzig area but with our national government."

That unprecedented concession of legitimacy to the protest movement galvanized both the 70,000 people who marched through Leipzig that night and the police who had seemingly been prepared to assault them. As they poured out of the churches at 6 p.m. and paraded triumphantly around the Karl Marx Platz and downtown Ring Road, the demonstrators interspersed chants of

"We are the people" with "No violence." And at 5:50, 20 minutes after Helmut Honecker, the acting Communist Party chief of Leipzig, delivered the statement of the six to the local police commander, the police snapped off their lights, cut the engines of their trucks and water cannon, and withdrew from the line of the march.

"Without our appeal, there would have been terrible violence," Masur said in an interview late last month. He added: "I credit the cleverness of the Leipziger. The police commanders acted for their city. They did not just follow orders from Berlin."

In retrospect, Mayer also concluded that the political appeal stopped the police from attacking the demonstrators with their sticks and water cannon. But the party official said he subsequently learned that Leipzig's police commander had separately received an order from East Berlin not to use live ammunition on the demonstrators. Mayer said he did not know where the order had come from. But former West German chancellor Willy Brandt, who visited East Germany and Moscow in the aftermath of the events, has said he believes Soviet military commanders attached to the East German army warned against the use of arms.

Breaking With the Party

For Masur, Zimmermann and Lange, the appeal of Oct. 9 was an act of humanity and patriotism for which they had been preparing, in one way or another, for much of their lives. Yet for the police commanders and the three party officials, the events of that day meant a dramatic break with their party and the system of power that had ruled the country for 40 years. By endorsing a dialogue with the opposition, the Leipzig party leaders had, in effect, mounted a challenge to Honecker's leadership that would inevitably have to be sustained or rejected by the ruling Politburo.

"We were very clear on that," Mayer recalled in an interview in mid-December. "We knew that if we went to Kurt Masur's apartment, there would be decisive consequences—that it would either be us or the party leadership."

Why would a 54-year-old man like Mayer,

a loyal Communist for 31 years, decide to bet his career and possibly his life on a challenge to the entrenched Honecker? "For three years I had been working with artists as secretary of culture, and they had pointed out a lot of problems and contradictions to me," Mayer answered. "We kept waiting and waiting for change to come from Berlin, but nothing came."

"But the straw that broke the camel's back was the massive departure of our young people, who were going to the West," Mayer went on. "The arrogance of the leadership was incredible. Honecker said there was no problem to solve. That's the point where I said to myself, 'This can't go on anymore, we will have to do something.'"

Even the growing dissatisfaction of the Leipzig party leaders might not have been enough to motivate them to act, Mayer said, if it had not been for Gorbachev's visit the previous weekend. In speeches and in a meeting with Honecker's Politburo, the Soviet leader had delivered a message that had a strong impact on Mayer. "Gorbachev said a very crucial thing, that a leadership that isolates itself from its people will no longer enjoy the right to exist," Mayer said. "He also said that it was up to each Communist Party to find a way to renew itself. That gave us a lot of courage."

The three party leaders were so worried about high-level reaction to their public commitment that when Egon Krenz, then the party's secretary for security, called Leipzig at about 7:30 that evening to ask about the demonstration, they did not tell him what they had done. "We didn't know how he would react," Mayer said, "and we were afraid he would try to stop us."

By the next evening, however, it was clear that powerful forces in the party had embraced the Leipzig leaders' revolt. At a Politburo meeting in East Berlin, their move was backed by Krenz and other members despite the furious objections of Honecker, party sources said. The Politburo split prompted the calling of an expanded leadership meeting, and eight days later, on Oct. 18, Honecker was forced to resign in favor of Krenz. Suddenly, after two decades of oppressive stability, East Germany's future was in doubt.

— Jackson Diehl

UPHEAVAL IN EASTERN EUROPE

MAY	
1	CZECHOSLOVAKIA One thousand Czechoslovaks march in Prague in first major gathering since January protests.
2	HUNGARY Hungary begins dismantling the barbed-wire fence along its boundary with Austria, becoming the first Soviet Bloc country to open a border with Western Europe.  Hungarian soldiers roll up a section of the fence that formed the Iron Curtain along the 245-mile-long border with Austria.  Todor Zhivkov was the world's longest-serving Communist leader.
4	BULGARIA Admitting problems with food production, Bulgarian leader Todor Zhivkov outlines a sweeping land-reform program resembling a Soviet plan introduced by Mikhail Gorbachev.
8	HUNGARY Central Committee forces former leader Janos Kadar into full retirement.  Janos Kadar led Hungary from 1956 until 1988.
17	CZECHOSLOVAKIA Havel is released from prison on parole.
20-21	BULGARIA Ethnic Turks reported killed in protests against government's forced assimilation policy.

JUNE	
4	POLAND Communist Party suffers defeat when Solidarity-endorsed candidates win all 161 allotted seats in lower house of parliament and 99 of 100 seats in new Senate.
16	BULGARIA Western media report that tens of thousands of ethnic Turks have fled Bulgaria for Turkey since late May.  Some of the tens of thousands of ethnic Turks fleeing Bulgaria wait in lines of vehicles, sometimes for days, for permission to move south to the Turkish border.
19	ROMANIA Reports reach the West that Romania is building a fence on its border with Hungary. The fence is quickly dismantled following criticism by Britain and the Soviet Union.
JULY	
8	ROMANIA Romanian and Hungarian officials meet to discuss the reported persecution of ethnic Hungarians in Romania. The Hungarian foreign minister says the talks are disastrous. Romanians say the issue is "settled."
19	POLAND Parliament elects Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski president. Though unopposed, Jaruzelski wins only the minimum votes required.  Wojciech Jaruzelski after being elected president.

THE TURNING POINTS

THE WALL



“Permission will be given at short notice [for] private journeys [to the West].”

— GUENTER SCHABOWSKI
Communist Party propaganda official

The Wall Opens, But on Whose Orders?

EAST BERLIN, November 1989

On Nov. 9, East German leaders made one of the most momentous political decisions of the last half century. The opening of the Berlin Wall that night has been cited by statesmen and commentators around the globe as the moment that ended the Cold War, the instant in which the German nation began the march to reunification or the day on which the Soviet Empire cracked.

But two months later, no one has stepped forward to accept credit for changing the world, or to explain how and why the decision was made. There is informed speculation, shared by Western diplomats and East German sources, that a group of three or four desperate men trying to save their political careers started the process that brought the wall down; but the officials named in this speculation have refused to confirm their involvement.

Why they remain silent is part of a larger puzzle. Also still uncertain is exactly what their intentions were in issuing a clumsily worded, imprecise announcement about travel to the West that led large crowds to gather at the wall on the evening of Nov. 9. Unsure exactly what their leaders intended, the increasingly nervous border guards decided on their own at the wall that night to let the crowds cross over to West Berlin.

“The guards kept saying at first that they had no instructions, that the people should come back the next morning with the proper documents,” recalls Alonso Alvarez de Toledo, Spain’s ambassador to East Germany, who arrived at the wall just as the crowds began to build up and who spent the evening traveling from checkpoint to checkpoint. “But soon local commanders started

waving people through when they saw that the crowds were getting far too large to control.”

The border guards were responding both to the crowds and to the vacuum of power that had developed in a matter of weeks at the top of one of the world’s most authoritarian communist regimes. Ill with cancer and in open conflict with Soviet policies, Erich Honecker allowed the East German refugee flight to the West to turn into a national crisis that brought his downfall and discredited the entire East German Communist leadership.

On Oct. 3, preparing for the visit of Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev and for the 40th anniversary of the East German state, Honecker sought to reestablish his damaged authority and to shut off the flow of refugees by closing the border with Czechoslovakia.

‘The Last Powder Keg’

It was a fatal miscalculation, one that shocked the blue-collar workers and others who had stayed on the job while 150,000 of their countrymen migrated West in the first nine months of 1989. Many factory workers were working two shifts to make up for the hemorrhage of the labor force. Now they saw the right to travel even to neighboring communist countries for vacations, for time out of the East German pressure cooker, abrogated.

“Suddenly the wall went up to the east as well,” a middle-level East German party official said. “This added the last powder keg that would eventually blow us all up.”

Increasingly large and hostile crowds took to the streets of East Germany’s major cities throughout October to challenge the party. Honecker was jettisoned by a party



BY FRANK JOHNSON—THE WASHINGTON POST



BY CAROL OLNEY—THE WASHINGTON POST

JOY IN DECEMBER:

Berliners crowd on top of the wall, above, to celebrate opening of the Brandenburg Gate. Banner says, “Germany: Unite the Fatherland.”

WAVES OF WELCOME:

Two West Germans, left, greet East Berliners coming through new Potsdamer Platz opening in November.

leadership trying to save itself through political accommodation, since it could no longer rely on the Soviet army nor its own troops to use brute force on its behalf.

When Honecker’s successor, Egon Krenz, flew to Moscow at the beginning of November, he was told by Gorbachev that the party leadership had to rid itself of “unnecessary problems,” if it were to survive in power, according to a senior Communist diplomat in East Berlin.

Krenz sought on his return to East Berlin to follow that advice and to placate the nation by opening the borders with Czechoslovakia and announcing that East Germans would be allowed to travel abroad for 30 days a year. But the effort blew up in his face.

The flight of refugees through Czechoslovakia immediately resumed. On Tuesday, Nov. 7, a committee in the newly assertive legislature turped down Krenz’s travel changes as woefully insufficient to stem public anger. The following day, the party’s 163-member Central Committee began a

previously scheduled three-day meeting in an air of full crisis.

Guenter Schabowski, the senior party official in charge of propaganda and a man who would play the central public role in the opening of the wall, received a Western visitor before the Central Committee meeting started. Asked by his visitor if the party might open the borders with West Germany, Schabowski gruffly said there was absolutely no chance of such a decision being made by the Central Committee.

Diplomats who have sought to reconstruct the tumultuous meeting have concluded that Krenz avoided any serious debate of this explosive subject by the large and now unpredictable party body. Instead, the decision to promise unrestricted travel to the West was apparently made late in the afternoon of Thursday, Nov. 9, by Krenz and three or four other senior party figures who met secretly while the Central Committee debated other matters.

Reading from a piece of paper that he apparently had not had time to study, Schabowski announced at a 7 p.m. news

conference that “permission will be given at short notice” for “private journeys” and “permanent emigration” to the West “without the present preconditions having been fulfilled.” Amplifying on the opaque language of what appeared to have been a hurriedly written communique, Schabowski specified that East German citizens would still need exit visas, but these would now be quickly issued by the police instead of being withheld.

But the idea of exit visas vanished as tens of thousands of East Berliners streamed to the wall on that Thursday evening to find out what the announcement meant. A simple check of identity cards by the border police was quickly established as a precedent and endured through the weekend, as more than 1 million East Germans crossed into West Germany and West Berlin. Whatever Krenz had intended, the wall as an effective barrier was, within a weekend, a part of history.

— Jim Hoagland

AUGUST

7	POLAND
	Lech Walesa, who has rejected appeals to enter a coalition with the Communists, suggests that Solidarity ally itself with two minor parties to form a government.
21	CZECHOSLOVAKIA
	About 3,000 protesters gather in Prague to mark the 21st anniversary of the Soviet-led invasion of Czechoslovakia. Security police arrest 370 people.
22	BULGARIA
	Turkey reinstates visa requirements to restrict the flow of ethnic Turks from Bulgaria, now estimated at 310,000 to 320,000 for the previous three months.
24	POLAND
	Solidarity adviser Tadeusz Mazowiecki is confirmed as new prime minister. The vote represents the first democratic transfer of power away from a Communist Party.
30	EAST GERMANY
	The East German Foreign Ministry says the report that leader Erich Honecker, 77, is critically ill is only a rumor.

SEPTEMBER

10	HUNGARY
	Hungary opens border with Austria to East Germans, suspending 1968 agreement with East Berlin requiring Hungary to block travel of East Germans to a third country.
11-14	EAST GERMANY
	More than 13,000 East Germans leave Hungary for West Germany via Austria, in the largest East German exodus to the West since the Berlin Wall was built in 1961.



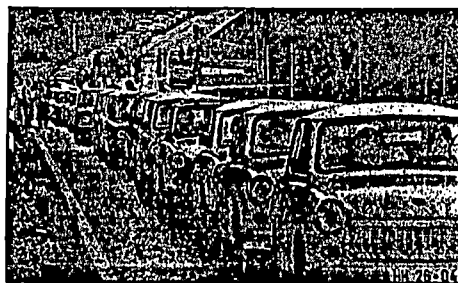
Carrying only a small bag, an East German dashes across the fenceless border from Hungary into Austria.

SEPTEMBER

12	POLAND
	Parliament confirms a 24-member coalition, cabinet presented by Mazowiecki. Only four posts go to Communists.
19	HUNGARY
	Government and opposition parties agree to create multi-party political system in 1990.
30	EAST GERMANY
	More than 17,000 East German refugees emigrate to West Germany from Czechoslovakia and Poland with the permission of an embarrassed East German government between Sept. 30 and Oct. 3, when Honecker closes the border with Czechoslovakia.



Tadeusz Mazowiecki takes a conciliatory tone in forming 'broad coalition' led by Solidarity.



East Germans in Trabant cars form a three-mile line at the Czechoslovak border to cross into West Germany.

OCTOBER

7	HUNGARY
	The Communist Party abandons Leninism, renames itself the Hungarian Socialist Party—the first time a ruling Communist Party turns away from its fundamental ideology.
7	EAST GERMANY
	East Germans cheer Soviet President Gorbachev when he visits East Berlin for the country’s 40th anniversary.

THE TURNING POINTS

BULGARIA



"I take into account the risk this letter may bring to me and my family."

PETAR MLADENOV
Then Bulgarian foreign minister

An Unlikely Rebel Leads a Palace Coup

SOFIA, November 1989

Before Mikhail Gorbachev reared his reformist head in 1985, Todor Zhivkov had worked hand in glove with four Soviet leaders. In return for three decades of slavishly tooting the Kremlin line, Moscow did not mind that Zhivkov ran his nation like a mobster.

When the general secretary's grandson, Todor, 20, was implicated in the gang rape of an 18-year-old girl in 1988, documents in the case were seized and charges were dropped. When his son, Vladimir, 37, a man with a talent for running up gambling debts and getting violently drunk, was implicated in the death of a beautiful young television announcer who fell from a balcony of Vladimir's apartment last summer, the death was ruled an accident. While 27 Bulgarians were burning to death in a commercial airliner after a botched takeoff at Sofia airport in 1988, Zhivkov ordered that his jet leave at once for the Black Sea resort of Varna. It flew directly over the burning aircraft.

"Zhivkovism," as it was called, became distinctly less palatable in the Gorbachev era. It was a running joke among diplomats in Sofia that Gorbachev kept changing his schedule so that entire years passed without his having to meet one-on-one with Zhivkov, the longest-serving Communist leader in the world.

Besides playing the thug, Zhivkov committed many of the usual sins of East European Communist bosses. He championed the construction of chemical and steel plants that lost money as they poisoned the air and water. He saddled Bulgaria's 9 million people with nearly \$10 billion in foreign debt.

As Eastern Europe trembled toward the

end of its epochal year of change, it was not unexpected that Zhivkov, 78, would get the boot. The surprise was who wore it.

Petar Mladenov, 53, balding, bespectacled and double-chinned, is an exceptionally unimposing fellow. He has the telegenic appeal of a boiled potato. His was the bland face that Zhivkov chose to present to the world for 19 years as Bulgaria's foreign minister. During his long tenure, Mladenov kept his mouth shut, did as he was told and rose in party ranks to membership in the ruling Politburo.

A Growing Annoyance

But in 1989, a year in which Mladenov made a concerted effort to spruce up Bulgaria's dingy international image, the foreign minister grew more annoyed—and less obscure—by the month.

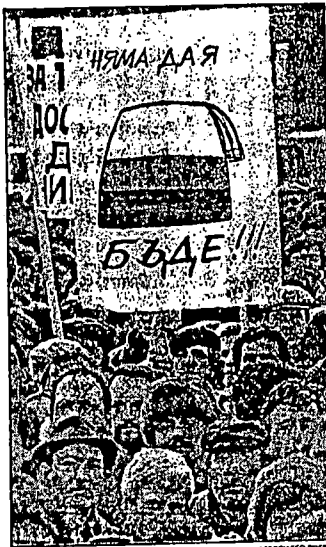
In January, Mladenov signed an international human rights accord in Vienna. He hoped to turn a new page in Bulgaria's appalling record of mistreating its ethnic Turkish minority. Under Zhivkov, they had been forced to abandon their Islamic names. Human rights organizations accused Bulgarian soldiers of shooting hundreds of ethnic Turks in the mid-1980s. Mladenov's hopes of moving his country away from government-led racism were dashed in May. Zhivkov launched a campaign to force ethnic Turks to flee to Turkey. About 310,000 were shown the door, leaving jobs unfilled and crops unharvested. Bulgaria, again, looked to the world like a coarse appendage of Europe.

In October, Zhivkov made Mladenov look like a chump again. The foreign minister, still trying to improve Bulgaria's image, had invited a 35-nation environmental confer-



NEW ERA BEGINS:

A week after the end of Todor Zhivkov's 35-year rule, demonstrators in Sofia, left, demand his imprisonment.



ASSOCIATED PRESS

OLD TENSIONS RESUME:

In January, Bulgarians, above, protest restoration of rights to ethnic Turks. Banner shows Bulgarian flag in shape of Turkish cap.

ence to Sofia. Mladenov made it possible for an independent Bulgarian environmental group, Eco-Glasnost, to have a seat in the meeting. In a country where the opposition had been beaten and jailed in the spirit of Zhivkovism, Eco-Glasnost seized its opportunity. Members passed out petitions, organized a demonstration and got headlines around the world.

This democratic boomlet irked Zhivkov. He ordered his secret police to rough up Eco-Glasnost organizers in a Sofia park. Zhivkov summoned Mladenov and accused him of "deviously" planning the overthrow of the government, according to East European diplomatic sources. In a recent article in the Soviet weekly, Moscow News, Ventsel Raichev, former editor in chief of Sofia News, writes that Zhivkov was preparing for "ruthless repression of all deviants."

The word "deviant," as Zhivkov used it, apparently included dissidents in groups like Eco-Glasnost, as well as liberal Communists who tolerated them, such as Mladenov. The article quotes Zhivkov saying, "It's no use arguing with the opposition, it must be crushed like a viper."

In response to being dressed down, Mladenov feigned the flu and began plotting with other members of the Politburo. He skipped a meeting of Warsaw Pact foreign ministers in Poland. He skipped a crucial meeting in Kuwait with his Turkish counterpart. His staff packed up his office, and Mladenov wrote a letter of resignation to the 10-member Politburo. It accused Zhivkov of corruption and abuse of power, concluding, "I take into account the risk this letter may bring to me and my family."

Mladenov Gains a Key Ally

The letter was never formally accepted, and the foreign minister recovered from his feigned illness. He resumed his duties in early November by flying to China. Eastern and Western diplomats in Sofia insist that Mladenov stopped in Moscow on his way home and had a chat with Gorbachev about getting rid of Zhivkov. Mladenov has denied it.

When Mladenov returned to Bulgaria on Nov. 8, he had the support of the defense minister, longtime Politburo member Dobri Dzhurov, whose control over the army was stronger than Zhivkov's. Dzhurov and Zhiv-

kov came up together in the party as members of a wartime partisan group called the Chavdar Guard. But Dzhurov, who prides himself on being a professional soldier, had been revolted for years by Zhivkov's gangsterism and his incessant efforts to advance the career of his wastrel son, Vladimir.

Before the pivotal Politburo meeting on Nov. 9, Zhivkov sensed what was coming. According to Moscow News, he put the Interior Ministry and State Security troops on alert. Before the meeting, Dzhurov and other senior Communists told Zhivkov that the game was over. At the meeting, Dzhurov cast his lot with Mladenov, giving the plotters five of the nine members present.

Zhivkov was gone—victim of a palace conspiracy that the Moscow News article says rescued Bulgaria from "bloodshed, violence, meaningless sacrifice, and saved the party from eternal shame."

Bulgarian television the next day showed Zhivkov looking dazed, bleary-eyed and very old. That same day, Gorbachev sent Mladenov an effusive message of congratulation.

— Blaine Harden

UPHEAVAL IN EASTERN EUROPE

OCTOBER	
9	EAST GERMANY Seventy thousand people demonstrate in Leipzig. Communist Party leader Erich Honecker orders the marchers stopped, but security forces do not intervene.
16	EAST GERMANY About 100,000 people join a pro-democracy protest in Leipzig—the largest unauthorized demonstration in East Germany since 1953.
18	EAST GERMANY Honecker is removed and replaced by Egon Krenz.
23	HUNGARY Hungary is proclaimed a free republic.
28	CZECHOSLOVAKIA Riot police use clubs to break up a pro-democracy protest by 10,000 people in Prague.



Honecker wanted to use force to stop demonstrations.

NOVEMBER	
9	EAST GERMANY The Berlin Wall is opened to East Germans.



The first East Germans to leave their country freely through Checkpoint Charlie are greeted by West Germans with champagne and smiles.

AGENCE FRANCE PRESSE

NOVEMBER	
10	BULGARIA Hard-line leader Todor Zhivkov is ousted after 35 years' rule and replaced by the moderate foreign minister, Petar Mladenov.
17	CZECHOSLOVAKIA More than 3,000 students seeking to enter Prague's Wenceslas Square to stage a mass demonstration are clubbed and kicked by riot police.
18	BULGARIA Fifty thousand people march in Sofia for free elections and an end to police repression.
19	CZECHOSLOVAKIA More than 10,000 rally in Prague. The reform movement Civic Forum is founded.
20	CZECHOSLOVAKIA More than 200,000 demonstrate in Prague, demanding free elections and resignations of hard-line Communist leaders. Large protests also occur in other cities.
24	CZECHOSLOVAKIA Communist Party General Secretary Milos Jakes and other leaders resign. Former party chief Alexander Dubcek addresses 250,000 demonstrators in Prague.
24	ROMANIA Nicolae Ceausescu led crowd party congress.
27	CZECHOSLOVAKIA Millions of Czechoslovak workers stage a two-hour general strike in support of democracy.



Milos Jakes endorsed police violence.



Nicolae Ceausescu, elected to another five-year term, rejects democratic reforms.

THE TURNING POINTS

CZECHOSLOVAKIA



“Applying extraordinary measures could . . . bring the most unpredictable consequences.”

—LADISLAV ADAMEC
Then Czechoslovak prime minister

Police Riot Sticks Spawn a Revolution

PRAGUE, November 1989

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 nearby 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 violence, which police later testified was ordered by Prague Communist Party boss Miroslav Stepan and approved by the country's top Communist, Milos Jakes, was a fatal error of a leadership on which the walls were closing in.

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. But instead of violence, the nation responded with defiant peacefulness. In 10 days of key-jangling and singing, chanting and furious organizing, they elbowed the Communists from power.

But the Velvet Revolution nearly took a different course. As thousands of Prague citizens flooded Wenceslas Square on Sunday, Nov. 19, the Communist Party's ruling Presidium held a series of meetings in which "the leadership [first] adopted a position supporting [armed] intervention," said Rudolf Hegenbart, a senior party official then in charge of state security.

That there was no further bloodshed was in large part due to pressure from Moscow,

which sent messages through Czechoslovak diplomatic and military channels that it would not tolerate violence, according to senior Communist Party officials.

Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev, concerned that violence would mar his Malta summit with President Bush and weary of having his hints for reform ignored, was ready to help pull the plug on Czechoslovakia's stubborn leaders.

A Summons to Moscow

The pressure had begun in midsummer, when Gorbachev summoned Jakes and Prime Minister Ladislav Adamec to the Crimea. In recent months, Adamec had emerged as a reformer, irritating Jakes with calls for genuine economic and even political liberalization. Gorbachev called the two men together hoping to make allies of them and push Jakes into action.

It didn't work. "When they returned to Prague, they were bigger enemies than before," said Jaromir Sedlak, an adviser in the prime minister's office.

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.

"They knew there was no way they could survive *perestroika*," Hegenbart said.

Instead, the Presidium's hard-liners kept hoping Gorbachev would not last. By November, three major demonstrations in Prague ended in police violence. But opposition groups were mushrooming, and demand for change was also building inside the party.



A POLITICAL EXILE RETURNS: Alexander Dubcek, the reformist Communist leader ousted after 1968 invasion, gestures as if to embrace the crowd gathered in Wenceslas Square on eighth straight day of protests in November.

On Nov. 16, the party's ideology chief, Jan Fojtik, was summoned to Moscow and told that the Soviet Union would repudiate the 1968 invasion. The step had already been taken by new governments in Poland and Hungary. Coming from Moscow, it would deprive Jakes of the last shred of legitimacy.

State television showed a shaken Fojtik returning to Prague in the late afternoon on Nov. 17. Before he could brief the Central Committee, events overtook him.

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. By Sunday, the crowd had grown to several thousand and the ruling Presidium met to consider its options.

Some Presidium members believed the answer was more force. "The idea was circulating inside the Central Committee," said one senior Communist official. "The atmosphere was, 'We must, comrades, do something.'"

Martin Palous, a dissident who was to become an adviser to the new democratic government, said that sometime during that week the Presidium voted on whether to use force to end the demonstrations. Violence lost by two votes, he said.

The hermetic Presidium, a body so secretive that even the number of its members was often debated by outsiders, has never made public its deliberations in those days. Several senior party officials said they did not know if an actual vote occurred, but they said it was clear that Jakes was digging in.

On Nov. 21, with 200,000 people in the streets, the Prague Communist Party committee condemned the demonstrations as the work of "anti-socialist" forces. The next day, Jakes signed an order secretly calling to Prague several thousand members of the party's private army, the People's Militia.

More Soviet Pressure

Only a fraction of that force ever arrived, and even they turned around and went home the following morning, having done little more than rip down posters of the Civic Forum, a new mass democratic movement headed by dissident playwright Vaclav Havel. In the interim, the Soviet ambassador in Prague, Viktor Lomakin, met with Jakes and with Foreign Minister Jaromir Johanes. The message was the same: Moscow expected peaceful change.

The Soviets also used their close ties with the military. "There were diplomatic messages and oral hints from the Soviet army here that if our army moved toward Prague, it might be blocked," said one senior party official.

On Friday, Nov. 24, with 300,000 people in the streets, Jakes was forced to convene a meeting of the Central Committee. "Of course, some party leaders considered violent steps. It's certain that some played with this idea," said Viktor Pazler, then an official of the Prague party committee and now its acting leader. "There was heated discussion about it from 10 a.m. to 7 p.m."

By then, however, the longtime divisions in the party had widened to chasms. Prime Minister Adamec, who often had fumed in

private that Jakes didn't understand "the global significance of perestroika," spoke up.

"Applying extraordinary measures could bring peace to the streets for a while, but it can result in further aggravation of the situation and bring the most unpredictable consequences," Adamec said.

Jakes and the entire Presidium submitted their resignations at 7 p.m. People danced in the streets. By the next morning, it became clear that the resignations had not gone far enough.

Stepan, the man said to have been responsible for the violence, had been reassigned to the Presidium, along with Miroslav Zavadil and Jozef Lenart. Jakes, according to one senior Communist official, was still hoping to name himself president and have Stepan replace him as the party's general secretary.

By failing to make a clean sweep that Friday night, the party lost what little credibility it had left. At a meeting the next day of 3,000 Prague party officials, Stepan was greeted with jeers and whistles.

When the Central Committee met again on Sunday, Nov. 26, Stepan and Zavadil were dumped. The party's new leader, Karel Urbanek, issued an "unequivocal" condemnation of violence.

On Monday, 10 days after the police attack on the students, the Soviet Communist Party newspaper Pravda condemned the former leaders, accusing them of promoting "stagnation." Not to be outdone, Prague's Communist daily, Rude Pravo, referred to the ousted leaders as "political mummies."

— Mary Battiata

NOVEMBER	
28	CZECHOSLOVAKIA
	The government scraps a provision ensuring a leading role for the Communist Party.
30	CZECHOSLOVAKIA
	The government says it will remove fortifications along the Austrian border and that virtually all travel restrictions to the West will be lifted by Dec. 4.
DECEMBER	
1	EAST GERMANY
	The parliament votes to eliminate the party's guaranteed monopoly on power.
3	EAST GERMANY
	Party chief Krenz, the ruling Politburo and the Central Committee resign.
7	CZECHOSLOVAKIA
	Premier Ladislav Adamec resigns after failing to form a coalition acceptable to the opposition. He is replaced by Marian Calfa.
9	EAST GERMANY
	Gregor Gysi, a lawyer who defended dissidents, is elected Communist Party chief.
10	CZECHOSLOVAKIA
	New government, with non-Communist ministers in majority for first time since 1948, is sworn in; President Gustav Husak resigns.
10-11	BULGARIA
	Fifty thousand people, chanting "democracy," rally in Sofia. Mladenov proposes holding free elections by June and removing party's monopoly on power from the constitution.

DECEMBER	
15-17	ROMANIA
	Protesters ring a church in Timisoara where authorities seek to evict a pastor who championed rights of ethnic Hungarians; thousands riot when officials try to remove him.
21-22	ROMANIA
	Security forces reportedly kill several hundred protesters in Bucharest. Military joins demonstrators, overthrows government. Ceausescu and wife flee city but are captured.
25	ROMANIA
	Ceausescus are tried before a military tribunal, found guilty and executed by firing squad.
28	CZECHOSLOVAKIA
	Dubcek is elected chairman of Czechoslovakia's Federal Assembly.
29	CZECHOSLOVAKIA
	Havel becomes Czechoslovakia's first non-communist president in more than four decades.
JANUARY 1990	
13	ROMANIA
	Government sets referendum on outlawing Communist Party, reinstating death penalty.

COMPILED BY JAMES SCHWARTZ

SOURCES: The Washington Post, Associated Press, Facts on File

THE TURNING POINTS

ROMANIA



“Relay my order to all officers . . . Call everybody. Give orders and execute them.”

—NICOLAE CEAEUSCU
Romanian dictator

A Balkan Dictator Seals His Own Doom

BUCHAREST, December 1989

BUCHAREST—The dictator stood on the balcony, shouting and waving the air with his hands. In the square below, a sullen crowd of workers, rounded up at the dictator's command, emitted the customary lifeless hurrahs.

Everything was as usual in the realm of Romanian leader Nicolae Ceausescu. But on that morning, Dec. 21, as Ceausescu raged against the uprising underway in the western city of Timisoara, things were about to career out of control. And the "Conductor" himself would provide the opening.

In the back of what was to be Romania's last pro-Ceausescu rally, people began shouting "Freedom!" and "Democracy!"

On the balcony above the gray Palace Square, Ceausescu first looked puzzled, then annoyed. He closed his mouth. His hands slowed, and his eyes darted back and forth, searching the crowd. He stepped back.

Live television coverage of the speech was interrupted before Ceausescu left the balcony, but the damage had been done. That tiny retreat—a public showing that Ceausescu, for first time in 24 years, seemed stunned, vulnerable and did not have the situation in hand—was a crucial turning point in the Romanian uprising.

That afternoon, citizens flooded the streets, shouting "Down with Ceausescu!" and "Killers!"—a reference to the reported massacre of thousands of civilians in Timisoara the weekend before.

At 10:30 p.m., Bucharest's own massacre began. Ceausescu's secret police, the Securitate, opened fire on the crowds, killing hundreds. That night, tanks crushed people in the streets.

The next morning, Gen. Vasile Milea, the defense minister, was executed for refusing Ceausescu's order to have the army open fire on civilian demonstrators in Timisoara. The execution was another critical mistake by Ceausescu.

"Why didn't you give them ammunition?" an angry Ceausescu had demanded of the general, according to a stenographer's transcript of their confrontation published in January in the newspaper Romania Libera. "If you don't give them ammunition, you might as well keep them at home! What kind of defense minister are you? . . . A few hooligans want to destroy socialism and you make it child's play for them!"

"The Army Is With Us!"

On the morning of Dec. 22, Bucharest radio, still under Ceausescu's control, announced that Milea had committed suicide. Soon afterward, the army sided with the people against the Romanian leader and his secret police.

In the streets, the sense of relief was almost overwhelming. Students pushed Christmas trees into the barrels of tank cannons. Demonstrators and soldiers embraced. After a night of gunfire, the Securitate scurried from the streets like rats caught in sunlight.

At the Central Committee building, a small white helicopter lifted Nicolae and Elena Ceausescu off the roof as angry crowds burst through the doors downstairs.

Revenge would have to wait, but the city was finally free for celebration. Even the weather was glorious, warmer than usual, with a blazing blue sky.



FIRST TO FALL: Women pray over the dead in a cemetery in Timisoara, where the Romanian uprising began.

Throughout the afternoon and into the early evening that Friday, Romanians mimicked behavior they had heard about in shortwave radio reports from Czechoslovakia, East Germany and Bulgaria, where upheavals had already unseated other longtime Communist bosses.

In Palace Square, in front of the Central Committee, people sang, waved flags and chanted "The Army Is With Us!" But the celebrations were premature.

Ceausescu's Securitate—better trained, better equipped and more fanatically loyal than any armed force proved to be in Eastern Europe in 1989—had not given up. They had simply regrouped.

At 7 p.m. Friday, the Securitate began sniping from windows around the Palace Square. People in the streets refused to believe it was happening. As the Army returned fire, first with rifles and then with tank cannon, thousands of people remained on the square, chanting, "We Will Die, But We Won't Go Away."

They hoped to keep the army there, too. It was a pep rally in the middle of a firefight. In the course of that surreal evening, as celebrations gave way to sniper and tank fire, Romanians were forced to acknowl-

edge what they already knew from 24 years of life under the Ceausescus.

Their country was different. Its history was marked by cruelty, fascism and violence. There was no tradition of democratic rule. The national history books celebrated Vlad the Impaler, a 15th-century nobleman who modern historians believe killed more than 100,000 people by forcing them to sit on sharpened stakes.

Vlad's descendants were the Securitate, Ceausescu's private army of 30,000, who that night began a guerrilla war against the Romanian people. For the next five days, the Securitate terrorized the country like a deranged dragon, breathing fire in Bucharest, and lashing Timisoara, where the uprising had begun.

A Window on the West

In Timisoara, a city of 350,000 near the Yugoslav and Hungarian borders, a small demonstration had started on Thursday, Dec. 14 in support of a Lutheran minister, the Rev. Laszlo Tokes, who was to be deported for preaching pro-democracy sermons. When the demonstrators formed a human cordon around Tokes's house to protect him, the first reaction of the local authorities had been not force but negotiation.

That uncharacteristic reasonableness from the government encouraged others to join the protest. By Saturday night, tens of thousands of citizens were in the streets, chanting anti-Ceausescu slogans.

On Dec. 17, as the crowds headed for city hall, Ceausescu miscalculated and decided to treat the protesters as rabble, or "anti-socialist hooligans."

"Relay my order to all officers," he told party leaders by closed-circuit television. " . . . Anyone who tries to enter a state institution or party headquarters, or who breaks a shop window, must immediately be shot. I want calm restored in Timisoara in one hour. Call everybody. Give orders and execute them."

The shooting started late that Sunday afternoon and continued the next night. But instead of quelling the people, the violence seemed to enrage them.

All fall, the citizens of Timisoara had been watching Yugoslav and Hungarian television coverage of the revolutions in East Germany and Czechoslovakia. They were ready.

Little Timisoara was gripped by a kind of euphoria. "At last, we were doing something," recalled Laszlo Szabo, a chemical engineer who joined the demonstrations Sunday night.

The army did fire on civilians in Timisoara, but not willingly. At least 42 soldiers were executed on the spot during the operation for refusing to fire on the crowd.

"He Did This Thing to Himself"

By Wednesday, Dec. 20, the soldiers in Timisoara had had enough. When 50,000 workers marched through the streets, headed for the local Communist Party headquarters, the soldiers joined them. That afternoon, the soldiers pulled their tanks into defensive positions around civilian headquarters at the Opera House.

Exactly how many died in the massacre at Timisoara is not yet known, but in the first days the figures were wildly inflated. In a country where information had been rigidly controlled for a quarter century, Romanians were ready to believe anything.

As the revolution gained strength, the lack of real information and exaggerated atrocity stories worked against the regime. "Timisoara" came to mean the massacre of thousands upon thousands of unarmed people. It was the rallying cry for the students who infiltrated Ceausescu's final rally.

Ceausescu's decision to call an official demonstration "was the biggest mistake he ever made," said a Bucharest resident. "He was so arrogant he believed he could win the crowd over by speaking to them. He did this thing to himself."

Nicolae and Elena Ceausescu were captured by the government the same day they tried to get away. Their capture was announced the next day, along with a promise that they would be given a fair trial.

But as hundreds of civilians were killed by Securitate bullets, and the army post where the Ceausescus were being held came under attack, leaders of the new government concluded they could not quash the Securitate unless they played by the dictator's rules.

The only way to slay the dragon was to cut off its head. On Christmas Day, after a two-hour "trial" that was little more than a shouting match, Nicolae and Elena Ceausescu were executed by firing squad. Shortly after their bodies were shown on television, the shooting stopped.

— Mary Battiata, Blaine Harder

After the Fall: Gorbachev Watches, Reconstruction Begins

Eastern Europe's whirlwind of change has swept away not only leaders but also the institutions and the philosophy that held these six countries in thrall for 45 years. The region's next challenge in its embryonic attempt at life without Big Brother will be to develop new institutions, nationally and regionally, to replace those imposed on them by Joseph Stalin and his heirs.

This in turn will bring a change in Eastern Europe's role in the global order. Psychologically and politically, this is no longer conquered territory. The reconstruction of Eastern Europe, only now beginning, will mean that the region no longer exists merely to serve as a geographic buffer zone for Soviet security interests or as a cat's paw for Soviet diplomacy in international organizations.

Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev is gambling that in the nuclear era non-communist neighbors are an acceptable risk. It is a risk on which not only his political survival but that of the Soviet Union may depend.

The end of empire in Eastern Europe does not abolish, however, the strong connections that geography and history have imposed on the Soviet Union and its immediate European neighbors. Eastern Europe's future will continue to depend in large measure on what happens in Moscow for the foreseeable future.

As the reverberations of the revolution on its border swell back into the Soviet republics in the coming year, Gorbachev may well find himself confronted by decisions as dramatic as those that faced Poland's Wojciech Jaruzelski or East Germany's Erich Honecker in 1989. How he handles them will feed back into the next phase of the East European revolution.

Aides to Gorbachev suggest in private conversations that they could easily live with a neutral Eastern Europe, perhaps along the lines of Moscow's well-established relations with neighboring Finland, in which local social democratic parties set internal policies.

The Warsaw Pact continues to exist. All six ex-satellites have said they will not abruptly leave the military bloc. But it is now a hollow alliance on which the Soviets can place little reliance. Czechoslovak and Hungarian officials have made clear their intention to press for deep or total Soviet

military withdrawals from their territory over the next three years, and suggest they may also implement unilateral cuts in their national forces.

East German politicians indicate privately that they will make similar demands after next May's elections. Gorbachev's once ambitious-sounding goal of having all Soviet troops off foreign soil by the year 2000 has suddenly begun to sound conservative as the new governments of the former Soviet zone begin to press demands for full sovereignty.

New Economic Relationships

They are also serving notice that the other major Stalin-era regional institution, the economic grouping known as Comecon, will have to be radically changed or disbanded as they move away from central planning, barter trade and the restrictions placed on them through being part of the ruble zone.

Czechoslovakia and Poland have already decided to establish bilateral trade agreements and link their currencies. Hungary has announced it will cut its exports to the Soviet Union by 20 percent next year as it

seeks to increase its hard currency earnings from the West.

While refashioning their relations with the Soviet Union, the six countries are also urgently seeking the attention and aid of the 12-member European Community, which through its prosperity and its plans to form a single economic market by the end of 1992 helped bring home to East Europeans the dead end of the communist system reached in the 1980s.

Reduced to penury by economic mismanagement and Moscow's suffocating grip, East European nations are requesting emergency aid to help get through a winter of hardship and the period of difficult economic restructuring that will follow. They also face the unusual experience of free national elections. In a region where ethnic and national conflicts have stymied power-sharing in the past, these experiments could easily explode into new upheaval.

The question of German reunification and the Community's relations with the ex-satellites have become closely linked, at least in the minds of West Germany's EC partners, who demand that reunification be ac-

complished in ways that do not lessen Bonn's commitment to the Community. France has subtly suggested to East Germany that a dialogue with the Community over future membership is one way to avoid hasty reunification.

Between Bonn and Washington

In the European context, Eastern Europe's newly emancipated states will be challenged by the problem of building a stable relationship with the two Germans, which combined would make an economic superpower in the heart of Europe.

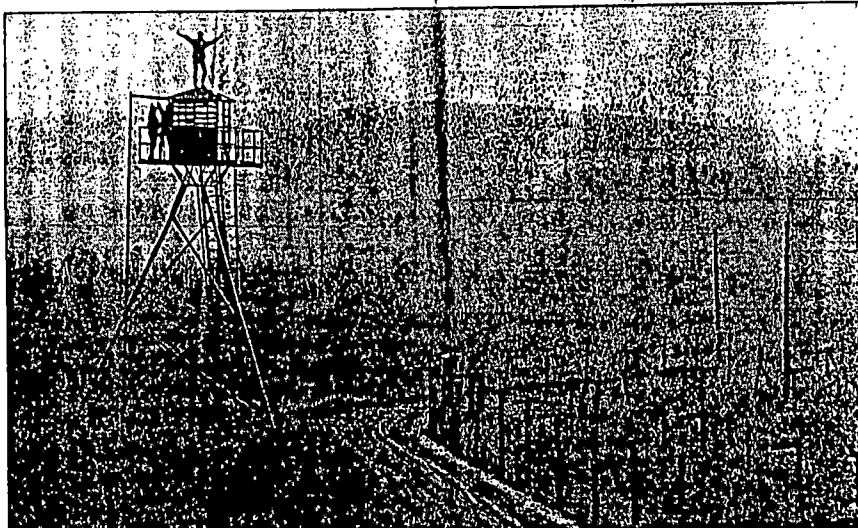
Between the two world wars, Czechoslovakia and Hungary were dominated by the shadows of German capital and nationalism, while Poland was forced to maneuver uneasily between Berlin and Moscow. In the coming decade, if East European countries are to make the kind of progress they now dream of, they will probably have to rely on a combination of outside factors to help them: West German capital to modernize their economies; stability in the Soviet Union to ensure that they can continue their political progress toward democracy;

and continuing American involvement in Europe to provide them with psychological and political breathing space.

The Communist collapse has opened Eastern Europe to American involvement and influence to an unprecedented degree. Officials in the new governments have been busily telling the swelling stream of American visitors that they are concerned about "being left alone with West Germany," explicitly stating that only an active (and generous) U.S. presence can balance Bonn's enormous economic power and long attention to Eastern Europe.

In the past, the collapse of empire has not led to long-term freedom for the peoples of the region, but rather new subjugation in new empires. As 1989 began, Eastern Europe still appeared exempt from Hegel's definition of history as "the progress of the consciousness of freedom." A year later, however, peoples who have found that consciousness through their own action are poised for a new, more promising effort to run their own lives.

— Jim Hoagland



PLAYING SOLDIER: Boys play on an abandoned guard tower along the Czechoslovak-Austrian border, where the barbed-wire fence, right, that formed the Iron Curtain between the two nations was being dismantled in December.

BY CAROL QUINN—THE WASHINGTON POST

Prague where 2,000 street barricades were hastily put up. For four days Prague, cut off from the outside world, held out against German tanks, artillery and planes. On May 9, 1945, a Soviet tank rolled up to the foremost barricade . . ."

I can still see that tank—it has now become a national monument—and I can almost hear the hysterical shouts of the people who greeted it. Everybody was crying. I happened to be there that day. I had come with two American fellow-soldiers from nearby Pilsen, where our troops had had orders to remain. We drove in a jeep and we'd put an American flag on top of the windshield. It gave many people the hope that "the Americans were coming," whom they wanted to see much more than the Russians. But the Americans were not coming, and the Stars and Stripes flying from our jeep was the only American flag in Prague during the Liberation.

"The number of people who died shortly before or during the Liberation will never be known," writes Krischke. "Tens of thousands of people who were murdered, killed, hit by bullets, burned to death—men, women, children. It was the outbreak of a volcano, and the volcano was Prague. For six interminable years the people of Prague had silently endured evil, torture and murder. This does not excuse the massacre—but it may help to explain it."

Afterward, there was never any doubt in Prague: the Sudeten Germans would have to leave. Forever. Three million of them were expelled—though many of them, no doubt, had never done anything wrong, not actively anyway. Maybe they knew what had been going on during the six terrible years; and maybe they didn't know. Now they had to leave, *all* of them. "Evaluating the historical sins of the Czechs one must never forget how much persistent wrong was done to them," writes Johannes Urzidil, the German writer from Prague:

Most of their violent actions are the desperate reaction of a nation that was driven into extremes by the idiocy of despotism. All who participated in the history of the Bohemian lands have a mutually incriminating conscience: the Czechs are on the conscience of their German neighbors, and the neighbors on the conscience of the Czechs. The tyranny during the time of the "Protectorate" will always remain a guilt complex on the conscience of the Germans. And the indiscriminate expulsion of the Sudeten-Germans from the land where they had lived nine hundred years will forever remain a heavy guilt on the conscience of the Czechs.

Nowadays, many Sudeten-Germans, traveling to Prague on an Austrian or West-German passport, come back there for a visit, prosperous-looking and well-dressed, in shiny new cars. They enjoy being catered to in the best hotels, where the Czech employees—speaking German—beg them for a German newspaper or a few American cigarettes. Who would have thought twenty-five years ago that history would play such a cruel joke? Some of the visitors feel that it isn't quite right—but, then, nothing was ever quite right in Golden Prague, the guilty, violent city.

The "Prague Spring"

NO ONE IN Prague who lived through the "Prague Spring," the brief, exhilarating interlude of freedom, will ever forget it. On January 5, 1968, Alexander Dubček replaced the hated Antonín Novotný as First Secretary of the Communist

Party. After twenty-five years of terror, first under the Nazi protectorate and then under the Stalinist protectorate, the people tasted the sweet taste of liberty that the younger generation had never known—and they got drunk on it. Unlike earlier revolutions, the “Prague Spring” wasn’t set in motion by anarchists, workers, juntas or soldiers but by writers, scientists, artists and students. They preached non-violence and tolerance, not the guillotine and revenge. Paradoxically, the breakup of the Stalinist Novotný regime occurred at the very center of power, in the highest councils of the Party. The reformers were Communist intellectuals who believed in communism. They didn’t want to overthrow, but to liberalize, giving communism a “human face.”

In June, 1968, the day after the National Assembly had abolished censorship, *Literární Listy*, the great weekly published by the Writers’ Union, printed one of the all-time great documents of political freedom. “Two Thousand Words” was “inspired by the scientists,” written by Ludvík Vaculík, and directed “against selfish, domineering people with a bad conscience”:

Let us request the departure of people who misused their power, damaged public property, behaved dishonestly or cruelly. We have to find means of forcing them to resign, by public criticism, resolutions, demonstrations, strikes and boycott of their doors . . .

No one had ever used such language in the Communist world and gotten away with it. Officially, the Party didn’t go along with the proclamation but all public media supported it. Once again, the city of Jan Hus had become a city of heretics. Moscow’s *Pravda* spoke ominously of “counter-revolutionary elements” in Prague. Cautious people saw the handwriting on the wall when the Soviets and their allies sent their “Warsaw Letter” to the “dear comrades” in

Prague who were summoned to Warsaw to stand up and be counted. Dubček and his fellow reformers replied—not in the ambiguous Party jargon but in lucid, clear language—that they were always ready for bilateral talks but would not appear in Warsaw as defendants.

They had nothing to hide. To Waldeck-Rochet, the French Communist leader, who came from Moscow through Prague to warn the “dear comrades,” Dubček said: “In the question of socialism, our friendship with the Soviet Union, the Warsaw Pact, there are no differences between us. . . . There is no counter-revolution here.” But that wasn’t the way Walter Ulbricht saw it when he went to talk to his neighbor, Dubček, in Karlsbad (Karlovy Vary). He immediately noticed the symptoms of freedom, tolerance, liberalism; and he was terrified they might spread across the borders of East Germany; he knew what had happened there in 1953, when he had been saved only by the intervention of the Soviet tanks. Ulbricht went to Moscow to warn his protectors. It is highly probable that he triggered off their decision to invade the “heretic” country.

Looking back now, people in Prague agree on the inexorability of the events that followed, as in a Greek tragedy. The invasion of the Warsaw Pact troops, in the morning hours of August 21, 1968, was the beginning of the end. People in Prague will discuss for many years to come whether the Czechoslovak army should have resisted the invasion. But most knew right then that “the beautiful dream of freedom from which we never want to wake up,” as A. J. Liehm, the noted Communist writer, had called it, was already a sad memory.

During one last, glorious week of spiritual and moral—but not physical—resistance, while Soviet tanks were rolling through Prague, almost the entire nation was united as

never before. (A few traitors were hiding.) No one ran away. The exodus started only on August 27, when Dubček, just back from his ordeal in Moscow, twice fainted during his speech to the nation. It was all over. In the last uncensored issue of *Listy*, Ivan Bystrina wrote,

In the consciousness of our nation, defeats and capitulations, perfidy and treachery always played a bigger part than victories. . . . Our victories were always moral victories rather than victories of brute force. . . . The historical and geographical location of our country creates the tragedies which pose the old dilemma between courage and capitulation.

Moscow-trained Communists know more about the strategy of terror than about the mystery of freedom. Too late, Dubček learned that the explosion of liberty is harder to control than the spread of police methods. Today many people say that there was "too much freedom too fast," that Moscow might have been more patient if the reformers hadn't attacked the sacred cows of communism—the planned economy, censorship, the secret police. In January, 1969, the immolation of Jan Palach, a philosophy student at Prague's Charles University, in front of the St. Wenceslas monument, as a protest against the Soviet occupation, once more briefly rallied the nation. It was the last gasp of solidarity. The night of April 18, when Dubček was removed and Gustav Husák became First Party Secretary, the Soviets took over Ruzyně Airport, clearing all runways—just in case Russian planes might have to bring in more tanks and troops. There were no more demonstrations though. After more than a year, the "Prague Spring" had come to an end.

All countries are nominally sovereign but some countries in the Eastern Bloc are more sovereign than others. In Prague, they now say bitterly that Czechoslovakia is sover-

eign in name only. After the demise of Novotný, "the bad people"—the police agents, the informers, the torturers, the commissars of the Stalinist terror machine—had disappeared from sight but the machine was never smashed; it was only stopped. The bad guys are back. They were never cut off completely from the sources of power, remaining in touch with each other, and with their friends in the Soviet Embassy. The Czechs say that the rats have re-entered the sinking ship. Some say bitterly that Dubček should have got rid of them when he was in charge. But how could he, without discrediting the very idea of "communism with a human face"?

Ever since, "perfidy and treachery" have played a big part in Prague. Dubček was gradually deprived of all functions though his only "crimes" were his human dignity and political ineptness. Finally, he was expelled from the Communist Party which tried hard to obliterate his image. The Party people didn't succeed. The people of Czechoslovakia secretly admire Dubček's decency and courage. He could have defected to the West when he was Ambassador to Turkey. Nothing could have pleased the present leadership more. Instead he went back to Prague to face his inquisitors, as Jan Hus had done in Constance. And like Hus, Alexander Dubček did not recant. He seems already a somewhat distant figure in his country's tormented history, almost a legend. "The problem of a small country is somewhat like the problem of a little man," wrote T. G. Masaryk. "His human dignity must be respected without regard to the material difference in bigness."

Three years after the end of the "Prague Spring," the elusive, mystical beauty of Prague emerges more powerfully than in a long, long time. After decades of neglect, the

government has launched a large-scale restoration program to save the Gothic structures of the Old Town and the Baroque palaces of Malá Strana. On Charles Bridge, the black sandstone statues of the suffering saints are getting a thorough cleansing. The taverns near the bridge are crowded with young people, talking, drinking beer, listening to music. They look proud and defiant. It's the only way in which they may show their protest; they cannot talk openly now. The students are no longer active politically. In Old Town Square, small children play on the sidewalk where twenty-seven white crosses mark the spot of the executions of the Bohemian nobles in 1621. Elderly people sit on yellow benches that were placed around the monument of Jan Hus so the people couldn't get too close to it and place flowers. The monument of St. Wenceslas too has been made less accessible. All seems peaceful, almost idyllic. But Prague never was, and isn't today, a peaceful city.

Once again, people speak softly, and some say nothing at all. Fear is everywhere, invisible and omnipresent. First, one hears only vague rumors of arrests, beatings, persecutions. After a while, the rumors condense into facts. The man on the third floor—yes, Pan So-and-so—lost his job because he was seen placing some wildflowers on the grave of Jan Palach. Somebody else was taken away by the secret police and hasn't come back. Most worried of all are the Communists. The day of reckoning has come. Every member of the Party has to account for what he did, or omitted to do, during the past two years. Everybody had to turn in his Party membership card. Many were given a new one only after a satisfactory "interview" before the Party's "control-and-auditing" commission. Everybody was considered guilty until proven innocent. Everybody became a Josef K. in Kafka's "The Trial."

Loss of the Party membership also means loss of job, apartment, future, all hope. The children may be barred from secondary schools and the university. Thousands of honest Communists who supported Alexander Dubček—writers, scientists, officials, artists—have suddenly become third-class citizens. Some were sent to work in the fields, on building sites, in the coal mines; and some are in prison. The writers no longer write, the scientists no longer teach, the artists no longer perform. (Some writers write "for the drawer," knowing they won't get published now.) The country's judiciary is purged, and the stage was set for more purges even. People who love their country are deeply shocked; this time it's not Czechs and Slovaks against the foreign invaders but against each other. The nation is tragically split, as it was after the Hussite wars.

Nobody feels like working hard. "What's the sense of working for the Russians?" they say. During the Dubček regime, they took pride in their country; they knew they were working for *themselves*. Today there is no incentive. They cannot travel to the West, they won't be able to buy first-rate goods. They have no hope.

On August 21, 1969, the anniversary of the invasion, eleven prominent Communists addressed an open letter to the Party and the government that became known as "Ten Points." Vaculík, who had written "Two Thousand Words," is one of the signers of the bold, courageous document:

We reject censorship which sets us back a hundred years. . . . We do not acknowledge the Communist Party as a power organization having a superior position above the state organs. . . . We reject in advance the customary accusations and abuses which we anticipate.

Several of the signers of "Ten Points" were sent to jail. Czechoslovakia's Olympic champion, Emil Zátopek, an

army colonel, was dismissed from the army, and later fired from his lowly job as a garbage truck collector, when people recognized him and wanted to help him with his work. "Many people are persecuted," it said in "Ten Points." And more will be.

"*Dieses Mütterchen hat Krallen*," Kafka wrote in 1902. Prague, the little mother, has claws. After a thousand years of violence, Prague will surely survive the present phase of fear and terror. But for the time being, the beautiful, mystical city is once again "pain-filled and polemical."

give him our assurance that America welcomes reform not as an adversary seeking advantage, but as a people offering support. Our goal is to see this historic tide of freedom broadened, deepened — and sustained. We find enormous encouragement in its peaceful advance and its acceptance by the Soviet Union. We can now raise our hopes on other issues — our common environment, our common war against drugs, as well as on human rights, and the regional conflicts that remain.

Immediately after my visit with President Gorbachev, I will go to Brussels to consult with our partners in NATO — the very alliance that has kept the West free for 40 years. I will assure them that no matter how dramatic the change in Eastern Europe, or in the Soviet Union itself, the United States will continue to stand with our allies and our friends.

For in a new Europe, the American role may change in form but not in fundamentals. After all, the Soviet Union maintains hundreds of thousands of troops throughout Eastern Europe. Study the map, review history and you'll see that this presence, with the Soviet Union's natural advantage of geography, cannot be ignored. So even if forces are significantly reduced on both sides, a noble goal indeed, we will remain in Europe as long as our friends want and need us.

Off the island nation of Malta, Mikhail Gorbachev and I will begin the work of years. We can help the peoples of Europe achieve a new destiny, in a peaceful Europe whole and free. I will tell President Gorbachev, the dynamic architect of Soviet

reform, that America wants the people of the Soviet Union to fulfill their destiny. And I will assure him that there is no greater advocate of perestroika than the President of the United States.

When we meet, we will be on ships at anchor in a Mediterranean bay that has served as a sealane of commerce and conflict for more than two thousand years. This ancient port has been conquered by Caesar and Sultan, Crusader and King. Its forts and watchtowers survey a sea that entombs the scuttled ships of empires lost — slave galleys, galleons, dreadnoughts, destroyers. These ships, once meant to guard lasting empires, now litter the ocean floor, and guard nothing more than reefs of coral.

So if the millennia offer us a lesson, perhaps it is this: True security does not come from empire and domination. True security can only be found in the growing trust of free peoples.

It has been said that peace is not the work of a single day, nor will it be the consequence of a single act. Yet every constructive act contributes to its growth; every omission impedes it. Peace will come, in the end, as a child grows to maturity — slowly, until we realize one day in incredulous surprise that the child is almost grown.

It is our hope that Malta will be such a constructive act — guiding brave pilgrims on their journey to a new world of freedom.

Poland

SOLIDARITY AND FREEDOM

By LECH WALESA, *Chairman, Solidarnosc*

Delivered before the Joint Session of Congress, Washington, D.C., November 15, 1989

MR. SPEAKER, Mr. President, members of the Cabinet, distinguished Members of the House and Senate, ladies and gentlemen, "We the people. . . ." With these words I wish to begin my address. I do not need to remind anyone here where these words come from. And I do not need to explain that I, an electrician from Gdansk, am also entitled to invoke them.

"We the people. . . ."

I stand before you as the third foreign non-head-of-state invited to address the joint Houses of Congress of the United States. The Congress, which for many people in the world, oppressed and stripped of their rights, is a beacon of freedom and a bulwark of human rights. And here I stand before you, to speak to America in the name of my nation. To speak to citizens of the country and the continent whose threshold is guarded by the famous Statue of Liberty. It is for me an honor so great, a moment so solemn, that I can find nothing to compare it with.

The people in Poland link the name of the United States with freedom and democracy, with generosity and high-mindedness, with human friendship and friendly humanity. I realize that not everywhere in the world is America so perceived. I speak of her image in Poland. This image was strengthened by numerous favorable historical experiences, and it is a very well-known thing that Poles repay warmheartedness in kind.

The world remembers the wonderful principle of the Amer-

ican democracy: "government of the people, by the people, for the people."

I too remember these words; I, a shipyard worker from Gdansk, who has devoted his entire life — along with other members of the Solidarity movement — to the service of this idea: "government of the people, by the people, for the people." Against privilege and monopoly, against violations of the law, against the trampling of human dignity, against contempt and injustice.

Such in fact are the principles and values — reminiscent of Abraham Lincoln and the Founding Fathers of the American Republic, and also of the principles and ideas of the American Declaration of Independence and the American Constitution — that are pursued by the great movement of Polish Solidarity; a movement that is effective. I know that Americans are idealistic, but at the same time practical people endowed with common sense and capable of logical action. They combine these features with a belief in the ultimate victory of right over wrong. But they prefer effective work to making speeches. And I understand them very well. I, too, am not too fond of speeches. I prefer facts and work. I treasure effectiveness.

Ladies and gentlemen, here is the fundamental, most important fact I want to tell you about. I want to tell you that the social movement bearing the beautiful name of Solidarity, born of the Polish Nation, is an effective movement. After many long years of struggle it bore fruit which is there for all to see.

It pointed to a direction and a way of action which are today affecting the lives of millions of people speaking different languages. It has swayed monopolies, overturning some altogether. It has opened up entirely new horizons.

And this struggle was conducted without resorting to violence of any kind — a point that cannot be stressed too much. We were being locked up in prison, deprived of our jobs, beaten and sometimes killed. And we did not so much as strike a single person. We did not destroy anything. We did not smash a single windowpane. But we were stubborn, very stubborn, ready to suffer, to make sacrifices. We knew what we wanted. And our power prevailed in the end.

The movement called Solidarity received massive support and scored victories because at all times and in all matters it opted for the better, more human, and more dignified solution, standing against brutality and hate. It was a consistent movement, stubborn, never giving up. And that is why after all these hard years, marked by so many tragic moments, Solidarity is today succeeding and showing the way to millions of people in Poland and other countries.

Ladies and Gentlemen, it was 10 years ago, in August 1980, that there began in the Gdansk shipyard the famous strike which led to the emergence of the first independent trade union in Communist countries, which soon became a vast social movement supported by the Polish Nation. I was 10 years younger then, unknown to anybody but my friends in the shipyard, and somewhat slimmer. And I must frankly say, it was important. An unemployed man at that time, fired from my job for earlier attempts to organize workers in the fight for their rights, I jumped over the shipyard wall and rejoined my colleagues who promptly appointed me the leader of the strike. This is how it all began. When I recall the road we have traveled I often think of that jump over the fence. Now others jump fences and tear down walls, they do it because freedom is a human right.

But there is also another reflection that comes to my mind when I think of the road behind us. In those days, at the beginning, many warnings, admonitions, and even condemnations were reaching us from many parts of the world. "What are those Poles up to?" we heard. "They are mad, they are jeopardizing world peace and European stability. They ought to stay quiet and not get on anybody's nerves."

We gathered from those voices that the other nations have the right to live in comfort and well-being, they have the right to democracy and freedom, and it is only the Poles who should give up these rights so as not to disturb the peace of others.

In the days before the Second World War there were many people who asked: Why should we die for Gdansk? Isn't it better to stay at home? But war soon paid them a visit, and they had to start dying for Paris, for London, for Hawaii. This time, too, there were many who complained: There is that Gdansk again disturbing our peace.

But the recent developments in Gdansk carried a different message. This was not the beginning but the true end of that war. This was the beginning of a new, better, democratic and safe era in the history of our world. There is no longer a question of dying for Gdansk, but of living for it.

Looking at what is happening around us today we may state positively that the Polish road of struggle for human rights, struggle without violence, the Polish stubbornness and firmness in the quest for pluralism and democracy show many people today, and even nations, how to avoid the greatest dan-

gers. If there is something threatening European stability today, it certainly is not Poland. Poland's drive toward profound transformations, transformations achieved through peaceful means, through evolution, negotiated with all the parties concerned, makes it possible to avoid the worst pitfalls, and may be held up as a model for many other regions. And as we know, changes elsewhere are not so peaceful.

Peacefully and prudently, with their eyes open to dangers, but not giving up what is right and necessary, the Poles gradually paved the way for historic transformations. We are joined along this way, albeit to various extents, by others: Hungarians and Russians, the Ukrainians and people of the Baltic Republics, Armenians and Georgians, and, in recent days, the East Germans. We wish them luck and rejoice at each success they achieve. We are certain that others will also take our road, since there is no other choice.

So I ask now: Is there any sensible man understanding the world around him who could now say that it would be better if the Poles kept quiet because what they are doing is jeopardizing world peace? Couldn't we rather say that Poles are doing more to preserve and consolidate peace than many of their frightened advisers? Could we not say that stability and peace face greater threats from countries which have not yet brought themselves to carry out long-ranging and comprehensive reforms, which do their utmost to preserve the old and disgraced ways of government, contrary to the wishes of their societies?

Things are different in Poland. And I must say that our task is viewed with understanding by our eastern neighbors and their leader, Mikhail Gorbachev. This understanding lays foundations for new relations between Poland and the U.S.S.R. much better than before. These improved mutual relations will also contribute to stabilization and peace in Europe, removing useless tensions. Poles have had a long and difficult history, and no one wants peaceful coexistence and friendship with all nations and countries — and particularly with the Soviet Union — more than we do. We believe that it is only now that the right and favorable conditions for such coexistence and friendship are emerging.

Poland is making an important contribution to a better future for Europe, to a European reconciliation — also to the vastly important Polish-German reconciliation — to overcoming of old divisions and to strengthening of human rights on our continent. But it does not come easily for Poland.

In the Second World War Poland was the first country to fall victim to aggression. Her losses in terms of human life and national property were the heaviest. Her fight was the longest; she was always a dedicated member of the victorious alliance; and her soldiers fought in all the war's theaters. In 1945 Poland, theoretically speaking, was one of the victors. Theory, however, had little in common with practice. In practice, as her allies looked on in tacit consent, there was imposed on Poland an alien system of government, without precedent in Polish tradition, unaccepted by the nation, together with an alien economy, an alien law, and alien philosophy of social relations. The legal Polish Government, recognized by the nation and leading the struggle of all Poles throughout the war was condemned, and those who remained faithful to it were subjected to the most ruthless persecution. Many were murdered, thousands vanished somewhere in Russia's east and north. Similar repression befell soldiers of the underground army fighting the Nazis. It is only now that we are

discovering their bones in unmarked graves scattered among forests.

These atrocities were followed by persecutions of all those who dared think independently. All the solemn pledges about free elections in Poland that were made in Yalta were broken.

This was the second great national catastrophe, following the one of 1939. When other nations were joyously celebrating victory, Poland was again sinking into mourning. The awareness of this tragedy was doubly bitter, as the Poles realized that they had been abandoned by their allies. The memory of this is still strong in the minds of many.

Nonetheless, the Poles took to rebuilding their devastated country and in the first years following the war they were highly successful. But soon a new economic system was introduced, in which individual entrepreneurship ceased to exist and the entire economy ended up in the hands of a state run by people who were not elected by the nation. Stalin forbade Poland to use aid provided by the Marshall plan, the aid that was used by everyone in Western Europe, including countries which lost the war. It is worth recalling this great American plan which helped Western Europe to protect its freedom and peaceful order. And now it is the moment when Eastern Europe awaits an investment of this kind — an investment in freedom, democracy, and peace — an investment adequate to the greatness of the American Nation.

The Poles have traveled a long way. It would be worthwhile for all those commenting on Poland, often criticizing Poland, to bear in mind that whatever Poland has achieved she achieved through her own effort, through her own stubbornness, her own relentlessness. Everything was achieved thanks to the unflinching faith of our nation in human dignity and in what is described as the values of Western culture and civilization.

Our nation knows well the price of all this.

Ladies and gentlemen, for the past 50 years the Polish nation has been engaged in a difficult and exhausting battle. First to preserve its very biological existence, later to save its national identity. In both instances Polish determination won the day. Today Poland is rejoining the family of democratic and pluralistic countries, returning to the tradition of religious and European values.

For the first time in half a century Poland has a non-Communist and independent government, supported by the nation.

But on our path there looms a serious obstacle, a grave danger. Our long subjection to a political system incompatible with national traditions, to a system of economy incompatible with rationality and common sense, coupled with the stifling of independent thought and disregard for national interests — all this has led the Polish economy to ruin, to the verge of utter catastrophe. The first government in 50 years elected by the people and serving the people has inherited from the previous rulers of the country a burden of an economy organized in a manner preventing it from satisfying even the basic needs of the people.

The economy we inherited after almost five decades of Communist rule is in need of thorough overhaul. This will require patience and great sacrifice. This will require time and means. The present condition of the Polish economy is not due to chance, and is not a specifically Polish predicament. All the countries of the Eastern bloc are bankrupt. The Communist economy has failed in every part of the world. One result of this is the exodus of the citizens of those countries, by land

and by sea, by boat and by plane, swimming and walking across borders. This is a mass-scale phenomenon, well known in Europe, Asia, and Central America.

But Poland entered its new road and will never be turned back. The sense of our work and struggle in Poland lies in our creating situations and prospects that would hold Poles back from seeking a place for themselves abroad, that would encourage them to seek meaning in their work and a hope for a better future in their own country, their own home.

One hears sometimes that people in Poland do not care to work well. But even those who say this, know that Poles work well and effectively if only they see the sense and usefulness of their toil. The working people know their arithmetic too. They are working much harder and in worse conditions than their opposite numbers abroad, and on top of that are paid much lower wages. The economic system around them is absurd. To make matters worse, every several or dozen years the country has suffered a new crisis, a new crunch, and time and time again it turned out that past efforts went to waste. Show me people who would have worked well, stuck for decades under such a system. Wouldn't they too have succumbed to pessimism? But I wish no one experiences such as these.

This system had to be changed. And the Poles took it upon themselves to change it.

I know that America has her own problems and difficulties, some of them very serious. We are not asking for charity. We are not expecting philanthropy. But we would like to see our country treated as a partner and a friend. We would like cooperation under decent and favorable conditions. We would like Americans to come to us with proposals of cooperation bringing benefits to both sides.

We believe that assistance extended to democracy and freedom in Poland and all of Eastern Europe is the best investment in the future and in peace, better than tanks, warships, and war planes, an investment leading to greater security.

Poland has already done much to patch up the divisions existing in Europe, to create better and more optimistic prospects. Poland's efforts are viewed with sympathetic interest by the West — and for this thanks are in order. We believe that the West's contribution to this process will grow now. We have heard many beautiful words of encouragement. These are appreciated, but, being a worker and a man of concrete work, I must tell you that the supply of words on the world market is plentiful, but the demand is falling. Let deeds follow words now.

The decision by the Congress of the United States about granting economic aid to my country opens a new road. For this wonderful decision, I thank you warmly. I promise you that this aid will not be wasted, and will never be forgotten.

Ladies and gentlemen, from this podium, I'm expressing words of gratitude to the American people. It is they who supported us in the difficult days of martial law and persecution. It is they who sent us aid, they protested against violence. Today, when I am able to freely address the whole world from this elevated spot, I would like to thank them with special warmth.

It is thanks to them that the word "Solidarity" soared across borders and reached every corner of the world. Thanks to them the people of Solidarity were never alone. In this chain of people linked in solidarity there were many, very many Americans. I wish to mention here with warm gratitude our friends from the United States Congress, the AFL-CIO trade

unions, from the institutions and foundations supporting freedom and democracy, and all those who lent us support in our most difficult moments. They live in all States, in small and large communities of your vast country. I thank all those who through the airwaves or printed word spread the truth. I also wish to say thank you and to greet all Polish Americans who maintain warm contacts with their old fatherland. Their support was always priceless for us. And the support of American Polish was always tremendously worth it to us.

Wholeheartedly thank the President of the United States and his administration for involvement in my country's affairs. I will never forget the then Vice President George Bush speaking in Warsaw over the tomb of the Reverend Jerzy Popieluszko, the martyr for Poland. And I will not forget President George Bush speaking in Gdansk in front of the monument of the Fallen Shipyard Workers. It's from there that the President of the United States was sending a mes-

sage of freedom to Poland, to Europe, to the world.
Pope John Paul II once said:
"Freedom is not just something to have and to use, it is something to be fought for. One must use freedom to build with it personal life as well as the life of the nation."
I think this weighty thought can equally well be applied to Poland and to America.

I wish all of you to know and to keep in mind that the ideals which underlie this glorious American Republic and which are still alive here, are also living in faraway Poland. And although for many long years efforts were made to cut Poland off from these ideals, Poland held her ground and is now reaching for the freedom to which she is justly entitled. Together with Poland, other nations of Eastern Europe are following this path. The wall that was separating people from freedom has collapsed. And I hope that the nations of the world will never let it be rebuilt.

Challenges to NATO in the 1990s

A TIME FOR RESOLVE AND VISION

By SAM NUNN, U.S. Senator from Georgia

Delivered before the International Institute for Strategic Studies, London, England, September 4, 1989

THANK YOU, Sir Michael. Members of the Council, members of the Institute, and distinguished guests, I am deeply honored to be asked to deliver the Alastair Buchan Memorial Lecture for 1989. It is a personal privilege for me to follow in the footsteps of the distinguished statesmen and strategic thinkers who have delivered this lecture since its inception in 1976.

— As I view it, this annual lecture is a fitting tribute and testament to the man who helped create IISS and served as its first Director. Alastair Buchan was a leader of resolve and vision. "Somewhere between the hawks and doves," wrote one biographer, "he hoped to find a position that would keep the peace." The strong reputation this institute enjoys throughout the world today for precise, impartial and objective analysis is a tribute to Alastair Buchan's original vision of the IISS and the important role it could play — and indeed has played — within the international community, and particularly the strategic-military-foreign policy community.

Even for men as far-sighted as Alastair Buchan, the changes we are now witnessing in the political and security landscape in Europe would have seemed virtually impossible at the time of his death thirteen years ago.

— In 1976, who could have imagined that Poland would freely elect a non-communist Catholic Prime Minister, or that the leader of the Soviet Union would urge the Polish Communist Party to cooperate with a Solidarity-led coalition in governing the country?

— Who could have imagined at that time that Andrey Sakharov would be released from exile in Gorky, be elected a member of the Soviet parliament, and then become co-leader of a parliamentary faction opposed to the official primacy of the Communist Party?

— Who could have imagined at that time that the Soviet Union would begin a unilateral withdrawal of six tank divisions from Eastern Europe and would agree in principle in on-going

arms control negotiations to reduce Warsaw Pact forces to levels of parity with NATO? (Interestingly enough, the unilateral reductions that Gorbachev has announced were — and will if carried out — exceed the most ambitious goal that NATO ever proposed in fourteen years of Mutual and Balanced Force Reduction (MBFR) talks. And that's the scope of it.)

— And who in 1976 would have thought that by the end of the 1980s twelve European nations would be on the threshold of realizing the Community's dream of a single market in which the border between France and Germany will be no greater a barrier to economic activity than the border between my home state of Georgia and the state of Florida or the state of Alabama?

If continued, these profound changes will lead to a fundamental restructuring of the European security system. In this new environment, as I view it, the danger to NATO is not that it will fall apart, but that it will be increasingly seen as irrelevant. If NATO is not to become an anachronism, it must demonstrate resolve and vision in serving not only as a force of stability but also as an instrument for change.

The Alliance's first challenge is to develop an appropriate strategy for responding to change in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. Neither we — nor probably even President Gorbachev himself — can predict confidently the future course of reform in the Soviet Union.

We also cannot ignore the fact that Soviet military capabilities remain formidable today, and that reductions beyond those announced by President Gorbachev last December are still a matter of negotiation. Equal conventional ceilings are still not even a matter of treaty obligation, let alone a matter of treaty implementation.

Moreover, while a return to a more hostile Soviet foreign policy seems unlikely in the near-term, one cannot say it is impossible. As the Librarian of Congress of the United States, James Billington, recently pointed out before our Armed Services Committee:

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(Hinchliffe/Grossman)
November 9, 1990 1 p.m.
SQUAREPRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: WENCESLAS SQUARE, PRAGUE
November 17, 1990

Why here

Thank you -- *my CES friend* ~~my brothers and sisters of the heart~~. It's thrilling to be with you in this extraordinary place -- at this extraordinary moment -- celebrating your extraordinary miracle.

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 that's proof that it is Prague spring.

New World order

WHY HERE

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I will never forget this moment. I wasn't present to see the horrifying and the wondrous events that have unfolded in this almost mythical square. And yet the passion of your struggle has imprinted vivid images in my heart. Now I am finally here. Here in Wenceslas Square. \ Now I stand in the spiritual heart of Prague -- of Czechoslovakia -- of all Europe -- seeing it for myself. And I am overwhelmed by the spirit and the pride and the strength of the magnificent Czech and Slovak peoples.

I look behind me and see the statue of your murdered Saint Wenceslas, who died at 22. I look out into the powerful depths of this square and I can see -- as clearly as if I had been here -- other young men who've given their lives for Czechoslovakian nationalism. Jan Hus. Jan Opletal. Jan Palach. Martin Smid.

-SQUARE-
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And I can also feel incredible power here. I can imagine the bells tolling and the keys clanging and the voices singing in proud collective defiance and celebration. October ~~28~~ 1918. September 1939. November 17, 1939. March 1945.

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And of course the anguish of August 1968. Your dreams so long held. Your spirit so unquenchable. Our respect so immense. Students streamed into this square, answering Comenius' call to follow "The Way of Light." Only to be met with barbaric totalitarianism that broke the world's heart. We wept for them. We wept for you. Yet when you followed that same way of light and returned again and again with candles to the site of the martyred -- we knew then that "the truth will win."

And we watched as the brave lights of your ~~little~~ candles came to symbolize to the world the unquenchable Czechoslovakian pride. When I finally arrived in this ~~emotion-drenched~~ square, the first thing I looked for was the candle wax. Mounds of it, from the thousands of candles left here over the last 23 years.

And then I saw this church, Mary of the Snow, overlooking the square. And I thought of what happens at its Easter midnight service. The priest brings a candle from the altar into the unbroken darkness of the church. 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 ~~to my Czech and Slovak friends~~ - 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 ^{can} ~~could~~ stop a dream "whose time has come." As I stand here in this sacred spot I am taken back a year to the 50th anniversary of November 17. I can almost see the thousands of people in the cold -- facing police on a night of fury unleashed

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And Vaclev Havel. My friend. A man of warmth, compassion, wisdom, and tremendous moral courage. He blesses the lives he touches and the country he leads. His life is a tribute to the difference one man can make. In the dark years, on one side stood the state. On the other -- Vaclev 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

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prison was free -- with the freedom that comes from living in truth. On this side 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."

For all of you inspired the movement which in one incredible year has taken us to the brink of a Europe healed and whole -- a Europe intrepid and free. Yours was the light that led us out of the Cold War -- out of its chill winter of darkness and sorrow.

The world marvels with you at the start of this New World *of freedom.* -- a wonderfully optimistic phrase coined first by your own brilliant composer, Dvorak. We have seen this New World born amid shouts of joy and triumph. Born full of hope, barreling with confidence toward a new century. In Poland it took about 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 town square with others like Budapest's Kossuth Square, and xxx Square in Gdansk. A revolution that linked 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."

Your magnificent country is at the threshold of a new era. And it stands there not alone, but with the rest of this continent. Now the challenge is to continue to move forward.

Veronique Rodman

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(301) 870-3967

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From revolution to renaissance. Toward a new Europe in which each nation and every culture can flourish and breathe free. I speak for all Western leaders when I say that the Atlantic alliance stands with you. We will continue to be part of your nation's -- and Europe's -- democratic rebirth. And the creation of a new ^{global} ~~Atlantic~~ partnership of shared values.

A partnership inspired by the words of your great Comenius: "We are all citizens of one world, we are all of one blood. 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 this: We must look beyond our own borders, to true global partnership. The situation in the Gulf teaches us this harsh lesson. Perhaps more than anyone, you in Czechoslovakia understand how critical it is for the nations of the world to come to the aid of Kuwait. To defend the oppressed as they throw off the yoke of tyranny which no man has the right to impose on another.

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. When I thought back to this square a

year ago. I recalled the image of many of you building --

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For four decades, our two nations stood across the divide between East and West. ^{Two} ~~Our~~ peoples -- united in spirit -- cut off by conflict and Cold War. // Today -- we stand together, united ^{once more} in our devotion to the democratic ideal. //

Now, with the division of Europe ending, and the emergence of democracy in the East -- the challenge is to move forward. Here in Czechoslovakia, from revolution to renaissance. On both sides of the Atlantic, toward a new Atlantic partnership based on our shared heritage and common values. Across this continent, toward a new Europe, in which each nation and every culture can flourish and breathe free. //

But the principles that unite our peoples are not Czech or Slovak or American alone..... Universal....

That is why we must look beyond our own borders -- beyond the confines of this continent -- to a true global partnership.

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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 can also always draw on us.

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 of candles in this square. And above all, we share friendship. A friendship described by Masaryk 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.

I look forward to working with my friend Václav Havel, and all of you, as we embark on a new passage in our history -- one that traces back to your magnificent Declaration of Independence, inspired by our President Wilson's principles of liberated mankind -- of equality of nations -- and of governments deriving their powers from the consent of the governed.

FRONT
I'm here today on a pilgrimage that began 7 decades ago with the partnership between Masaryk and Wilson. *It was a long hard journey.* I'm honored to be the *to walk the last steps with you as the journey ends and a new begins* President who completes this journey. I only wish I had time to visit Bratislava. For my heart is touched by an image of the city of Comenius -- thousands of people marching 2 years ago with their candles. I want to tell them I share the pain of how their quiet, gentle call for religious freedom was met by brutality.

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So it is to all citizens of this country that I speak from this stunningly beautiful city. Masaryk wrote in the Declaration:

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"The forces of darkness have served the victory of light. The longed-for age of humanity is dawning." We rejoice that this age of humanity has now finally dawned in your splendid country.

To commemorate your triumph, your ~~American brothers and sisters~~ want to return Masaryk's words to their rightful home -- and their rightful heirs. President Havel, on behalf of the American people I have a very special gift for the Czechoslovakian people. A precious document that has waited in America's National Archives seven decades for this moment. I present to you Masaryk's Declaration of Independence. God Bless Czechoslovakia!

#

Strength
Pride

consent to the
original
Lombard
in the square

(301) 870-3967

(Hinchliffe/Grossman)
November 9, 1990 1 p.m.
HAVEL

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: GATHERING IN WENCESLAS SQUARE
→ **November 17, 1990**

27.
Thank you, my friends, my brothers and sisters of the heart.
~~I'm~~ ^{It's nice} thrilled to be with you in this extraordinary place at this
extraordinary moment -- ^{celebrates} ~~to celebrate~~ your extraordinary miracle.
~~I'm~~ ^{What} powerfully ^{moving} moved by this 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 that's proof that it is Prague spring.

I will never forget this moment. I wasn't present ^{to see} ~~during~~
the horrifying and the wondrous events that have unfolded in this
almost mythical square. And yet the passion of your struggle has
imprinted vivid images in my heart. Now I'm finally here ^{here} in
Wenceslas Square. Now I stand in the spiritual heart of Prague --
and of Czechoslovakia ^{and} and of all Europe -- ^{saying it} ~~and I see this sacred~~
~~site~~ ^{I am} for myself. And ~~I'm~~ overwhelmed by the spirit and the pride
and the strength of the magnificent Czech and Slovak peoples.

I look behind me and see the statue of your murdered Saint
Wenceslas, who died at 22. I look out into the powerful depths
of this square and ^{I can see} -- as clearly as if I had been here -- I can
see other young men who've given their lives for Czechoslovakian
nationalism. Jan Hus, his statue nearby. Jan Opletal, killed by
the Nazis, ~~in a student demonstration.~~ Jan Palach, sacrificing
himself 30 years later, for the same cause. And Martin Smid, ^{just last year}

And I can also feel incredible power here. I can imagine
the bells tolling and the keys ringing and the voices singing in
~~~~~

fiance and celebration. Oct. 28, 1918: ~~people as far as the eye~~  
~~can see celebrating independence.~~ Sept. 1, 1939: ~~crowds protesting~~  
~~Nazis.~~ Nov. 17, 1939: ~~students giving birth to this anniversary.~~  
 March 1945, ~~hundreds of thousands rejoicing in liberation.~~

And of course the anguish of August 1968. Your dreams so long held. Your spirit so unquenchable. Our respect so immense. Students streamed into this square, answering Comenius' call to follow "The Way of Light." They were met with barbaric totalitarianism that broke the world's heart. We wept for them. We wept for you. Yet when you returned again and again with candles to the site of the martyred, <sup>holding up the same way of light</sup> we knew that "the truth will win."

And we watched as the brave lights of your little candles came to symbolize the unquenchable Czechoslovakian pride. The first thing I looked for <sup>in this emotion-drenched square</sup> was the candle wax. Mounds of it, from <sup>thousands</sup> ~~the millions~~ of candles left here over the last 23 years. [I've seen pictures of students placing them at the feet of the police. Of crowds here defiantly, silently holding lit candles high in the chill, dark night.]

And then I saw this church, Mary of the Snow, overlooking our square. And I thought of what happens at its Easter midnight service. The priest brings a candle from the altar into the unbroken darkness of the church. Then he passes the flame to each worshipper's own individual candle, <sup>and soon</sup> until the church is ablaze with flickering lights <sup>that have</sup> shining together to defeat the dark and to herald the resurrection. You -- my Czech and Slovak friends -- you are that candle. The light of your vision has <sup>redeemed</sup> ~~redeemed~~ you

from darkness. And that light is now spreading through the world.

For nothing could stop a dream "whose time has come." As I stand here in this sacred spot I am taken back a year to the 50th anniversary of November 17. I can almost see the thousands of people in the cold -- facing police on a night of fury unleashed and of dreams coalesced. I think of the blood <sup>that shed</sup> ~~that~~ stains Narodni Street. But I also think of your miraculous peacefulness. The crowd <sup>that</sup> swells day by day in numbers and in resolve. A few candles <sup>that</sup> grow <sup>you</sup> into a blaze. This square ~~is~~ alive with the explosion ~~of~~ emotions of dreams too long deferred. <sup>that dream</sup> Finally, the words of your leader "the axe for the frozen sea inside you."

I can feel ~~all~~ this so clearly because it touched us ~~all~~ so deeply. ~~You were our first thoughts in the morning. Our last in the evening.~~ You rekindled in us ideals we had <sup>perhaps</sup> begun to take for granted. And as this square gave birth to your "era of freedom," we rejoiced as if it the victory were our own. <sup>at long last</sup>

We rejoiced that our brothers and sisters had <sup>at long last</sup> the most essential freedom of all -- the freedom to dream. You inherited a legacy rich in vision -- a legacy you ennobled by your own gentle revolution. [A legacy you continued when you each became one of "a thousand points of light" ablaze in the black sky.]

A legacy embodied by two legendary 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 <sup>these</sup> the living Czechoslovakia.

And Vaclev Havel. My friend. A man of warmth, compassion, wisdom, and tremendous moral courage. He blesses the lives he touches and the country he leads. His life is a tribute to the difference <sup>(D)</sup> on man can make. In the dark years, on one side stood the state. On the other -- Vaclev Havel. On one side, the trappings of tyranny. On the other -- <sup>him</sup> a man of vision. On one side, the cold jail. On the other -- <sup>him</sup> a man who even in prison was free -- with the freedom that comes from living in truth.

On this side was this one man. Now there are millions <sup>of</sup> Millions who answered, as <sup>When</sup> 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."

For all of you inspired the movement which in one incredible year has taken us to the brink of a Europe healed and whole -- a Europe brave and free. Yours was the light that led us out of the Cold War -- out of its chill winter of darkness and sorrow.

The world marvels with you at the start of ~~this new decade~~. ~~At the start of~~ this New World. A wonderfully optimistic phrase coined first by your own brilliant composer <sup>And</sup> Dvorak. We have seen this New World born amid shouts of joy and triumph. Born full of hope, barreling with confidence toward a new century. In Poland it took about 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 town squares <sup>this</sup> ~~like this one~~ with others like Budapest's Kossuth Square, and xxx Square in Gdansk. A <sup>new</sup> ~~new~~ revolution that linked people fueled by

bravery, defiance, and by humanity's essential quest for freedom.

Your cheers for last year's "freedom trains" were for more than just those trains. You <sup>have</sup> celebrated <sup>an</sup> entire movement which was carrying the tyrannized and disheartened to 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."

~~In this past year of political transformation, you've accomplished yeoman's duty.~~ Now the challenge is to continue <sup>to move</sup> forward.

From revolution to renaissance. Toward a new Europe in which each nation and every culture can flourish and breathe free.

Your magnificent country is at <sup>this</sup> ~~the~~ threshold ~~of a new era.~~ And it stands there not alone, but with the rest of this continent. I speak for all Western leaders when I say that the Atlantic alliance stands ~~there~~ with you. We will continue to be part of your nation's -- and Europe's -- democratic rebirth. And the creation of a new Atlantic partnership of shared values.

A partnership inspired by the words of your great Comenius: "We are all citizens of one world, we are all of one blood. Let us have but one end in view, the welfare of humanity." <sup>If there is one --</sup> We must <sup>emerge from</sup> look beyond our own borders, to true global partnership. ~~No~~ ~~country can be isolated today.~~ The situation in the Gulf <sup>teaches us this hard lesson.</sup> ~~demonstrates this.~~ <sup>It brings home to anyone</sup> ~~With what you've suffered,~~ you understand how critical it is for the nations of the world to come to the aid of Kuwait. To defend the oppressed as they throw off the yoke of tyranny which no man has the right to impose on another.

We know that Czechoslovakia was one of the first nations to endorse sanctions. We know how hard the ramifications have 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 know, when I thought back to events in this square a year ago, I recalled the image of many of you pulling on a rope. Well, today, all nations must pull together, united, on the rope of survival.

When I spoke a little while ago to your Parliament, I said we <sup>P</sup>knew this is a difficult time for you. 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 can also always draw on us. Your friends.

For our countries share a past. We share a vision. We share a dream. A dream that became the torch held <sup>with</sup> by our Statue of Liberty. A dream that is reflected in the soft <sup>glow</sup> ~~shades~~ of candle wax in this square. And above all, we share friendship. A friendship described by Masaryk 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.

<sup>To your Parliament</sup>  
~~Earlier today~~, I outlined specific steps America will take to help. We know it will not be easy for you. But as we look together at this site of vigils and martyrs, we know that nothing

has ever been easy for the brave and resilient Czechs and Slovaks. Yet you have always succeeded with brilliant resolve.

I look forward to working with my friend Vaclev Havel, and all of you, as we embark on a new passage in <sup>our</sup> ~~the~~ history of ~~our~~ ~~special bond~~. A unique <sup>new</sup> ~~bond~~ that traces back over four decades to the partnership between Masaryk and Wilson. ~~Back to your~~ magnificent Declaration of Independence, inspired by Wilson's principles of liberated mankind -- of equality of nations -- and of governments deriving ~~all~~ their ~~just~~ powers from the consent of the governed. ~~A splendid legacy for both our nations.~~

*Pr. Wilson*  
*the father of the new world*

I'm here today on a pilgrimage that began 7 decades ago with Woodrow Wilson. I'm honored to be the President who finally completes this journey, confirming the ~~peace and~~ brotherhood between your people and mine. I only wish I <sup>ever</sup> had time to visit Bratislava. <sup>for</sup> My heart is ~~also~~ touched by an image from the city of Comenius -- thousands of people marching two years ago with their candles. I want to tell them I share the pain of how their quiet, gentle call for religious freedom was met by brutality.

So it is to all citizens of this country that I speak from this stunningly beautiful city. ~~As a symbol of our continuing pledge of friendship -- I have a very special gift to present to you.~~ Masaryk wrote in the Declaration of Independence: "The forces of darkness have served the victory of light. The longed-for age of humanity is dawning." We rejoice with you that this age of humanity has now finally dawned in your splendid country.

← To commemorate your magnificent victory, your American

brothers and sisters want to return Masaryk's words to their  
rightful home -- and their rightful heirs. President Havel, on  
behalf of the American people I <sup>Thomas very kind got for</sup> give to the Czechoslovakian  
people, <sup>precious</sup> a precious document. <sup>It</sup> It has waited in America's National  
Archives seven decades for this moment. I present to you  
Masaryk's Declaration of Independence. God Bless Czechoslovakia!

# # # #

If there is one image I would want you to take with you from today's event in your historic Wenceslas Square, it is this. We need a new world vision. Inspired by your example, inspired by your sacrifice in the face of whose lives inspire us and whose

(Hinchliffe/Grossman)  
November 9, 1990 1 p.m.  
HAVEL

**PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: GATHERING IN WENCESLAS SQUARE**  
**→ November 17, 1990**

→ Thank you, my friends, my brothers and sisters of the heart. I'm thrilled to be with you in this extraordinary place; at this extraordinary moment -- to celebrate your extraordinary miracle.

I'm powerfully moved by this 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 that's proof that it is Prague spring.

I will never forget this moment. I wasn't present during the horrifying and the wondrous events that have unfolded in this almost mythical square. And yet the passion of your struggle has imprinted vivid images in my heart. Now I'm finally here in Wenceslas Square. Now I stand in the spiritual heart of Prague and of Czechoslovakia and of all Europe -- and I see this sacred site for myself. And I'm overwhelmed by the spirit and the pride and the strength of the magnificent Czech and Slovak peoples.

I look behind me and see the statue of your murdered Saint Wenceslas, who died at 22. I look out into the powerful depths of this square and -- as clearly as if I had been here -- I can see other young men who've given their lives for Czechoslovakian nationalism. Jan Hus, his statue nearby. Jan Opletal, killed by the Nazis in a student demonstration. Jan Palach, sacrificing himself 30 years later, for the same cause. And Martin Smid.

And I can also feel incredible power here. I can imagine bells tolling and keys clanging and voices singing in proud de-

(Hinchliffe/Grossman)  
November 9, 1990 1 p.m.  
SQUARE

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

Thank you -- my brothers and sisters of the heart. It's thrilling to be with you in this extraordinary place -- at this extraordinary moment -- celebrating your extraordinary miracle.

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 -- but the heart in every heart, and that's proof that it is Prague spring.] ?

I will never forget this moment. I wasn't present to see the horrifying and the wondrous events that have unfolded in this almost mythical square. And yet the passion of your struggle has imprinted vivid images in my heart. Now I am finally here. Here in Wenceslas Square. \\ Now I stand in the spiritual heart of Prague -- of Czechoslovakia -- of all Europe -- seeing it for myself. And I am overwhelmed by the spirit and the pride and the strength of the magnificent Czech and Slovak peoples.

I look behind me and see the statue of your murdered Saint Wenceslas, who died at 22. I look out into the (powerful) depths of this square and I can see -- as clearly as if I had been here -- other young men who've given their lives for Czechoslovakian nationalism. Jan Hus. Jan Opletal. Jan Palach. Martin Smid.

And I can also feel incredible power here. I can imagine the bells tolling and the keys clanging and the voices singing in proud collective defiance and celebration. October 28, 1918. <sup>The fall of 1939.</sup> September 1939. November 17, 1939. March 1945.

giving a reference  
to anguish...

2

And of course the {anguish of August 1968.} Your dreams so long held. Your spirit so unquenchable. Our respect so immense.

use for  
84 { Students streamed into this square, answering Comenius' call to follow "The Way of Light." } Only to be met with barbaric totalitarianism that broke the world's heart. { We wept for them. We wept for you. } Yet when you followed that same way of light and returned again and again with candles to the site of the martyred -- we knew then that "the truth will win."

wax And we watched as the brave lights of your {little} candles came to symbolize to the world the unquenchable Czechoslovakian pride. { When I finally arrived in this emotion-drenched square, the first thing I looked for was the candle wax. } Mounds of it, from the thousands of candles left here over the last 23 years.

church And then I saw this church, Mary of the Snow, overlooking the square. And I thought of what happens at its Easter midnight service. The priest brings a candle from the altar into the unbroken darkness of the church. 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 -- my Czech and Slovak friends -- 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." As I stand here in this sacred spot I am taken back a year to the 50th anniversary of November 17. I can almost see the thousands of people in the cold -- facing police on a night of fury unleashed

and of dreams coalesced. I think of the blood that stained Narodni Street. But I also think of your miraculous peacefulness. Of the crowd that swelled day by day in numbers and in resolve. Of a few candles that grew into a blaze. Of this square alive with the explosion of dreams too long deferred. And of the words of your leader that became "the axe for the frozen sea inside you." - people?

I can feel this so clearly because it touched us so deeply. You rekindled in us ideals we had perhaps begun to take for granted. And as this square gave birth to your "era of freedom," we rejoiced as if it the victory were our own.

We rejoiced that our Czech and Slovak brothers and sisters had, at long last, the most essential freedom of all. The freedom to dream. You inherited a legacy rich in vision. A legacy you ennobled by your own gentle revolution. A legacy embodied by two legendary 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 Vaclev Havel. My friend. A man of warmth, compassion, wisdom, and tremendous moral courage. He blesses the lives he touches and the country he leads. His life is a tribute to the difference one man can make. In the dark years, on one side stood the state. On the other -- Vaclev 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. On this side 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."

For all of you inspired the movement which in one incredible year has taken us to the brink of a Europe healed and whole -- a Europe intrepid and free. Yours was the light that led us out of the Cold War -- out of its chill winter of darkness and sorrow.

The world marvels with you at the start of this New World -- a wonderfully optimistic phrase coined first by your own brilliant composer, Dvorak. We have seen this New World born amid shouts of joy and triumph. Born full of hope, barreling with confidence toward a new century. In Poland it took about 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 town square with others like Budapest's Kossuth Square, and ~~xxx~~ Gdansk Square in Gdansk. A revolution that linked 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."

Your magnificent country is at the threshold of a new era. And it stands there not alone, but with the rest of this continent. Now the challenge is to continue to move forward.

Now, with the division of E. ending →  
~~Now, after~~

5

From revolution to renaissance. Toward a new Europe in which each nation and every culture can flourish and breathe free. I speak for all Western leaders when I say that the Atlantic alliance stands with you. We will continue to be part of your nation's -- and Europe's -- democratic rebirth. And the creation of a new Atlantic partnership of shared values.

A partnership inspired by the words of your great Comenius: "We are all citizens of one world, we are all of one blood. 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 this: We must look beyond our own borders, to true global partnership. The situation in the Gulf teaches us this harsh lesson. Perhaps more than anyone, you in Czechoslovakia understand how critical it is for the nations of the world to come to the aid of Kuwait. To defend the oppressed as they throw off the yoke of tyranny which no man has the right to impose on another.

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. When I thought back to this square a year ago, I recalled the image of many of you pulling on a rope. Today, all nations must pull together on the rope of survival.

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 can also always draw on us.

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 of candles in this square. And above all, we share friendship. A friendship described by Masaryk 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.

I look forward to working with my friend Vaclev Havel, and all of you, as we embark on a new passage in our history -- one that traces back to your magnificent Declaration of Independence, inspired by our President Wilson's principles of liberated mankind -- of equality of nations -- and of governments deriving their powers from the consent of the governed.

I'm here today on a pilgrimage that began 7 decades ago with the partnership between Masaryk and Wilson. I'm honored to be the President who completes this journey. I only wish I had time to visit Bratislava. For my heart is touched by an image of the city of Comenius -- thousands of people marching 2 years ago with their candles. I want to tell them I share the pain of how their quiet, gentle call for religious freedom was met by brutality.

So it is to all citizens of this country that I speak from this stunningly beautiful city. Masaryk wrote in the Declaration:

"The forces of darkness have served the victory of light. The  
longed-for age of humanity is dawning." We rejoice that this age  
of humanity has now finally dawned in your splendid country.

To commemorate your triumph, your American brothers and sisters want to return Masaryk's words to their rightful home -- and their rightful heirs. President Havel, on behalf of the American people I have a very special gift for the Czechoslovakian people. A precious document that has waited in America's National Archives seven decades for this moment. I present to you Masaryk's Declaration of Independence. God Bless Czechoslovakia!

# # # #

*Emmery*

11/7/88 Czech

- Mon. Sq. - 200,000 - 1/10th of land (12-15 min.) - (simultaneous trans.?)
- freedom, history -
- 1 yr. conv. - rev. of membership - on should En. wide & free -  
conv. late beyond En. - → global principles - no cuts can be isolated (Gulf demands data) - principle so affirmed in En. should be a  
free trade, non-aggression -
- quote from Karel, late talk to Czech -
- (Gdansk would have of constant contact - station - color & action, red  
substance, they proved a pit
- 173, applause line (cut substance bit to action)
- major foreign policy speech  
(Polish Pres. - plus; Gdansk - ; Karl Marx)
- rally anywhere - went to applause & chant -
- (do legs - then re-define Rome on street?)
- Soviet - Slovaks
- economic situation (Gulf Cium hit hard - ref. remains should reflect status)
- (energy, interaction for E.E.?)
- Gulf: lay out some principles for com. and. as well - why matter to  
depend so far from home (Czech history?)
- Czech. very good on Gulf - endorse sanctions (one of 1<sup>st</sup>)
- Decl. of Ind. [mould on ours - good thing]
- restate 2 lines from document - Czech's place in world - \$ indulgence, etc.
- rename main street Wilson Station - (W. & M. neighborhood here has  
recognizable co-author of Decl.
- first summit issued in Prague - ref. to Wilson
- (E-W Sec. Situation Center - Am. w/ E.E. Board - big deal -  
one of major foreign policy centers
- reform. Rev. & Czech before;

REMARKS AT WENCESLAS SQUARE

*latest memo 3:25*

*11/9*

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.
- 9) In one of the corners of the square stands an impressive Catholic church called "Our Lady on the Snow."
- 10) The area of the present day Wenceslas Square was used in the 14th century as a horse market. It was built in its current shape in the 19th century.
- 11) During the 1989 demonstrations in Wenceslas Square, one young student carried a sign which read: "PEOPLE, STRAIGHTEN UP!"
- 12) Another student carried a sign quoting Masaryk: "JESUS, NOT CAESAR." (Expressing the wish for non-violent revolution.)

- 13) Our contact at the LOC remembers an image from the '89 protests in which demonstrators, perhaps students, were carrying a huge long rope as a symbol of the Czech saying: **"We are pulling the same rope."** The import of this saying: 'we are pulling together, we are all in the same boat and are united in our goals.'

#### 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 Battalialaon, 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 Jamestown. 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 wondrous 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

qualities of things..for the constantly progressive increase of all that makes for good to mind, body, and estate.

2)

Students lit candles during the November 17 demonstration in Wenceslas Square (the start of the "Velvet Revolution.")

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.
- 5) On 21 December 1918, in his first message to the Czechoslovak National Assembly (after returning from America), Thomas Masaryk quoted Comenius:  
"I trust the Lord that after the storms of wrath the rule over your own affairs will return to you, my people." (and Masaryk added--"The prophecy and prayer of Comenius has been fulfilled.")
- 6) "Not with violence but with love, not with <sup>the sword but with</sup> the plough, not with blood but with work, not with death but with life-- that is the answer of our Czech genius, the meaning of our history and the heritage of our great ancestors."  
--Thomas G. Masaryk, "The Czech Question"

#### 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

d - G. puber. (Spina chlora - pub.)

q - Albino (no undercoat)

c - Gulf

b - Pear (orange breast - can. 1 pair)

avoid implication that we -- more than the Czechs themselves -- are responsible for Revo.

Also: extended references to 68 draws attention to U.S.'s failure/inability to offer help....

Central point: Wenceslaus square has been <sup>gone</sup> ~~gone~~ of anguish -- and in 89 scene of triumph.

At all times -- candles imagery -- Wenceslaus has been a place of hope....

Testimony to Czech and Slovak strength of spirit.

2 weeks from now -

Let the bell sound this return

Why he's here -

- age of humanity

- rest of penthouse

Synthetic bigger ~~can~~ nature,  
stage world

- 1st Am. Pra. to come

- build upon our frontiers -

long history -

if future

~~X~~ --nothing can stop a dream "whose time has come" -- nothing can douse a light that burns on the inner fuel of ...

--extraordinarily moving honor -- I have seen pictures -- but like a site of a pilgrimage, finally here -- carrying a tradition and a message from Wilson (end: one more message carried from Wilson)

~~X~~ --Motto: The truth will win.

→ --GB EVER BEEN THERE?

--special friendship, bond, between nations:

*(scribble)* Msaryk in Dec. of Ind.: "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."

~~X~~ --1968, fateful rague Spring --

--society at the heart of Europe --

~~X~~ --your gentle, velvet revolution (find quote on gentler, kinder)

~~X~~ --Havel: "the era of freedom" -- ~~"politics is the art of the impossible"~~

(4) --Jan Palach set himself on fire 1969, to protest fear and terror. This American can tell you nothing about what that sacrifice means.

~~X~~ --cheered as "freedom trains" bearing E. German citizens pulled out of Prague least year -- more than the train that stopped in the West -- was symbol of

--square has seen wondrous moments, horrifying moments -- it is in itself the richest tapestry of your nation's strengths.

*You are the best & the most free*  
~~X~~ --a Europe healed and whole, a Europe brave and free

~~X~~ --Nov. 17, 3,000 young people in the cold, facing riot police (incividudal bravery, collective strength), for elections -- a night of fury unleashed but also of dreams coalesced.

~~X~~ --blood that stained Narodni Street -- responded with peacefulness

~~X~~ --next day, lit candles and sing anthems where students fell, crowd grow every day

--(CZECH.-AMs)

--DAN'S QUOTE?

~~✗~~ --Comenius: "We are all citizens of one world, we are all of one blood...Let us have but one end in view, the welfare of humanity." more than 300 years ago; always talked of light, "the Way of Light," the light of reason guiding man on way toward eternal truth.

~~✗~~ ~~23~~ --MASARYK: practical philosopher, believed philosophy should try to change the world, American wife; philosopher; liberated politically and intellectually; (Spark & G-Arm.)

→ --why giving this speech?

11 --for peace is more than just the absence of war

13 --a few months ago, took Havel to WH for lunch, stirring moment, up to Lincoln Bedroom, wanted to see room in which AL had signed Emancipation Proclamation -- very moving experience

~~✗~~ --think of how all these countries, these squares, linked (Kossuth Square in Budapest; xxx in Gdansk) -- and these people, by bravery and defiance, humanity's quest for freedom

→ --dramatic, emotion, moving,

~~✗~~ --1 yr. anniv., revol. transformed Europe, on threshold of Eur. whole and free

~~✗~~ --coop. look beyond Eur. to global partnership, no country can be isolated (Gulf demonstrates) -- principles so affirmed in Eur. should be -- free trade, non-aggression

→ --color, emotion, stories, no substance;; ringing applause lines

→ --rally atmosphere -- want of applause and chant

~~✗~~ --Gulf: lay out some principles for Am. aud. as well -- why matters to defend so far from home; Czech. very good on Gulf; one of first to endorse sanctions (tie in with basic rights -- standing up for oppressed, throwing off yoke of tyranny which no man has right to impose on another)

--CZECH> DECL> OF IND>

12 --rename main station Wilson Station (co-author)

~~✗~~ --Wen: murdered, saint, age 22;

~~✗~~ --PRAGUE SYMPHONY (Mozart)

~~4~~ (shulster)  
 --Charles Univ. -- 1348 -- first univ. in all central Europe

~~10~~ --in one year: major political transition from totalitarian *a major change*

~~12~~ --March 1988, Bratislava, few thousand mostly old people  
 marching with candles for ereligious freedom, brutal police  
 action

~~1~~ --Nov. 17, 1989, peaceful, approved agathering, 50th anniv. of  
 Nazi action against students turned violent, started "velvet"  
 revolution;

~~1~~ --Havel, first non-comm. presid. in more than 40 years

~~1~~ --Alexander Dubeck, legendary political figure, pres. of Fed.  
 Parl.

~~1~~ --Dvorak's "New Wordld" Symphony

~~12~~ --Iwo Jima: Mikhael Strank (SH-trank) -- son of immigrants; died  
 six days later *(Czech name)*

~~11~~ --Havel, don't let word "Peace" lose its meaning

~~7~~ --an old saying: "From anything old a new sapling must grow."

~~10?~~ --WEN> SQUARE *(bridge from 10-on bank of river)*

~~1~~ --Oct. 28, 1918, after hearing Austrian Empire fell apart, huge  
 crowds gathered to celebrate birth of independent Cz. Republic;  
 cheered Masaryk and Wilson

~~1~~ --Sept. 1939, thousands protested against Nazis

~~1~~ --Oct. 28 1939, nearby, Nazis killed Jan Opletal, student  
 demonstrating; new demonstrations led to suppression of Czech  
 univ. on Nov. 17 1939, became symbolical day for freedom-loving  
 students all over the world

~~3~~ --May 1945, end of WWII, thousands came to celebrate liberation  
 of country

~~1~~ --Aug. 68, huge crowds gathered to protest invation which crushed  
 Czech. Reform Movement

~~1~~ --Jan. 19, 1969, Jan Palach, student, set self afire in protest  
 against foreign intervention

~~1~~ --Nov. 17, 1989, demonstrations started as commeoration of  
 students revolt 40 years ago, began Czech. Velvet Revolution;

--from National Anthem: "This land of wond'rous beauty/Is the Czech land, home of mine." ... Storms must pass, sun will shine//Slovaks shall awaken."

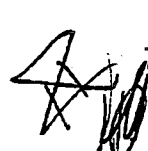
--PRAGUE SPRING:

 --Jan. 5, 1968, Alexander Dubcek became 1st Sec., tasted sweet taste of liberty -- writers, scientists, artists and students; non-violence and tolerance; invasion AUG. 21, 1968; spiritual and moral, but not physical, resistance; Dubcek removed April 18, 1969;

 --Havel: a man of warmth, openness, friendship -- and perhaps above all, a man of tremendous moral courage...your life is a tribute to the difference one man can make. On one side stood the state: on the other, Vaclav Havel. On one side, the trappings of tyranny: on the other, a man of vision, a man with the strength of his convictions, a man who even in prison was free -- free with the freedom that comes from living in truth. On this side was one man. Now there are millions.

 --You have done miraculous work. You have embodied that thrilling old saying that has always inspired me: "Whatever you can do, or dream you can, begin it. Boldness has genius, power, and magic in it."

 --Now our task is to move forward. From revolution to renaissance. Forward towards a new Europe in which each nation and every culture can flourish and breathe free.

 --Your proud, magnificent country is at the threshold of a new era. And it stands there not alone, but with the rest of this continent, poised at the beginning of true freed. I speak for all Western leaders when I say that the Atlantic alliance stands there with you. We will continue to play a vital role in assuring stability and security in Europe at this great and historic moment. We will be part of your nation -- and your continent's -- democratic rebirth. And the birth of a New World order, a new Atlantic partnership of shared values

 --I marvel and rejoice with you at the start of this new decade - this new world. Born amid shouts of joy and triumph. Born full of hope, barreling with confidence towards a new century. In Poland it took about 10 years; in Hungary, 10 months; East Germany, 10 weeks; and here in Czech., the spiritual heart of Europe -- 10 days, 10 days that shook your world and ours.

 --inspiring

--end with -- and why we're so close, our roots -- Decl., Wilson, presentation of Decl., etc.

~~X~~ --did without violence

~~X~~ --congrats. on courage, strength for freedom; look ahead to what's needed for future -- you can draw on your courage, your strength, your genius and magic -- and you can draw on us, your friends

CI 2  
Can  
know the  
heart of the  
people  
main  
Czech  
--bells --

--we stand here in the square, our hearts uplifted with soaring pride, optimism, until we are so full -- full of bells and cheers and song and light -- statues of those in memory -- Jan Hus, a few blocks away; Comenius (Bratislava);

--Masaryk and Stefanik

~~X~~ --calling for something big -- new world vision, inspired by your example -- inspired by your sacrifice in the face of brutal aggression against another member of the international community

~~X~~ -- know how hard the ramifications of Gulf crisis hitting your economy -- aggression against a country -- next door or faraway or your own -- is everybody's business. The world community united against international bullies -- no-one understands this better than you.

12 ~~X~~ --I wish I had time to visit Bratislava; refer to Czechs and Slovaks

~~X~~ --we stand in this stunningly beautiful city, in this remarkable square, we stand in solidarity and friendship and hope

12 --Radio Free Europe

--St. Wenceslas, originator of Czech nationalism -- looking down on this square where freedom was written;

~~X~~ --informal memorial to 1968, flowers, photos, 8-in. mounds of molten wax formed by 23 years of candles being burned constantly, several times wiped away, always reappeared

--exactly one year to the day;

12 ~~X~~ --MASARYK -- unique relationship over 4 decades; a spiritual bond;

~~X~~ --CZECH DECL: inspired by Wilson's principles of liberated mankind, actual equality of nations, governments deriving all their just powers from the consent of the governed

--1919, to Czech-Am. soldiers (WHERE?), Mas: "Do not forget that the same ideals, the same principles ever unite us. Do not forget us, as we shall never forget you."

--touched by message of Lincoln: "government of the people, by the people, for the people"

--CZECH: "the nation of Comenius" -- "Let us have but one end in view, the welfare of humanity"

--Havel's words -- "the axe for the frozen sea inside us"

--we are bearing witness by our presence to the struggles of the past & the hope of the future

--on my desk in the Oval Office, keep a piece of the Berlin Wall  
-- one of the very first chiseled from that horrifying affront to humanity; keep it as a reminder of the miracle which courage, strength and unity can achieve

--hope as "a thousand points of light" ablaze in the black sky

--like Easter midnight service -- priest calls "come and receive the light," brings candle from altar into unbroken blackness of church, passes flame to each worshipper's own individual candle, until the church is ablaze with flickering lights proudly shining together to defeat the dark. You are that candle. The light of your vision is spreading throughout the world

-- Our Lady of the Snow

-- 1988: rally - first candle - then the next day -

lit candles at Opletal's grave -

- in square - students placed lit candles at first police -

- Martin Smid beaten to death - candles on his grave

- 2nd day - " - held lit candles all night (1st Saturday)

-- pretty rope '88 - pretty together, in same boat & united in our goals

(Hinchliffe/Grossman)  
November 7, 1990 3:00 p.m.  
TURKEY

**PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: PRESENTATION OF THANKSGIVING TURKEY**  
**November 13, 1990**  
**Rose Garden**

I want to welcome all of you to the Rose Garden, especially Tom over there -- after everything that's been going on in Washington these past few months, it's great to finally be sharing a stage with someone I can call a turkey to his face and get away with it. Looking at him I just realized: I once said you can take broccoli and stuff it. Well, now I have a place to do just that.

But Tom's arrival wasn't without controversy -- Millie was pretty jealous of him -- at least she was until I explained he probably wouldn't be around long enough to write a book. \\

I want to assure those of you who fear that a terrible fate awaits our Tom: we've decided to spare him. He won't be subjected to questions from the Washington Press Corps, after all.\\ Listen Tom, since you come from N.C., as a re-election gift to my good friend Jesse Helms, I'm going to give you a Presidential pardon: you can spend the rest of your life at a nearby children's farm.

I'm glad to see you kids -- here's a story you can take back to your teachers. Ben Franklin was upset that the Bald Eagle was named our national symbol, because he wanted it to be the turkey. He said: "The turkey is a much more respectable bird, and...a true original native of America." I'm sure that's a sentiment Wyatt Upchurch and the National Turkey Federation would applaud.

You know, Thanksgiving's really special to me -- because it's a truly American holiday -- that sums up the good, generous

heart of this country. And it reminds us of our real American values -- the ones we just can't afford to forget. Values like deep gratitude for the rich blessings of this great land. Unselfish generosity toward those in need. And recommitment to the primary importance of family.

Abraham Lincoln -- a good man, a humble family man -- gave this holiday to our country, even in the midst of a grim war that was bringing anguish to the nation he loved. In his first Thanksgiving proclamation, this great President gently reminded his people of blessings such as fruitful fields and healthful skies. Then he said "It has seemed to me fit and proper that these should be solemnly, reverently and gratefully acknowledged as with one heart and one voice by the whole American people."

He was thinking then, as we think now, of the very first Thanksgiving. He drew his inspiration, as should we, from those Pilgrims who had suffered and lost so much -- yet who gave a day of genuine rejoicing for the little bit they did have.

How much more gratitude we, who have so much, owe today: to our God; our fellow citizens; our country; and our brave servicemen and women so far from home this holiday. I'm going to be with them on Thanksgiving Day. And I know I'll express what's in the heart of every American when I shake these young men and women's hands and embrace them and say: thank you. Thank you for standing for freedom, for the innocent, and for morality in our world. Thank you for bearing witness by your presence to the overwhelming importance of mankind's hopeful dream of a just future.

And perhaps their sacrifice will make those of us at home this Thanksgiving Day reflect even more deeply. So that when we give thanks for our freedom -- we will also think of those whose lives are measured in chains both actual and metaphorical. When we give thanks for our food -- we will think of those ravaged by hunger. When we give thanks for our future -- we will think of those who don't know hope. When we give thanks for our health -- we will think of those imprisoned by pain, illness or despair.

And we will realize that we have two obligations above all others. First: we must not take for granted the blessings of our lives. And second: for our lives to have true meaning -- we must share with others. This holiday reminds us that it's inner richness, not external wealth, by which we are measured. For Thanksgiving is not a time of the year -- but an attitude of the heart.

Thanks for coming, Tom -- God bless everyone here, your families and our servicemen and women -- and Happy Thanksgiving!

# # # #

McNally/Simon  
Sept. 6, 1990  
Draft Four (E:ARTS)

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: NATIONAL MEDAL OF THE ARTS LUNCHEON  
THE EAST ROOM  
MONDAY, SEPT. 10, 1990, 11:45 A.M.

I'm happy to have John Frohnmayer -- and, of course, Barbara -- up here to help me out. And thanks especially to our honored guests, the artists and the patrons of a special American tradition who grace us with their presence this afternoon. Welcome to the White House, and welcome to the sixth annual presentation of the National Medal of the Arts. \\\

Last year, this luncheon was held the week before Thanksgiving -- and was delayed when I got held up in the Rose Garden, doing a "photo op" with the "National Turkey." \\\\

Barbara and I awarded medals that day to some of the artistic giants of our time -- Alfred Eisenstaedt, John Updike, Katherine Dunham, and Dizzy Gillespie, among others. \\\ And with all that assembled talent, guess which one was pictured standing next to me on the news that night? \\\\ The National Turkey. \\\\ We've done a little better scheduling this year, Helsinki notwithstanding... \\\\

The people we honor today have earned a collection of awards with names that have become the world's touchstones of excellence -- names like Grammy and Oscar and Tony, the Pulitzer prize and the Kennedy Center Honors -- a collection of awards that would just about fill its own Smithsonian. But where most of these awards were aimed at honoring individual works, today we gather to salute the full body of their work, their contributions to the

NEW

## ANNUAL PRESENTATION OF THANKSGIVING TURKEY

### EVENT BACKGROUND

- 1) POTUS will participate in the 43rd annual presentation of the live Thanksgiving turkey in a Rose Garden ceremony set for 11:30 a.m., on Wednesday, November 14.
- 2) The turkey to be presented to the President was raised especially for the occasion by National Turkey Federation President Wyatt Upchurch of Raeford, North Carolina (20 other Federation members expected to attend). Upchurch is the owner and founder of Tar Heel Turkey Hatchery in Raeford. In keeping with tradition, the bird comes from the home state of the federation's president. North Carolina also happens to be the country's largest turkey producer (depending on N.C. elections returns, there might be a joke in this). If N.C. were a country, it'd be the largest turkey producing country in the world--second only to the United States. N.C. grows about 52 million birds a year..about as many turkeys consumed on Thanksgiving Day alone.
- 3) Immediately following the presentation, the live turkey will be donated to Kidwell Farm, a Fairfax County, Virginia petting zoo in Herndon. In a seperate presentation to the White House Chef, Upchurch will present two fully dressed holiday birds packaged by Jaindl Farms of Orefield, Pennsylvania.
- 4) The National Turkey Federation is an association representing all segments of the industry including growers, hatcheries, breeders and processors which account for 95% of the nation's turkey production and marketing.
- 5) Usually, the presented turkeys average about 50 pounds each.
- 6) Take care on jokes that might be seen as too sympathetic to the turkeys--you will be quoted by the animal rights crazies.

### HISTORY

- 1) January 26, 1784: A rather upset Ben Franklin wrote his daughter, "I wish the Bald Eagle had not been chosen as the Representative of our Country; he is a bird of bad moral character...The Turkey is a much more respectable Bird, and withal a true original Native of America."

- 2) The first Thanksgiving Proclamation was made by Governor Bradford three years after the Pilgrims settled at Plymouth:

"To all ye Pilgrims:

"Inasmuch as the great Father has given us this year an abundant harvest of Indian corn, wheat, peas, beans, squashes, and garden vegetables, and has made the forests to abound with game and the sea with fish and clams, and inasmuch as he has protected us from the ravages of the savages, has spared us from pestilence and disease, has granted us freedom to worship God according to the dictates of our own conscience; now I, your magistrate, do proclaim that all yea Pilgrims, with your wives and ye little ones, do gather at ye meeting house, on ye hill, between the hours of 9 and 12 in the day time, on Thursday, November ye 29th, of the year of our Lord one thousand six hundred and twenty-three, and the third year since ye Pilgrims landed on ye Pilgrim Rock, there to listen to ye pastor and render thanksgiving to ye Almighty God for all his blessings. William Bradford, Ye Governor of Ye Colony."

- 3) In 1827, Sarah J. Hale, a magazine editor in Boston, Massachusetts, began a campaign urging the adoption of a uniform day for the observance of Thanksgiving throughout the country. She wrote editorials and personal letters to the governors of all the states and also wrote to the President. Her campaign was eventually successful. On October 3, 1863, President Lincoln issued his first national Thanksgiving Proclamation, setting apart the last Thursday in November as Thanksgiving day.
- 4) In 1621 the settlers of Plymouth colony celebrated thier first harvest home with a day of thanksgiving to God for his bounty. The day was primarily a religious one, but inevitably it was also a day of family and social enjoyment. The observance of an annual day of thanksgiving first became general throughout New England. After the Revolution it spread to the Middle States, then to the West. It reached the Southern states after the Civil War. (Kind of the order of the spread of early Republicanism--no?)
- 5) Of the 102 pilgrims who had set sail on the Mayflower the previous autumn, only 51 sat down at the festive board when the first Thanksgiving dinner was held in the New World in 1621. The other 51--exactly half of the original party--lay buried on a nearby hill in unmarked graves, smoothed over in order that the Indians might not count the dreadful losses that had occurred because of disease and privation.
- 6) About 3,000 years before Thanksgiving was observed here in America, God spoke to Moses in the days when the Israelites had just escaped from Egypt. They were having their first experience in the wilderness in the Sinai. The original

proclamation from God is reported in Exodus 23:16: "Thou shalt keep the feast of harvest, the first fruits of thy labors, which thou has sown in the field: and the feast of in-gathering, which is in the end of the year, when thou hast gathered in thy labors out of the field."

#### JOKES

- 1) Some people get squeamish about raising thier own turkey for Thanksgiving, but not me. One year we bought a live turkey in January. We called him Clarence and all through the year we fed him, took him for walks, played with him. He was just like one of the family--even Millie was getting jealous. But when it came November there was no nonsense about it. We had him for Thanksgiving dinner. He sat on my right.
- 2) Inviting your relatives over for Thanksgiving dinner performs a very useful function. It eliminates loneliness, quiet..and leftovers.
- 3) I have to admit, I have a terrible time carving turkey. I'll tell you how bad it is--one year the turkey's family sued for malpractice.
- 4) It was awfully nice of you folks to bring us these turkeys all the way from North Carolina...but, you know, it really wasn't necessary...we get them sent over from Congress all the time.
- 5) There's an ongoing historical inaccuracy about that first Thanksgiving. History books tell us the Pilgrims ate wild turkeys. That isn't so. The turkeys weren't wild--until they found out what the Pilgrims had in mind.
- 6) A turkey's an old bird that strutted and got caught.
- 7) Mark Twain's comment on Thanksgiving day actually hints at the wholesale slaughter of turkeys that accompanies it, but as usual displays his wit. In Pudd'nhead Wilson's Calendar he writes: "Thanksgiving Day. Let all give humble, hearty, and sincere thanks now, but the turkeys. In the island of Fiji they do not use turkeys: they use plumbers. It does not become you or me to sneer at Fiji."
- 8) Thanksgiving has sometimes been referred to humorously as "Thanksgobble Day."
- 9) POTUS: Thanksgiving is a time of giving thanks. Personally, I am particularly thankful, that as President, I don't have to have brocolli at my Thanksgiving table. I am also thankful that I'm not a turkey.

- 10) POTUS: A couple of years back, we had to staple the poor turkey's feet to the platform. And it's not out of cruelty to animals, as some tried to allege...it was a matter of national security---the bird's security clearance hadn't come through yet.
- 11) POTUS: There was a day when these birds used to be sedated in this kind of ceremony....that of course was before the advent of mandatory drug testing.

#### QUOTES/LINES

- 1) The season of Thanksgiving is customarily the time for counting our blessings and expressing our gratitude to the source of those blessings. I think it is a good exercise for us to do this, for when we count our blessings we become more aware of how fortunate we are in our time and our place. Today I am going to be the vehicle by which still another blessing will come your way. It is the blessing of brevity, so let me get right to it.
- 2) "A French proverb tells us: 'Gratitude is the heart's memory.' And so it is. For when we are thankful, we are thinking not only of blessings of the immediate present, but also of good things received in the past. Especially is this so at Thanksgiving."  
--Esther Burkholder
- 3) "It is good that we should set aside a day in each year for Thanksgiving, but it would be better if we gave thanks every day. For the absence of thankfulness does not mean that we are merely ungrateful--it means that we are missing the thrill of appreciation and pleasure. There seems to me no greater misfortune than having so much that all of it becomes meaningless; than wanting what you haven't, rather than what you have. Seven of the wisest words I know are, 'Only those are rich who desire little.'"  
--Channing Pollock
- 4) His heart wrung with anguish over the suffering and death of so many Americans on the battlefields of the Blue and Gray, President Abraham Lincoln still found much to thank Almighty God for in the grim October days of 1863, in a Thanksgiving Day Proclamation that has significance and meaning for all of us today. He said:  
"The year that is drawing to its close has been filled with the blessings of fruitful fields and healthful skies. To these bounties, which are so constantly enjoyed that we are prone to forget the source from which they come, others have been added which are of so extraordinary a nature that they cannot fail to penetrate and soften the heart which is habitually

insensible to the ever watchful providence of Almighty God..

"Needful diversions of wealth and strenght from the fields of peaceful industry to the national defense have not arrested the plow, the shuttle, or the ship...Population has steadily increased..

"No human counsel hath devised, nor hath any mortal hand worked out these great things. They are the gracious gifts of the Most High God, who, while dealing with us in anger for our sins, hath nevertheless remembered mercy..

"It has seemed to me fit and proper that they should be solemnly, reverently, and gratefully acknowledged as with one heart and one voice by the whole American people...by a day of Thanksgiving and praise to our beneficent Father who dwelleth in the Heavens...."

- 5) "It is a good thing to give thanks unto the Lord."  
--Psalms 92:1
- 6) "Heap high the board with plenteous cheer,  
and gather to the feast,  
And toast the sturdy Pilgrim band  
whose courage never ceased."  
--Alice Williams Brotherton, "The First  
Thanksgiving Day."
- 7) "The earth has rolled around again and harvest time is here,  
The glory of the seasons and the crown of all the years."  
--Carolyn Wells, "The Meaning of Thanksgiving  
Day," 1922.

#### TURKEY FUN FACTS

- 1) When astronauts Neil Armstrong and Edwin Aldrin sat down to their first meal on the moon, their foil food packets contained roast turkey.
- 2) Heaviest turkey: National Turkey Fedration records indicate that, in 1967, Jerome Foods raised a 75-pound turkey.
- 3) Tom is a general male name which has been given to the mail turkey.
- 4) The country with the highest per capita consumption of turkey is Israel, averaging 28 pounds a person annually. Because red meat in Israel is limited and high priced, turkey is a more attractive buy.

- 5) The turkey, *Meleagris gallopavo*, has a truly venerable history in America. A true native American, the wild turkey has been roaming the Americas for an estimated 10 million years.
- 6) Despite their stocky stature and what some may consider to be homely feet, wild turkeys can fly short distances at up to 55 mph and run at 25 mph.
- 7) During the Civil war, turkeys were sent to the Union troops for Thanksgiving as part of thier rations.
- 8) President Lincoln's son Tad had a pet turkey that roamed the White House grounds---there's got to be a good Millie connection there.

Spirit of Speech

Color

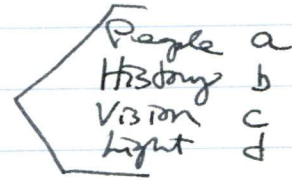
Candles

Bees

Simultaneous

Czech & Slovaks

CZECH.



- 2 History of Square ~~Prague~~
- 1 Physical square
- 3 Eastern
- 4 1968
- 5 Independent Czechs (spirit - RFE)
- 6 1989 - Europe
- 11 Future (goals) - Great example to the world (Communist); peace;  
- spent 12 challenges (policy)
- 8 Dubcek
- 9 Havel
- 7 Vision

~~Prague~~

~~India~~ Prague Spring

- 13 Concl. - Pilgrimage since Wilson - why were so close - Decl.
- 10 Present (look back on history)  
(Em. on birth of future)
- 12 Inspiration (lead into Cz - USA relat. - spirit - Wilson? two Jews?)  
~~Concl. why were so close~~

1<sup>st</sup> trip - image before me

Beth - OK?  
Would you think

(Smith/Garmey)  
November 7, 1990  
A.M.  
PRAGUE

Curt

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: EMBASSY GREETING  
PRAGUE, CZECHOSLOVAKIA  
SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 18, 1990

I am delighted to be the first American President to visit Czechoslovakia, and to have the chance to meet you. One of Shirley Temple's greatest films was titled, "Stand Up and Cheer." Madame Ambassador -- friends -- that's what Barbara and I would like to do for you today. /

From my experience in China, I know there is no more dedicated and loyal group of people than the men and women -- American and foreign -- who staff our Embassies. Over the years, that duty and sacrifice haven't changed. But so much else in Czechoslovakia has.

Think of the extraordinary events I call the Revolution of '89. And of the renewal of the Czech Nation -- a Nation you know, and love. Think of its economic liberalization, and political democratization. And how you've shared -- and shaped -- a triumph for the freedoms with which God has blessed America.

I mean equal protection under the law. The freedom to choose our leaders and our destinies. The freedom to work where we want, and worship as we please. The freedom to dress or think differently -- or listen to different music. // President Havel, for instance, likes The Rolling Stones. I told him I'll listen to "Tumbling Dice" if he'll try Randy Travis. // These freedoms

-- and many more -- now link the people of Czechoslovakia with the peoples of the world. //

Perhaps the world's most famous playwright put it best when he said, "The only genuine backbone of all our actions is responsibility." Vaclev Havel was right. // As he was a decade ago when he asked Czechs to remain in this country. "Only by staying here," he said, "and struggling here can we ever hope to change things." //

Like every Czech, you embody the responsibility which helped this gallant Nation become a light unto the world. Coming here - - and staying here -- to proclaim the individual, not the State, as the voice of tomorrow.

For that, I thank you. And let me close by recalling an unforgettable event. / For years, Czech police chased Christmas carolers from Prague's Kings Road. Yet last December, the cold night of Charles Bridge echoed with young voices. Their carols warmed the heart of the city. There was wonder in the air. //

You helped make that moment possible. A moment millions had despaired of ever seeing. Just as you are helping build stronger Czech-American ties through your heart, and through your dreams.

In closing, let me say again how much we appreciate your support. Thank you, and God bless the United States of America.

# # # #

NOTES ON CZECHOSLOVAKIA:

~~10~~ CEZH: bridge between East and West

~~X~~ --1989 Civic Forum (gentle revolution) -- roots in human rights activism and Public Without Violence (bureaucratic reform and civil liberties)

(5) --1977, Charter 77

~~X~~ --Nov. 1989, protests of police brutality, period of rapid changes culminated in new, noncommunist gov. and Havel; work began in earnest on democratic political reform

~~X~~ --series of peaceful demonstrations, imprisoned human rights activists inc. Havel; *VEZVET-GENTLE*

~~X~~ --strong industrial tradition

~~X~~ --greatest hurdle: economic reform

~~X~~ --goal: expanded trade with West

~~X~~ --to increase enterprise autonomy, efficiency and productivity

--Wilson's 14 Points, worked with Masaryk in developing

~~X~~ --Cold War was a cold winter of darkness, of sorrow, of dream deferred; of totalitarian power and breakdown of European order

? → --HISTORY OF SQUARE; HISTORY OF CANDLES, LIGHT; (lightness of being) NATIONAL FESTIVALS -- HOW OLD SQUARE IS,

~~X~~ --IS THERE A CHURCH ON SQUARE? WHAT RELIGION?

~~X~~ --now free to dream

~~X~~ --dreams in the hands and hearts of a truly great man -- a man of vision, wisdom ...

~~X~~ Czechs. and Americans share ...  
~~X~~ and most of all, share a past ...

~~X~~ --speaking before your Parliament, I outlined steps Am. will take ... it will not be easy ... but as we look at this site of vigils and martyrs, know never been easy ...

~~X~~ --our peoples share a dream, a dream that became the torch carried by Lady Liberty ... a dream reflected in the candle wax in this square ... (Quote GB on freedom or something)

→ || --It is in your power to ... It is in your power to do this ...  
It is in our power ...

11/6 Mtg w/ Chriss

17th

18th

19 or 20th

CITRECK → GERMANY → PARIS(?) → S. ARABIA → CAIRO

① Wenceslas - brief, but emotional,  
much local color

- see Curt's for Koshut Jr  
- " McNally for Golanok

- expecting as many as 100,000  
attendees

② Kennedy Ctr Writers

- see last year's

- little blurb on each one

Hutchinson

17-06 Nov 1988  
and 18 Nov 1988

Czech

Legislation is before (Czechoslovak)

1. Kundera's Square 15 min

- more like Gdansk

- NSC Bob Hutchins

- Not a policy speech

(Do policy in legislature?)

2. Good quotes from Havel

- Good Czechs & Hungarians to look back to

During the war, it was used to say: "We are the Czechs and Slovaks" - also used to say: "We are the Czechs and Slovaks" - also used to say: "We are the Czechs and Slovaks"

3. Look for Gdansk

When - main square in Prague, people

4. Lib of Ceng ask for an incident in the hist of Czech/Am Rel as U.S.

that speaks of the endurance of the Czech people on the spec meaning of the faith in that rel.

- wife was American - visited Am 4 times - last stay in 1978

5. Maybe later Theater - where Revolution started

Street symbolism

6. Lib of Ceng: anecdotes or stories on quotes about the Czech spirit;

the Czech thirst for freedom

7. NSC (Narrative) Indicators

② Sensitive issue is CG:

### SLOVAKS

- Slovaks vs. Czechs
- Without fanning the flames of Slovak nationalism, we want to show that POTUS understands they ~~also~~ have a sep culture

### EC SIT

- Pres should show that he understands how hard the dep. of Gulf oil has hit Czech

- Thank you for your sacrifice

- There are some parallels between Czech + Kuwait

in '58

- The point that: aggression against a faraway country is everybody's business

- In a way, these are lines that we are playing to American audiences

\* We really want to give part of the speech to the oil

⑧ Two Cigarettes  
 Declaration of Independence  
 -- they to show some

1918 1st year when they  
 were part of Austro-Hungary

⑨ Any way to Wilson last miss  
 because "we are the 1st  
 world leader to recognize  
 Czeck

He's regarded as having  
 given Czeck its money  
 - mentioned in Prague Declaration

⑩ will increase the Czeck to 2-10  
 Security Studies in a Czeck  
 outside of Prague

- will be one of many for  
 for Czeck in Europe  
 And only one in 2

⑪ Paris & Warsaw get along now well  
 - that will go back before Paris

Date: 11-7-90**FACSIMILE COVER PAGE****TO**

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1 of 3 pages (includes cover page)

WENCESLAUS SQUARE  
Brief History

1) On 28 October 1918, after hearing that the Austrian Empire fell apart, huge crowds celebrated on WS the birth of independent Czechoslovak Republic. They cheered Thomas Masaryk and Woodrow Wilson.

2) In September 1939 thousands protested here against the Munich diktat, e. i. 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.

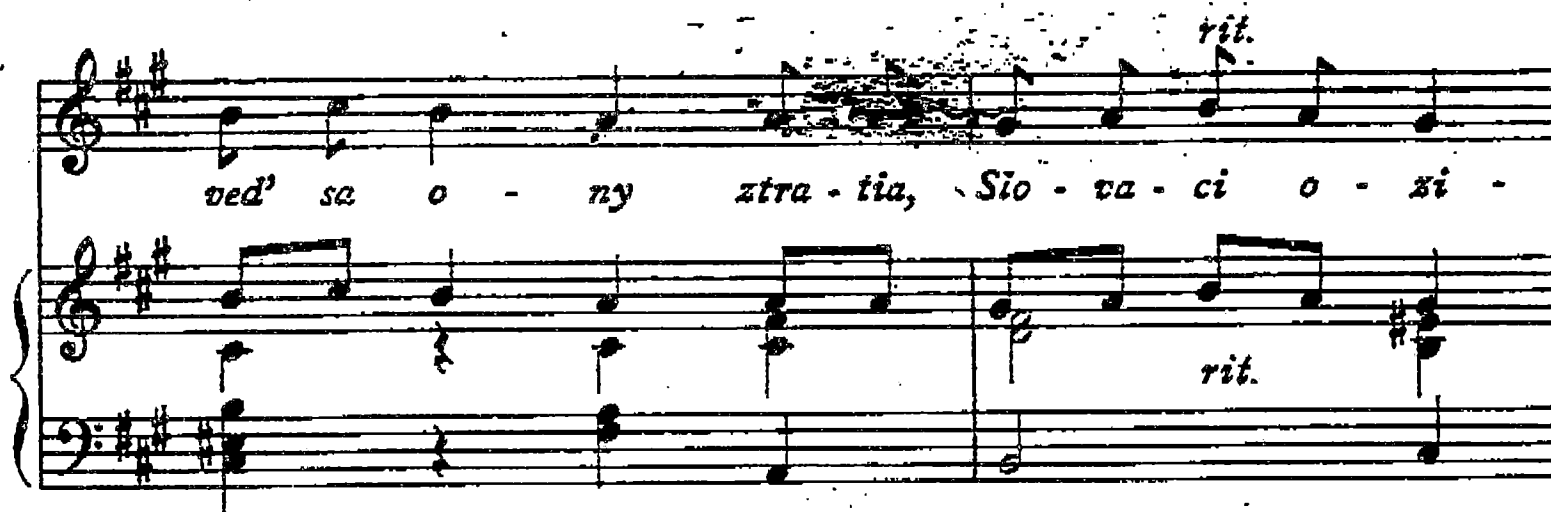
7) On 19 January 1969 the student Jan Palach set himself afire in the WS and sacrificed his life in protest against foreign intervention.

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  
One Example

Masaryk and Woodrow Wilson were called "liberators" in the first proclamation of the revolutionary Czechoslovak National Council to the people issued on 28 October 1918. The passage reads:

"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."



### Translation

#### Part 1

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.

Czech  
Part

#### Part 2

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.

Slovak  
Part

Czechoslovak National Anthem