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November 7, 1990

MEMORANDUM FOR CHRISS WINSTON

FROM:

BOB SIMON *BS*

SUBJECT:

PRAGUE SPEECHES

General

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

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ADDRESS TO FEDERAL ASSEMBLY

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

ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE IN WENCESLAS SQUARE

The address should be 5-8 minutes on cards. Translation will be consecutive. The site is directly in front of the statue of St. Wenceslas on his horse. Directly in front of the stage is the informal memorial created by the people to commemorate those slain by Soviet tanks in the Square in 1968. Fresh flowers and photos of the martyrs lay on a circle of bare ground about 15 feet in diameter. Surrounding the photos are 8 inch mounds of molten wax formed by 23 years of candles being burned more or less constantly. Several times the memorial was wiped away in 68, only to reappear. Eventually, the communists gave up trying to eliminate it. (Check this.)

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

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

EMBASSY GREETING

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

GENERAL

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

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

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much of Prague and is also clearly visible from the Castle where the President's office is. Over the last 40 years, it was both a source of hope for the citizens and a thorn in the side of the Communist rulers as Old Glory flew on the second highest hill in Prague.

#### GERMANY UPDATE

Disregard my note yesterday about the German schedule changing. According to Keller, nothing has changed and we are still doing the brief remarks in Speyer.

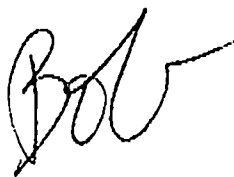
#### PARIS

Paris is very expensive but beautiful. Saw the Arc de Triomphe last night and went up in the Eiffel Tower. I'm not impressed by much anymore, but the Eiffel Tower is really cool, especially at night. Today, we go to Versailles. That should be great.

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

The President's schedule consists of a lot of plenary sessions of the CSCF, treaty signings and bilaterals. On the 1st day, there is lunch at Elysee Palace. On the 2nd night, a dinner at Versailles. Unless you are still writing for Saudi Arabia, I would estimate quite a bit of free time while in Paris. (The dollar is dropping; buy your francs now!)

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

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

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

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 helped shape -- a triumph for the freedoms with which God has blessed America.

I mean, of course, freedom of expression. Equal protection under the law. The freedom to choose our leaders and our destinies. To work where we want, and worship as we please. / Freedoms some have died for -- and we must live for. // The freedom to dress differently, or listen to different music. //

President Havel, for instance, likes The Rolling Stones. I told him I'll listen to "Dumbling Dice" if he'll try Randy Travis. // All these freedoms -- so 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 that responsibility. You came here -- you stayed 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 event which showed how freedom can be a light unto the world. For years, Czech police chased 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.

# Havel: A leader with principles

By TRUDY RUBIN

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When Czechoslovakian President Vaclav Havel invited the Tibetan Dalai Lama to meditate with him in Prague early this month, the Chinese protested bitterly. They threatened to cancel two pricey nuclear power plants on order from the Czechs. Also at risk was the supply of cotton underwear in Czechoslovakia, which is all imported from China.

But Havel never stopped to consider realpolitik as in the George Bush approach of appeasing China's despots or whether Czechoslovakian voters might object to losing their supply of cotton briefs. He thought that inviting the Nobel Peace Prize winner was the right thing to do, so he plunged ahead. "If the Chinese republic is not satisfied with this explanation," he said, "I'm sorry."

Whimsy? Perhaps. It was one of the more far-out gestures by the playwright-philosopher turned president during two months in office that have witnessed a constant flouting of convention. But in a small country, whose difficult history has endowed its citizens with a relish for the absurd in literature and in life, this was much more than a political joke.

The Dalai Lama episode was part of a concerted effort by Havel to inject, by example, a new kind of politics into a world where the old politics of ideology is fading. He is a man with a mission, which he laid out in his New Year's Day address. He wants Czechoslovakia, a country of 16 million about the size of New York state, to introduce a new element into European and global politics. He wants his country's politics to be based on morality. He wants Prague to become "the spiritual center of Europe."

This moral focus has produced a flurry of proposals, some substantial, some deliciously symbolic. Last month, Havel's foreign minister promised to end Czechoslovakia's lucrative arms-export trade (although officials have since qualified that to "limiting" exports). Then Havel demanded that the Soviet Union withdraw its 75,000 troops from Czechoslovakia, prompting Poland and Hungary to ask for the same (negotiations are still going on).

Havel has made clear his long-

*He wants  
Czechoslovakia  
to become the  
"spiritual center  
of Europe."*

range vision is of a Europe where both superpowers have called all their boys home, divisions are ended and neither NATO or the Warsaw Pact exists. He speaks of a new, pan-European security structure that embraces everyone, including a united Germany, with some links both to America and to a democratic Soviet Union. The details are vague, and the idea makes the Bush administration nervous. But Havel may well be the prophet of the new Europe.

What clearly delights him the most is the symbolic gesture that illuminates his humane politics of justice and reconciliation. He caused a stir at home when he apologized to the Germans who were driven out of Czechoslovakia after World War II. He made a telling point to Moscow when he sent, as the new Czechoslovakian ambassador, the son of a Jewish communist who was executed in a Moscow-inspired show trial in Prague in 1952.

His speeches bear no resemblance to the usual political rhetoric. They are full of admonitions that individuals must take responsibility for their lives. The slight, sandy-haired Czech leader, admired John Lennon, consults with rock oldie Frank Zappa and hates wearing ties. And he has an entourage of artists and writers, many with long hair resonating of the '60s. But no one snickered on Capitol Hill when he urged a joint session of Congress on Wednesday "to put morality ahead of politics."

Is this serious? Has Prague's "velvet revolution" turned into the "naive revolution"? Can a small country in the heart of central Europe afford to have a witty, moral foreign policy?

Can a shy president, who rides a children's scooter along the hallways of the ancient castle that houses his offices, really teach others how to live?

I can say only this. There is a reason people listen to Havel. He is no hippy, nor is he a pedagogue or a scold. They listen because Havel has paid so dearly for his right to offer advice, by never wavering from his principles, never abandoning friends, by spending five years in jail.

People also listen because Havel is authentic. He holds no finger to the wind, uses no fancy speechwriters, hasn't even learned to look at a TelePrompTer. The author of brilliant political essays, in a country where writers have often led political rebellion, he writes every word of his eloquent speeches himself.

And they listen because he is modest. If there were any hint of self-importance, his moral admonitions would sound preachy. But he starts from the premise that he and his countrymen have responsibilities that they have shirked. He feels guilty because Czechoslovakia didn't fight the Nazis in 1938 or the Soviets in 1968, and its people never revolted in the streets like the Hungarians or Poles. But he thinks that their suffering and their nonviolent revolution from below give Czechs a unique vantage point from which "we can remind Europe of its own legacy" of individual responsibility for the common good.

Without Havel, no one could take such a staggering agenda seriously. But because of his moral standing and his genius with words, Havel can offer ideas that other statesmen wouldn't dream of suggesting. And because Czechoslovakia is small, and not situated astride any critical geopolitical crossroads, it may be able to take initiatives that other European countries cannot.

Havel, who seems likely to run again for president, may soon be immersed in the kind of messy campaign politics that makes it difficult to stay above the fray. But no one can remove from him the aura that comes from having lived by his principles for 20 years. As he said to Congress, about the reason he so respects the writings of Thomas Jefferson, "What gave meaning to the [words] was that the author backed [them] up with his life."

Trudy Rubin is a member of The Inquirer's Editorial Board.

# Havel's 'Paradoxical' Plea: Help Soviets

## Czech Addresses Joint Meeting of Congress

By THOMAS L. FRIEDMAN  
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Feb. 21 — President Vaclav Havel of Czechoslovakia told a joint meeting of Congress today that the best way the United States could aid his country and the rest of Eastern Europe in their quest for freedom was by helping the Soviet Union navigate the "immensely complicated" road to democracy.

In advice he acknowledged was a bit unusual coming from a longtime victim of Soviet domination, Czechoslovakia's playwright-turned-President told the gathering of Representatives, Senators and Cabinet members, "I often hear the question: How can the United States of America help us today? My reply is as paradoxical as the whole of my life has been: You can help us most of all if you help the Soviet Union on its irreversible but immensely complicated road to democracy."

### World Stands to Profit

The sooner and the more peacefully the Soviet Union begins to move toward genuine political pluralism and a market economy, Mr. Havel added, "the better it will be not just for Czechs and Slovaks, but for the whole world."

"And the sooner you yourselves will be able to reduce the burden of the military budget borne by the American people," he said. "To put it metaphorically: the millions you give to the East today will soon return to you in the form of billions in savings."

Mr. Havel's hourlong speech, which he said he wrote himself in an afternoon, was greeted by five standing ovations and repeated shouts of "Bravo!" from the standing-room-only crowd, which included the Czechoslovak-born tennis star Martina Navratilova and the film director Milos Forman. He responded with shy nods and a single, stiff V-for-victory sign.

### Toward the Family of Man

At one point he practically apologized to his audience of professional politicians, saying: "I have not attended any schools for presidents. My only school was life itself."

Mr. Havel's speech was essentially a personal reflection on how the cold war can be replaced by "an era in which all of us — large and small — former slaves and former masters — will be able to create what your great President Lincoln called the family of man."

Throughout, his audience sat in rapt attention, with Czechs in the visitors gallery occasionally wiping away tears and Mr. Havel's aides drinking in the scene with that mixture of pride and bemusement that has characterized their rapid odyssey from prison cell to presidential castle.

"When they arrested me on Oct. 27, I was living in a country ruled by the most conservative Communist Government in Europe, and our society slumbered beneath the pall of a totalitarian system," Mr. Havel began, speaking in his native Czech and having an interpreter translate each paragraph. "Today, less than four months later, I am speaking to you as the representative of a country that has set out on the road to democracy. It is all very strange indeed."

But the 53-year-old Mr. Havel, Czechoslovakia's first non-Communist President since 1948, quickly added that he had come to the halls of Congress to speak not about his life but rather about his times.

"The human face of the world is changing so rapidly that none of the familiar political speedometers are adequate," he said. "We playwrights, who have to cram a whole human life or an entire historical era into a two-hour play, can scarcely understand this rapidity ourselves."

He then sought to explain why the changes taking place in Eastern Europe should be of concern to people around the globe. With the Soviet Ambassador, Yuri V. Dubinin, sitting alongside other diplomats in the audience, Mr. Havel observed that in the last century, when the United States was making "enormous strides," the Soviet Union was transforming "the enormous sacrifices of its people under totalitarian rule into a strength that, after World War II, made it the second most powerful nation in the world."

"It was a country that rightly gave people nightmares, because no one knew what would occur to its rulers next and what country they would decide to conquer and drag into their sphere of influence. All of this taught us to see the world in bipolar terms, as two enormous forces, one a defender of freedom, the other a source of nightmares."

### Europe's Search for Identity

But now, said Mr. Havel, this bipolar world is breaking down, with the "first act in this remarkable drama" opening with the changes initiated by President Mikhail S. Gorbachev of the Soviet Union.

In light of these changes, Mr. Havel said, Czechoslovakia is returning to Europe and Europe itself is beginning to seek its own identity again "without being compelled to be a divided army any longer."

Mr. Havel said he understood that for logistical and political reasons Mr. Gorbachev could not pull his 75,000 troops out of Czechoslovakia overnight, but added, "Nevertheless, we would like to have as many Soviet units as possible moved out of our country before the elections." These are scheduled for June.

As for the future of NATO and the Warsaw Pact, Mr. Havel insisted that he was not calling for their dissolution

tomorrow, but simply arguing that Europe has to eventually assume responsibility for its own security and stability.

### Responsibility Above All

The second half of Mr. Havel's address was more of a philosophical meditation on the role of intellectuals in shaping the new Europe.

"A person who cannot move and live a somewhat normal life because he is pinned under a boulder has more time to think about his hopes than someone who is not trapped this way," he said. "What I'm trying to say is this: We must all learn many things from you, from how to educate our offspring, how to elect our representatives, all the way to how to organize our economic life so that it will lead to prosperity and not to poverty. We too can offer something to you, our experience and the knowledge that has come from it."

The specific wisdom he was referring to, Mr. Havel said, is what he and his colleagues have learned from fighting totalitarianism: that "the salvation of this human world lies nowhere else than in the human heart, in the human power to reflect, in human meekness and in human responsibility."

"The only genuine backbone of all our actions — if they are to be moral — is responsibility. Responsibility to something higher than my family, my country, my firm, my success."

### Shouldering the Burden

This, he said, is "why I ultimately decided — after resisting for a long time — to accept the burden of political responsibility."

"If the hope of the world lies in human consciousness, then it is obvious that intellectuals cannot go on forever avoiding their share of responsibility. When Thomas Jefferson wrote that 'governments are instituted among men deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed' it was a simple and important act of the human spirit. What gave meaning to that act, however, was the fact that the author backed it up with his life. It was not just his words, it was his deeds as well."

At the invitation of President Bush, Mr. Havel returned to the White House after his address to complete their talks on economic issues. On Tuesday, Mr. Bush promised Czechoslovakia freer trade arrangements and a range of new investment and economic incentives.

# Havel is that different drummer <sup>173</sup>

It isn't just that Vaclav Havel was a political prisoner a few months ago and now is president of Czechoslovakia. That's something, but it's more than that.

As Havel demonstrated again Wednesday before a joint session of Congress, he is different. Compared with the communist leaders who preceded him during more than 40 years of the Cold War, of course, he is a creature from another planet.

But neither does he sound much like other politicians from any known world. Unlike Lech Walesa, a Nobel Peace laureate and longtime leader of Poland's Solidarity, Havel, a dissident playwright, was not in the international spotlight often as he waged a quiet struggle of conscience against repression.

And where there's never been any question of Walesa's talent for and delight in leveraging every ounce of political power he could muster, Havel plays the philosopher-king, exhorting humankind to rise above its baser instincts to a more ennobling existence.

In speaking to the House and Senate, he said Americans must learn, as his country must, "how to put

morality ahead of politics, science and economics." Now that may have puzzled the congresspersons, but they sprang to their feet and applauded when he said Czechoslovakia's recent peaceful revolution gathered strength from the U.S. Constitution, the Bill of Rights and the Declaration of Independence.

"They inspire us to be citizens," he said.

Then he declared that all the years under the yoke of repression had given Czechs time to consider what really matters in life, adding that Americans could learn from his countrymen's experience.

"The salvation of this human world lies nowhere else than in the human heart, in the human power to reflect, in human meekness and human responsibility," Havel said.

What's Congress to make of him?

He didn't even ask for money. Not yet, anyway. Instead, he said the U.S. could best help Eastern Europe now by helping the Soviet Union "on its irreversible, but immensely complicated road to democracy." He's not only refreshing, he's also right.

# Czech Leader Meets Bush, Gets Pledge of Trade Aid

By JAMES GERSTENZANG  
TIMES STAFF WRITER

WASHINGTON — President Bush, meeting with Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel as part of the first trip to Washington by one of Eastern Europe's new government leaders, announced measures Tuesday to give Czechoslovakia greater access to American markets.

"The United States will be part of your nation's democratic rebirth," Bush told the visiting playwright turned president at the end of a two-hour White House meeting and lunch.

The President said that "Czechoslovakia can meet the challenges ahead" as it emerges from the Communist world to join the Western economic community.

Bush initiated steps leading to

the granting of "most favored nation" status, which would allow Czechoslovakian products to enter the United States at the lowest possible tariffs. The status is awarded to America's major trade partners.

The action is intended to put Czechoslovakia on equal trade footing with Poland and Hungary and represents a form of limited financial encouragement for the fledgling democracies of Eastern Europe.

Unlike leaders of other East European nations, however, Havel said he is not interested in outright U.S. financial aid. Rather, he said his country needs intellectual links and educational programs with the United States to bring the two nations closer together.

Bush announced that he is seeking a one-year waiver of the Jackson-Vanik Amendment, which denies most-favored-nation status to countries failing to allow free emigration or to satisfy other human rights standards.

The waiver will allow negotiations to begin immediately on a commercial trade agreement, with the expectation that a pact will be completed by the end of the spring. Approval of most-favored-nation status would follow.

When the Czechoslovak Parliament, as anticipated, passes emigration legislation doing away with controls imposed by the former Communist government, which was overthrown late last year, the Jackson-Vanik waivers would no longer be necessary.

During the 11 months ending last November, the most recent period for which figures are available, the United States imported \$78.3 million in Czech goods, far less than the \$302.6 million imported from Hungary and the \$357.2 million from Poland, according to the Commerce Department.

Other steps outlined Tuesday include the planned opening of a branch of the Export-Import Bank in Czechoslovakia, U.S. support for Prague's entry into the International Monetary Fund and World Bank, the opening of a U.S. consulate in Bratislava and the assigning of Peace Corps volunteers to Czechoslovakia to prepare instructors there to teach English.

But more important, perhaps, than the prospects for enhanced trade or a growing cultural relationship is the extraordinary changes they reflect.

As he bid farewell to Havel at the White House, Bush noted that his visitor, once "a dissident subject to arrest and imprisonment at any time . . . could never go out with-

out your toothbrush in your pocket."

"Now, as president, you can never go out without one of these neckties," he said to Havel, generally an informal dresser.

"Our task now in the 1990s is to move forward, from revolution to renaissance, toward a new Europe in which each nation and every culture can flourish and breathe free," Bush said.

Earlier, Havel said in an interview on the Cable News Network that he has no fear of a united Germany, discounting concerns elsewhere about Germany's past aggressions.

"If Germany is a democratic state, I will not be afraid of it even if it had 100 million people," he said. "On the other hand, I would be afraid of Germany if it were a totalitarian state with just 2 million people."

Havel also predicted that the Soviet Union eventually will emerge as a democratic nation with a market-based economy.

Prague's new ambassador to the United States, Rita Klimova, said that while her president does not necessarily fear a united Germany from a military standpoint, there is concern that an economically thriving German state could overpower its neighbors.

"There is a danger," Klimova said at a breakfast meeting with reporters, "that Germany, or the German speaking parts of Europe, will be successful where the Hapsburgs were not successful, where Bismarck was not successful, where Hitler was not successful: in Germanizing Central and Eastern Europe by the peaceful and laudatory methods of economic development."

Times staff writer Doyle McManes contributed to this story.

# Havel: A Man in Search of an Ideal

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 Of all the noble souls thrust into prominence in the thrilling months since tyranny's icy grip on Eastern Europe began to loosen, Vaclav Havel, Czechoslovakia's playwright-turned-president, is perhaps the greatest. This week he addressed a joint session of Congress. What he said concerning the need for a wise and enlightened U.S. approach to Soviet affairs already has been widely discussed. But much of his talk dealt with democracy and the responsibilities of, and toward, the human spirit. It bears thoughtful consideration.

"Without a global revolution in our sphere of human consciousness, nothing will change for the better in the sphere of being," Havel said. "We still don't know how to put morality ahead of politics, science and economy. We are still incapable of understanding that the only genuine backbone of all our actions, if they are to be moral, is responsibility—responsibility to something higher than my family, my country, my company, my success.

"When Thomas Jefferson wrote that governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, it

was a simple and important act of the human spirit. What gave meaning to that act, however, was the fact that the author backed it up with his life. It was not just his words; it was his deed as well."

Communism's bequest to Czechoslovakia, Havel said, was "a legacy of countless dead, an infinite spectrum of human suffering, profound economic decline and, above all, enormous human humiliation." But though they have been victims, Czechs and Slovaks feel "a sense of culpability for our former reprehensible passivity . . . . Democracy in the full sense of the word will always be no more than an ideal. One may approach it as one would a horizon, in ways that may be better or worse, but it can never be fully attained . . . . You, too, are merely approaching democracy."

It is sobering to wonder who among our own leaders could have framed such thoughts? Who among them could have set them down entirely by himself, as Havel did. Who of them would have spoken so clearly and so fearlessly? And, yet, how edifying that the man who did all those things chose to do them in the very heart of our own imperfect American democracy.

# Havel Takes Manhattan, An Isle of Luncheons

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By SARA RIMER

Vaclav Havel, the playwright-President of Czechoslovakia, whirled through a tour of New York City yesterday that began with breakfast at Gracie Mansion, moved on to the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the residence of the city's Cardinal, the United Nations, Columbia University, and culminated in a gala concert at the Cathedral of St. John the Divine. And that was all before dinner.

It was a visit in keeping with the dizzying pace of change in Mr. Havel's country that took him from being a dissident in jail to the nation's President, residing Prague's Hradcany Castle, in just four months.

"It is for me very surprising," Mr. Havel said as he answered questions in

The guest calls his trip 'one permanent press conference.'

a meeting at Helsinki Watch, the human-rights organization that monitored the Soviet Union and its onetime satellites. "I have been in the United States three or four days, and it is one permanent press conference."

From Mayor David N. Dinkins to people on the street, New Yorkers paid enthusiastic tribute to the sandy-haired, slightly built man whom many came to know as they watched the revolution he helped to create on television.

#### 'A Friend Among Friends'

A smiling Mr. Havel, in turn, kept getting out of his limousine to walk among the crowds and shake hands. A year ago he was in jail — not for the first time — for attempting to lay a wreath.

In a day of high emotion, Mr. Havel seemed particularly moved by his visit to the Fifth Avenue offices of Helsinki Watch, the largely volunteer organization that monitors and publicizes

human-rights abuses. "I feel that I'm here as a friend among friends," he said. "I know very well what you did for us, and perhaps without you, our revolution could not be."

He recalled a surreptitious meeting in a restaurant in Prague not so long ago with Jeri Laber, executive director of Helsinki Watch. He said that when she came to visit Prague shortly before the upheavals began, they had plotted about how the then closely followed Mr. Havel might be able to make his way to Moscow for the group's international meeting. They had talked about whose invitation would carry enough weight so that the Czechoslovak authorities who had ordered his surveillance would allow him to go.

"Now some things change," the new President said. "I have an invitation from Mr. Gorbachev. I'll speak to him Monday."

#### Suit Off, Blue Jeans On

With his characteristic wry smile, Mr. Havel said he would greet the Soviet President on behalf of the Helsinki monitors.

Mr. Havel and his wife, Olga, arrived here at 7 P.M. Wednesday from Washington, where Mr. Havel had met with President Bush and addressed a joint meeting of Congress.

Mr. Havel greeted his hosts and longtime friends, William Luers, a former American Ambassador to Czechoslovakia and president of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, and his wife Wendy, and stopped briefly at a party at the Guggenheim Museum given by Salomon Brothers.

Then he returned to his room at the United Nations Plaza Hotel, where he exchanged his suit and tie for his customary sweater and blue jeans. And in the company of his wife and his old friend Milos Forman, the film director, the President of Czechoslovakia set out to find traces of the New York he discovered on his only other visit here. That took place in the spring of 1968, when Joseph Papp invited him to see the Public Theater's production of his play, "The Memorandum."

"We roamed out of nostalgia the places he loved to roam when he was here 21 years ago," Mr. Forman said

yesterday. "We went down to the Village and we walked. He loves to walk. We walked all the way from Sheridan Square to Bleeker Street to the East Village. We dropped into places which we remembered — the Bitter End, CBGB's. People were recognizing him in the streets. Their faces were lighting up."

Mr. Forman, who lives in the United States, was in Washington Wednesday to hear his friend's speech.

"I sometimes spend hours watching Congress on C-Span," Mr. Forman said, "and I never saw them give a standing ovation five times. I was very moved."

After their Wednesday-night ramble, Mr. Forman dropped his friend off at the hotel at 1:30 A.M. Seven hours later, Mr. Havel, alert and back in a business suit, was at Gracie Mansion for a breakfast at which Mr. Dinkins presided. The other guests were a group of writers and theatrical producers that included Mr. Papp, Kurt Vonnegut Jr., Arthur Miller, Edward

Albee, Wendy Wasserstein and Lloyd Richards.

Mr. Havel hugged Mr. Papp. They had not seen each other since Mr. Papp visited him in Czechoslovakia five years ago.

From Gracie Mansion, Mr. Havel raced off with Mr. and Mrs. Luers to the Metropolitan Museum of Art. He wanted to see the abstract expressionist paintings.

Mr. Havel went from the museum to the residence of John Cardinal O'Connor, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of New York, where he received an award from the Appeal of Conscience Foundation.

At his next stop, Helsinki Watch, Mr. Havel was asked by a Chinese student about his view of the future of the human-rights movement in China after the Tiananmen Square crackdown.

"Of course, people in our country were very anguished at what happened," he said. The student was given a copy of his essay, "The Power of the Powerless," that had been translated

into Chinese.

Mr. Havel then headed off to an off-the-record luncheon given by Cyrus R. Vance, the former Secretary of State, at the Council on Foreign Relations.

After lunch, Mr. Havel went to the United Nations and answered more questions at yet another news conference.

From the United Nations, Mr. Havel traveled uptown to Low Memorial Library at Columbia University, where he received an honorary Doctor of Laws degree.

Columbia's President, Michael I. Sovern, said, "We are especially pleased to award you a degree because as a young man you and many other promising leaders of your generation were deliberately prevented from earning one by the oppressive regime."

Mr. Havel said he had spoken to students at Columbia during his visit to New York in 1968. Recalling the 1960's in this country, he said, "The atmosphere of that time very much inspired me, influenced me."

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SHIRLEY TEMPLE BLACK

SHIRLEY TEMPLE in the 1934 film *Baby Take a Bow*, at the height of her career as a leading child star.

**TEMPLE, Shirley** (1928– ), American film actress and political figure, who as a child star was one of motion pictures' greatest money-makers and an international celebrity. Shirley Jane Temple was born in Santa Monica, Calif., on April 23, 1928, and began her motion picture career at the age of 4. In her first feature starring role, in *Stand Up and Cheer* (1934), she sang *Baby, Take a Bow*, which immediately made her famous. In *Bright Eyes* (also 1934), for which she received a special Academy Award, she introduced her best-known song, *On The Good Ship Lollipop*.

Her curls, dimples, and vivacious personality won her many roles in a series of enormously successful films in 1934–1938, including *Little Miss Marker*, *The Little Colonel*, *Captain January*, *Heidi*, and *Little Miss Broadway*. *The Little Princess* (1939) is considered by many to be her best film. She retired from her motion picture career at the age of 21.

As Mrs. Charles A. Black, the wife of a California businessman, she became active in local Republican politics and in 1967 ran unsuccessfully for the U. S. House of Representatives. She was appointed a delegate to the UN General Assembly in 1969 and served as U.S. ambassador to Ghana, 1974–1976, and chief of protocol for the White House, 1976–1977. She has also served as a member of the U. S. Commission for UNESCO.

**TEMPLE, Sir William** (1628–1699), English diplomat and author. He was born in London and educated at Emmanuel College, Cambridge University. In 1648, en route to France, he met Dorothy Osborne, whose witty letters, written to him from 1652 to 1654, became famous. They were married in 1655.

Temple's first diplomatic mission was to the bishop of Münster, the ally of England in the Second Dutch War. Temple is best known as the architect of the Triple Alliance (1668) between England, Holland, and Sweden. Later he was posted both to Brussels and The Hague and had the deep trust of William III of Orange. Temple wrote many books of essays and memoirs and was the patron of Jonathan Swift. He died at Moor Park, Surrey, on Jan. 27, 1699.

MAURICE ASHLEY  
University of Loughborough, England

**TEMPLE, William** (1881–1944), English theologian and philosopher and archbishop of Canterbury from 1942 to 1944. The son of Frederick Temple, William Temple was born in Exeter, Devonshire, on Oct. 15, 1881. He graduated from Oxford University in 1902. While a fellow and lecturer at Queens College he developed what was to be a lifetime interest in social reform. He was ordained in 1906. In 1910 he became headmaster of Repton School and in 1914 rector of St. James', Piccadilly, London. In 1917 he resigned his parish to work for the Life and Liberty Movement, which sought greater freedom for the Church of England and led to the establishment of the Church Assembly in 1919. Temple was successively a canon of Westminster Abbey (1919–1920), bishop of Manchester (1921–1928), and archbishop of York (1929–1942).

He continued his work in philosophical theology with *Mens Creatrix* (1917), *Christus Veritas* (1924), and the Gifford Lectures, *Nature, Man, and God* (1934). His genius in guiding conferences was manifested in the Conference on Politics, Economics, and Citizenship at Birmingham in 1924 and in many gatherings of the ecumenical movement. In 1937, at Edinburgh, he presided at the Second World Conference on Faith and Order, one of the chief sources of the World Council of Churches.

In 1942, Temple became archbishop of Canterbury. As primate of England he opened communication between the Church of England and the Vatican. Archbishop Temple died in Westgate-on-Sea, Kent, on Oct. 26, 1944.

EDWARD R. HARDY, *Cambridge University*

**TEMPLE** is a city in central Texas, in Bell county, 35 miles (56 km) south of Waco. Temple's industries include railroad shops and the manufacture of steel and aluminum products, farm machinery, precision tools, plastic building materials, furniture, leather goods, clothing, and cottonseed products. Situated in a cotton and grain area, Temple is the seat of the Texas Soil Conservation Service and the Blackland Experiment Station and is the Texas headquarters of the Farmers Home Administration (FHA).

Temple's excellent climate has made it a hospital center that includes Scott and White Hospital, King's Daughters' Hospital, Veterans Administration Hospital, and Santa Fe Hospital.

Temple Junior College and the locally organized cultural activities center are in the city. The city was founded in 1881 by the Colorado and Santa Fe Railroad and named for B. M. Temple, its chief construction engineer. It was incorporated in 1882 and adopted the city-manager form of government in 1922. Population: 42,354.

HALLIE MILLER, *Temple Public Library*



INDI on a

**TEMPLE**, a structure made sacred to a deity or holy symbol. The term from which the word "temple" is derived signifies a sacred enclosure; the element of sanctity is there but not the building. Yet the word "temple" in common usage is an image of a building at once monumental, and holy, preeminent in Jerusalem, described in the Bible as the place of the Lord. A full account not only of a social and economic factors.

Although Christian houses of worship are considered temples, the word is not applied to them, except for Mormon temples. Mosques are not dwellings of deities but places of prayer. See CATHEDRALS, MOSQUES, ISLAMIC ART AND ARCHITECTURE.

In time the word "temple" has lost its original meaning. In the Middle Ages, Christian military orders, the Knights Templar, derived their name from the fact that their quarters were next to the site of the Temple in Jerusalem. Two English legal societies, the Inner Temple and the Middle Temple, have their original location in the City of London.

The English branch of the Knights Templar, the word "temple" appropriated for secular buildings of lofty purpose; for example, the Lincoln Cathedral and the temples of science and knowledge.

St. Paul considered the temple of the Holy Spirit (I Cor. 3:16). Shakespeare, in *Macbeth*, likens the temple to the Lord's temple.

**Freestanding Temples.** The great world's temples are freestanding and distinguished from the few cities of the New World, pre-Columbian.

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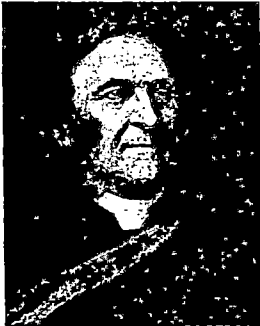
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**Temple, Frederick** (b. Nov. 30, 1821, Levkás, Greece—d. Dec. 23, 1902, London), archbishop of Canterbury and educational reformer sometimes considered to personify, by



Frederick Temple, detail from a portrait by Sir Hubert von Herkomer, 1896; in Lambeth Palace, London

By courtesy of the Archbishop of Canterbury; photograph, Courtauld Institute of Art, London

his rugged appearance and terse manner as a schoolmaster and bishop, the ideal of "manliness" fashionable during the Victorian era (1837-1901) in Britain. Ordained a priest in 1847, he left his position as a lecturer at Oxford, where he had been educated, in 1848 to work in the national Education Office. From 1850 to 1855 he was principal of Kneller Hall Training College and from 1855 to 1857 was a government inspector of schools. On the recommendation of the English poet Matthew Arnold, whose father, Thomas Arnold, had been a reformer at Rugby, Temple was appointed headmaster of the school in 1857. While serving simultaneously as Queen Victoria's chaplain, he expanded the Rugby curriculum, especially in history, science, and music, and commissioned several new buildings. Despite the controversy aroused by his contribution "The Education of the World" to *Essays and Reviews* (1860), which was considered too liberal in its religious views, Temple went on to establish his reputation as an educational reformer in his work for the Schools Enquiry Commission (1864-67). An Anglican convocation in 1864, however, censured his essay and, upon his appointment as bishop of Exeter in 1869, the earlier opposition was renewed; Temple agreed after his consecration to withdraw his essay from future editions of the 1860 volume. Becoming an increasingly ardent advocate of temperance and continuing his interest in educational reforms, Temple was named bishop of London in 1885. In 1896 he was made archbishop of Canterbury and thereby spiritual head of the Anglican Church. A year later, with the archbishop of York, W.D. Maclagan, he issued an emphatic rebuttal to Pope Leo XIII's bull denying the validity of Anglican priestly orders. The two archbishops spoke together again in 1899 in a pronouncement that processional lights and the use of incense were illegal practices in Anglican liturgics. Frederick Temple's son William was also archbishop of Canterbury (1942-44) and helped to further his father's goals of educational reform, reflected in particular by the Education Act of 1944.

**Temple, Henry John, 3rd Viscount Palmerston**—see Palmerston, Lord.

**Temple, Shirley** (b. April 23, 1928, Santa Monica, Calif.), internationally popular child star of the 1930s, Hollywood's greatest box-office attraction at the age of seven, is remembered for her ringlets, dimples, and the senti-

mental musicals in which she displayed a genuine talent for singing and dancing but, more importantly, an ability to soften adult hearts, to straighten out marriages, and to shame hardened criminals into becoming law-abiding citizens. Her films, among those of Hollywood's earlier years, helped give the city the reputation of a centre that manufactured celluloid dreams.

Selected for a screen test from her dancing class, Miss Temple made her motion picture debut in *Baby Burlesks*, a series of shorts, starring children, that humorously mimicked serious feature films. She gained recognition for *Stand Up and Cheer* (1934) and was featured in *Little Miss Marker* (1934), *Baby Take a Bow* (1934), *Now and Forever* (1934), and *Bright Eyes* (1934), in which she sang one of her most popular songs, "On the Good Ship Lollipop." By the end of 1934 she was a star with a huge following and had been awarded a Special Academy Award for her contributions to screen entertainment. Other films include *The Little Colonel* (1935), *Wee Willie Winkie* (1937), and *The Little Princess* (1939). Absent from the screen during her adolescence, she returned as a young woman with only moderate success, and in 1950 she retired from films. Seven years later she initiated a popular television series for children, *Shirley Temple's Storybook* (1957-59).

As Shirley Temple Black (her married name), she was a civic leader in San Francisco and an active member of the Republican



Shirley Temple  
Brown Brothers

Party. In 1967 she ran unsuccessfully for the office of United States representative to Congress from California; in 1969 she was appointed a member of the United States delegation to the UN General Assembly.

**Temple, The**, London, England, series of buildings on Fleet Street, belonging to the members of the two Inns of Court, and known as the Inner Temple and Middle Temple. It takes its name from Knights Templars, whose tombs are in Temple Church.

· historical significance and features 11:99a

**Temple, Sir William** (b. April 25, 1628, London—d. Jan. 27, 1699, Moor Park, Surrey), English statesman and diplomat who formulated the pro-Dutch foreign policy employed intermittently during the reign of King Charles II. In addition, his thought and prose style had a great influence on many 18th-century writers, particularly on Jonathan Swift.

Temple began his diplomatic career in 1665 as a protégé of Charles II's secretary of state, Henry Bennett (later earl of Arlington). In 1668 Temple negotiated the Triple Alliance between England, the United Provinces (Holland), and Sweden. In spite of this, England declared war on Holland in 1672; he negotiated the treaty ending the Dutch War (1674), and in 1677 he and the King's chief minister, Thomas Osborne, earl of Danby, arranged the marriage between Charles II's niece Princess Mary and William of Orange, stadholder of Holland (later King William III and Queen



Sir William Temple, detail of a painting attributed to Lely, 1660; in the National Portrait Gallery, London

By courtesy of the National Portrait Gallery, London

Mary II of England). Upon Danby's fall in April 1679, Temple reorganized the Privy Council and for a time enjoyed considerable influence in the new body. Nevertheless, by 1681 he found himself out of step with Charles's policies, and he retired from politics.

Temple's *Observations upon the United Provinces* (1673) has been hailed by 20th-century scholars as a pioneer work in the sympathetic interpretation of the people of one country to those of another. The majority of his essays, however, were written after his retirement and collected for publication by Jonathan Swift, who was his secretary for most of the period from 1689 to 1699. Temple's graceful, conversational style provided a model for Swift's own writing, and Swift's celebrated "Battle of the Books" is a reply to critics of Temple's essay "Upon Ancient and Modern Learning."

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· Chinese garden influence in England 7:899f  
· Swift's career and literary defense 17:857c

**Temple, William** (b. Oct. 15, 1881, Exeter, Devonshire—d. Oct. 26, 1944, Westgate-on-Sea, Kent), archbishop of Canterbury who was a leader in the ecumenical movement and in educational and labour reforms. Ordained in 1909, Temple lectured in philosophy at Queen's College, Oxford (1904-10). Headmaster of Repton School (1910-14) and rector of St. James's, Piccadilly, London (1914-17), he became the leader of the Life and Liberty movement, an unofficial body designed to stimulate change in the governance of the Church of England. He was successively a canon of Westminster (1919-21), bishop of Manchester (1921-29), archbishop of York (1929-42), and archbishop of Canterbury (1942-44). Temple was a man of considerable energy and intellectual ability and wrote constantly, completing his largest philosophical work, *Mens Creatrix* (1917; "The Creative Mind"), the night before his marriage. Among other works are a volume of Gifford Lectures, *Nature, Man and God* (1934), *Christianity and Social Order* (1942), and *The Church Looks Forward* (1944). Temple's sympathetic attitude toward the Labour movement led him to join the Labour Party (1918-25); he was also



William Temple  
Elliott & Fry

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(c) 1990 Forbes, April 2, 1990

One package approach worth pursuing would have the following elements:

France's armed forces would rejoin NATO (de Gaulle pulled out in 1966). A Frenchman, rather than an American, would become the Supreme Commander of NATO. U.S. forces would be stationed in France instead of Germany (thereby meeting Soviet objections), while non-American NATO troops would be based in Germany. This would give the alliance a pan-European flavor. It would keep Germany tied to the West and would keep the U.S. from pulling out of Europe. The end result: a stable, democratic Europe capable of integrating the formerly Marxist states of Central and Eastern Europe. It would help confound Soviet desires for a neutral Germany and to have the U.S. pull out of Europe.

Paris, at the moment, is adamantly opposed to reattaching its forces to NATO. That is a shortsighted view, given France's historic worries about its Teutonic neighbor.

#### PROFILE IN COURAGE

At a Senate hearing to consider the budget request for Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty (whose oversight board I chair), South Carolina's savvy, straight-shooting senator, Fritz Hollings, recounted a telling tale about Czechoslovakia's President Vaclav Havel, who later that morning would address a joint session of Congress.

In the late 1970s Hollings and a group of other senators visited Czechoslovakia, hoping to meet with Havel; the country's leading dissident was in hiding from the police. "Just before we were to leave the country, someone came to us and took us to a house. Havel literally bounded out of a closet," Hollings recalled.

The head of the visiting group told Havel the good news that the U.S. was about to conclude a major nuclear arms control agreement "with real teeth in it." Havel surprised the senators by responding that he was not interested in arms control, and that given the Soviets' negotiating prowess, they would probably get the better of the deal, and if it suited them, they would violate any inconvenient provisions anyway. "I am sorry to say that this has little to do with our struggle."

The senators then gave Havel what they thought was another piece of good news: They were going to press for congressional legislation that would put economic pressure on communist governments to permit more dissidents like Havel to emigrate to the West. Havel replied, "We're not interested in people who leave the country. What good would that do us? I'm staying. Only by staying here and struggling here can we ever hope to change things. I realize I am a marked man, but if they kill or arrest me, someone else is ready to take my place. And someone will be ready to take his place, if necessary, and so on." The senators were struck by his courage and by his seemingly utterly naive convictions and prediction that democracy would be restored to Czechoslovakia. As Hollings put it, "All of us thought, 'Not in his lifetime!'"

It was people like Havel, who never lost faith, who made possible the political earthquake in Central and Eastern Europe.

#### MOSCOW WANTS TO CHARGE LITHUANIA

\$ 33 billion in addition to keeping some of its territory as the price for the Baltic state's seceding from the Soviet Union. The monetary amount is based

change the system of forming Party bodies at all levels, in such a way as to ensure the final say of Communists.

We need a new, effective election mechanism that should also be sealed in the Rules. We agreed that proposals on this issue, after their discussion in the commission on the development of the Party, will be submitted to members of the Central Committee and participants in the Plenum.

The future Rules should definitely state that all elected bodies, from top to bottom, must be under the control of and accountable to communists and that the apparatus must be under the control of and accountable to elected bodies.

We have long been concerned by the fact that the inner life of the Party and its functioning do not give Party members the possibility to participate regularly in the formation of its policy.

Much has been said about this but still we have no mechanism to translate this idea into practice. This is one of the problems that has to be discussed before the Congress during the work on the new Rules.

So far I would say that the influence of communists on the work of upper bodies, including the Central Committee, to a great degree will depend on how real their chance to send their representatives — those whom they trust, real leaders and active supporters of perestroika — to these bodies will be.

We should call for the vigorous representation of the most active and advanced workers and farmers, who are well-known in the Party, in all elective bodies of the Party, including the Central Committee.

Glasnost in the work of the Party's leadership, including the Central Committee and bodies elected by it, should be ensured on a larger scale than before. Paraphrasing Lenin's statement, we can say that then communists will know everything and will be able to make conscientious judgements, proposals and conclusions.

We are increasing communists' real participation in the formation of the policy also by giving Party bodies the possibility to develop their own platforms on various problems of social development in the context of one or another region.

Communists should be given the possibility to truly participate in the drafting of these documents, in their discussion and adoption.

Of course, these are not all problems of Party democracy. I have set forth some considerations and would like them to be thoroughly discussed before the Congress.

The draft platform includes a proposal on changing the structure of the upper Party bodies. The meaning of this proposal is not just to rename them and thus show our readiness for renewal.

They are intended to strengthen the factor of democratisation in the Party leadership and simultaneously create better conditions for its activity as a working collective.

One may ask, why reduce the number of Central Committee members? Let us discuss this. We proceeded from the need to turn the Central Committee into a body working on a permanent basis.

We should also depart from the principle of electing to the Central Committee mainly people holding certain posts. This principle was actually an expression of the party-and-state system of power in the country.

We think these changes will help strengthen the Central Committee's ties with Party organisations, because these ties will be maintained not through the apparatus but mainly through elected members of the Central Committee.

In addition, almost all of them will take part in the work of a Central Committee Commission, actually becoming politicians of the party-wide rank.

It would be appropriate to speak here also about the central Party apparatus. It is clear that the change of the Party's role should entail changes in the qualitative composition of the apparatus. It should assist the Central Committee and work strictly under its control.

The experience of the Central Committee's work in the past few years has revealed the need to give the Central Committee co-optation rights which, naturally, should be limited by the rules.

There is also a proposal to abandon the practice of electing candidate members of the Central Committee.

I will not speak about other issues raised in the draft platform. The Politburo hopes that we will jointly work out a document that will give answers to all questions vital to communists and all Soviet people and that perestroika in the country will thus receive a new powerful and positive impetus.

## Help the Soviet Union on its Road to Democracy

### CONSCIOUSNESS PRECEDES BEING

By VACLAV HAVEL, *President of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic*

*Delivered to the Joint Session of Congress, Washington, D.C., February 21, 1990*

**D**EAR Mr. Speaker, dear Mr. President, dear Senators, and Members of the House, ladies and gentlemen: My advisers advised me to speak on this important occasion in Czech. I don't know why. Perhaps they wanted you to enjoy the sweet sounds of my mother tongue.

The last time they arrested me, on October 27, of last year, I didn't know whether it was for 2 days or 2 years.

Exactly 1 month later, when the rock musician Michael Kocáb told me that I would probably be proposed as a Pres-

idential candidate, I thought it was one of his usual jokes.

On the 10th of December 1989, when my actor friend Jiri Bartoska, in the name of the Civic Forum, nominated me as a candidate for the office of President of the Republic, I thought it was out of the question that the Parliament we had inherited from the previous regime would elect me.

Nineteen days later, when I was unanimously elected President of my country, I had no idea that in 2 months later I would be speaking in front of this famous and powerful assem-

bly, and that what I say would be heard by millions of people who have never heard of me and that hundreds of politicians and political scientists would study every word I say.

When they arrested me on October 27, I was living in a country ruled by the most conservative Communist government in Europe, and our society slumbered beneath the pall of a totalitarian system. Today, less than 4 months later, I am speaking to you as the representative of a country that has set out on the road to democracy, a country where there is complete freedom of speech, which is getting ready for free elections, and which wants to create a prosperous market economy and its own foreign policy.

It is all very extraordinary.

But I have not come here to speak for myself or my feelings, or merely to talk about my own country. I have used this small example of something I know well, to illustrate something general and important.

We are living in very extraordinary times. The human face of the world is changing so rapidly that none of the familiar political speedometers are adequate.

We playwrights, who have to cram a whole human life or an entire historical era in a 2-hour play, can scarcely understand this rapidity ourselves. And if it gives us trouble, think of the trouble it must give to political scientists, who spend their whole lives studying the realm of the probable. And have even less experience with the realm of the improbable than us, the playwrights.

Let me try to explain why I think the velocity of the changes in my country, in Central and Eastern Europe, and of course in the Soviet Union itself, has made such a significant impression on the face of the world today, and why it concerns the fate of us all, including you Americans. I would like to look at this, first from the political point of view, and then from a point of view that we might call philosophical.

Twice in this century, the world has been threatened by a catastrophe; twice this catastrophe was born in Europe, and twice you Americans, along with others, were called upon to save Europe, the whole world and yourselves. The first rescue mission — among other things — provided significant help to us Czechs and Slovaks.

Thanks to the great support of your President Wilson, our first President, Tomas Garrigue Masaryk, could found our modern independent state. He founded it, as you know, on the same principles on which the United States of America has been founded, as Masaryk's manuscripts held by the Library of Congress testify.

In the meantime, the United States made enormous strides. It became the most powerful nation on Earth, and it understood the responsibility that flowed from this. Proof of this are the hundreds of thousands of your young citizens who gave their lives for the liberation of Europe, and the graves of American airmen and soldiers on Czechoslovak soil.

But something else was happening as well: the Soviet Union appeared, grew, and transformed the enormous sacrifices of its people suffering under totalitarian rule, into a strength that, after World War II, made it the second most powerful nation in the world. It was a country that rightly gave people nightmares, because no one knew what would occur to its rulers next and what country they would decide to conquer and drag into their sphere of influence, as it is called in political language.

All of this taught us to see the world in bipolar terms, as two

enormous forces, one a defender of freedom, the other a source of nightmares. Europe became the point of friction between these two powers and thus it turned into a single enormous arsenal divided into two parts. In this process, one half of the arsenal became part of that nightmarish power, while the other — the free part — bordering on the ocean and having no wish to be driven into it, was compelled, together with you, to build a complicated security system, to which we probably owe the fact that we still exist.

So you may have contributed to the salvation of us Europeans, of the world and thus of yourselves for a third time: you have helped us to survive until today — without a hot war this time — but merely a cold one.

And now what is happening is happening: the totalitarian system in the Soviet Union and in most of its satellites is breaking down and our nations are looking for a way to democracy and independence. The first act in this remarkable drama began when Mr. Gorbachev and those around him, faced with the sad reality of their country, initiated their policy of "perestroika." Obviously they had no idea either what they were setting in motion or how rapidly events would unfold. We knew a lot about the enormous number of growing problems that slumbered beneath the honeyed, unchanging mask of socialism. But I don't think any of us knew how little it would take for these problems to manifest themselves in all their enormity, and for the longings of these nations to emerge in all their strength. The mask fell away so rapidly that, in the flood of work, we have literally no time even to be astonished.

What does all this mean for the world in the long run? Obviously a number of things. This is, I am firmly convinced, a historically irreversible process, and as a result Europe will begin again to seek its own identity without being compelled to be a divided armory any longer. Perhaps this will create the hope that sooner or later your boys will no longer have to stand on guard for freedom in Europe, or come to our rescue, because Europe will at last be able to stand guard over itself. But that is still not the most important thing: the main thing is, it seems to me, that these revolutionary changes will enable us to escape from the rather antiquated straitjacket of this bipolar view of the world, and to enter at last into an era of multipolarity. That is, into an era in which all of us — large and small — former slaves and former masters — will be able to create what your great President Lincoln called the family of man. Can you imagine what a relief this would be to that part of the world which for some reason is called the Third World, even though it is the largest?

I don't think it's appropriate simply to generalize, so let me be specific:

First, as you certainly know, most of the big wars and other conflagrations over the centuries have traditionally begun and ended on the territory of modern Czechoslovakia, or else they were somehow related to that area. Let the Second World War stand as the most recent example. This is understandable: whether we like it or not, we are located in the very heart of Europe, and thanks to this, we have no view of the sea, and no real navy. I mention this because political stability in our country has traditionally been important for the whole of Europe. This is still true today. Our government of national understanding, our present Federal Assembly, the other bodies of the state and I myself will personally guarantee this stability until we hold free elections, planned for June. We understand the terribly complex reasons, domestic political reasons above

all, why the Soviet Union cannot withdraw its troops from our territory as quickly as they arrived in 1968. We understand that the arsenals built there over the past 20 years cannot be dismantled and removed overnight. Nevertheless, in our bilateral negotiations with the Soviet Union, we would like to have as many Soviet units as possible moved out of our country before the elections, in the interests of political stability. The more successful our negotiations, the more those who are elected in our places will be able to guarantee political stability in our country even after the elections.

Second, I often hear the question: How can the United States of America help us today? My reply is as paradoxical as the whole of my life has been: You can help us most of all if you help the Soviet Union on its irreversible, but immensely complicated road to democracy. It is far more complicated than the road open to its former European satellites. You yourselves know best how to support, as rapidly as possible, the nonviolent evolution of this enormous, multinational body politic toward democracy and autonomy for all of its peoples. Therefore, it is not fitting for me to offer you any advice. I can only say that the sooner, the more quickly, and the more peacefully the Soviet Union begins to move along the road toward genuine political pluralism, respect for the rights of nations to their own integrity and to a working — that is a market — economy, the better it will be, not just for Czechs and Slovaks, but for the whole world. And the sooner you yourselves will be able to reduce the burden of the military budget borne by the American people. To put it metaphorically: The millions you give to the East today will soon return to you in the form of billions in savings.

Third, it is not true that the Czech writer Vaclav Havel wishes to dissolve the Warsaw Pact tomorrow and then NATO the day after that, as some eager journalists have written. Vaclav Havel merely thinks what he has already said here, that for another hundred years, American soldiers shouldn't have to be separated from their mothers just because Europe is incapable of being a guarantor of world peace, which it ought to be, in order to make some amends, at least, for having given the world two world wars. Sooner or later Europe must recover and come into its own, and decide for itself how many of whose soldiers it needs so that its own security, and all the wider implications of that security, may radiate peace into the whole world. Vaclav Havel cannot make decisions about things that are not proper for him to decide. He is merely putting in a good word for genuine peace, and for achieving it quickly.

Fourth, Czechoslovakia thinks that the planned summit conference of countries participating in the Helsinki process should take place soon, and that in addition to what it wants to accomplish, it should aim to hold the so-called Helsinki II conference earlier than 1992, as originally planned. Above all, we feel it could be something far more significant than has so far seemed possible. We think that Helsinki II should become something equivalent to the European peace conference, which has not yet been held; one that would finally put a formal end to the Second World War and all its unhappy consequences. Such a conference would officially bring a future democratic Germany, in the process of unifying itself, into a new pan-European structure which could decide about its own security system. This system would naturally require some connection with that part of the globe we might label the "Helsinki" part, stretching westward from Vladivostok all the way to Alaska. The borders of the European states, which by the

way should become gradually less important, should finally be legally guaranteed by a common, regular treaty. It should be more than obvious that the basis for such a treaty would have to be general respect for human rights, genuine political pluralism and genuinely free elections.

Fifth, naturally we welcome the initiative of President Bush, which was essentially accepted by Mr. Gorbachev as well, according to which the number of American and Soviet troops in Europe should be radically reduced. It is a magnificent shot in the arm for the Vienna disarmament talks and creates favorable conditions not only for our own efforts to achieve the quickest possible departure of Soviet troops from Czechoslovakia, but indirectly as well for our own intention to make considerable cuts in the Czechoslovak Army, which is disproportionately large in relation to our population. If Czechoslovakia were forced to defend itself against anyone, which we hope will not happen, then it will be capable of doing so with a considerably smaller army, because this time its defense would be — not only after decades but after even centuries — support by the common and indivisible will of both its nations and its leadership. Our freedom, independence, and our newborn democracy have been purchased at great cost, and we shall not surrender them. For the sake of order, I should add that whatever steps we take are not intended to complicate the Vienna disarmament talks, but on the contrary, to facilitate them.

Sixth, Czechoslovakia is returning to Europe. In the general interest and in its own interest as well, it wants to coordinate this return — both politically and economically — with the other returnees, which means, above all, with its neighbors the Poles and the Hungarians. We are doing what we can to coordinate these returns. And at the same time, we are doing what we can so that Europe will be capable of really accepting us, its wayward children. Which means that it may open itself to us, and may begin to transform its structures — which are formally European but de facto Western European — in that direction, but in such a way that it will not be to its detriment, but rather to its advantage.

Seventh, I have already said this in our parliament, and I would like to repeat it here, in this Congress, which is architecturally far more attractive: for many years, Czechoslovakia — as someone's meaningless satellite — has refused to face up honestly to its co-responsibility for the world. It has a lot to make up for. If I dwell on this and so many important things, it is only because I feel — along with my fellow citizens — a sense of culpability for our former reprehensible passivity, and a rather ordinary sense of indebtedness.

Eighth, we are of course delighted that your country is so readily lending its support to our fresh efforts to renew democracy. Both our peoples were deeply moved by the generous offers made a few days ago in Prague at the Charles University, one of the oldest in Europe, by your Secretary of State, Mr. James Baker. We are ready to sit down and talk about them.

Ladies and gentlemen, I've only been president for 2 months and I haven't attended any schools for presidents. My only school was life itself. Therefore I don't want to burden you any longer with my political thoughts, but instead I will move on to an area that is more familiar to me, to what I would call the philosophical aspect of those changes that still concern everyone, although they are taking place in our corner of the world.

As long as people are people, democracy in the full sense of

the word will always be no more than an ideal; one may approach it as one would a horizon, in ways that may be better or worse, but it can never be fully attained. In this sense you too are merely approaching democracy. You have thousands of problems of all kinds, as other countries do. But you have one great advantage: You have been approaching democracy uninterruptedly for more than 200 years, and your journey toward the horizon has never been disrupted by a totalitarian system. Czechs and Slovaks, despite their humanistic traditions that go back to the first millennium, have approached democracy for a mere 20 years, between the two world wars, and now for the 3½ months since the 17th of November of last year.

The advantage that you have over us is obvious at once.

The Communist type of totalitarian system has left both our nations, Czechs and Slovaks — as it has all the nations of the Soviet Union and the other countries the Soviet Union subjugated in its time — a legacy of countless dead, an infinite spectrum of human suffering, profound economic decline, and above all enormous human humiliation. It has brought us horrors that fortunately you have not known.

At the same time, however — unintentionally, of course — it has given us something positive: a special capacity to look, from time to time, somewhat further than someone who has not undergone this bitter experience. A person who cannot move and live a somewhat normal life because he is pinned under a boulder has more time to think about his hopes than someone who is not trapped that way.

What I am trying to say is this: we must all learn many things from you, from how to educate our offspring, how to elect our representatives, all the way to how to organize our economic life so that it will lead to prosperity and not to poverty. But it doesn't have to be merely assistance from the well-educated, the powerful and the wealthy to someone who has nothing and therefore has nothing to offer in return.

We too can offer something to you: our experience and the knowledge that has come from it.

This is a subject for books, many of which have already been written and many of which have yet to be written. I shall therefore limit myself to a single idea.

The specific experience I'm talking about has given me one great certainty: Consciousness precedes Being, and not the other way around, as the Marxists claim.

For this reason, the salvation of this human world lies nowhere else than in the human heart, in the human power to reflect, in human meekness and in human responsibility.

Without a global revolution in the sphere of human consciousness, nothing will change for the better in the sphere of our Being as humans, and the catastrophe toward which this world is headed, be it ecological, social, demographic or a general breakdown of civilization, will be unavoidable. If we are no longer threatened by world war, or by the danger that the absurd mountains of accumulated nuclear weapons might blow up the world, this does not mean that we have definitively won. We are in fact far from the final victory.

We are still a long way from that "family of man"; in fact, we seem to be receding from the ideal rather than drawing closer to it. Interests of all kinds: personal, selfish, state, national, group and, if you like, company interests still considerably outweigh genuinely common and global interests. We are still under the sway of the destructive and vain belief that man is the pinnacle of creation, and not just a part of it,

and that therefore everything is permitted. There are still many who say they are concerned not for themselves, but for the cause, while they are demonstrably out for themselves and not for the cause at all. We are still destroying the planet that was entrusted to us, and its environment. We still close our eyes to the growing social, ethnic and cultural conflicts in the world. From time to time we say that the anonymous megamachinery we have created for ourselves no longer serves us, but rather has enslaved us, yet we still fail to do anything about it.

In other words, we still don't know how to put morality ahead of politics, science and economics. We are still incapable of understanding that the only genuine backbone of all our actions — if they are to be moral — is responsibility. Responsibility to something higher than my family, my country, my company, my success. Responsibility to the order of Being, where all our actions are indelibly recorded and where, and only where, they will be properly judged.

The interpreter or mediator between us and this higher authority is what is traditionally referred to as human conscience.

If I subordinate my political behavior to this imperative mediated to me by my conscience, I can't go far wrong. If on the contrary I were not guided by this voice, not even 10 presidential schools with 2,000 of the best political scientists in the world could help me.

This is why I ultimately decided — after resisting for a long time — to accept the burden of political responsibility.

I am not the first, nor will I be the last, intellectual to do this. On the contrary, my feeling is that there will be more and more of them all the time. If the hope of the world lies in human consciousness, then it is obvious that intellectuals cannot go on forever avoiding their share of responsibility for the world and hiding their distaste for politics under an alleged need to be independent.

It is easy to have independence in your program and then leave others to carry that program out. If everyone thought that way, pretty soon no one would be independent.

I think that you Americans should understand this way of thinking. Wasn't it the best minds of your country, people you could call intellectuals, who wrote your famous Declaration of Independence, your Bill of Human Rights and your Constitution and who — above all — took upon themselves the practical responsibility for putting them into practice? The worker from Brank in Prague that your President referred to in his State of the Union message this year is far from being the only person in Czechoslovakia, let alone in the world, to be inspired by those great documents. They inspire us all. They inspire us despite the fact that they are over 200 years old. They inspire us to be citizens.

When Thomas Jefferson wrote that, "Governments are instituted among Men deriving their just Powers from the Consent of the Governed," it was a simple and important act of the human spirit.

What gave meaning to that act, however, was the fact that the author backed it up with his life. It was not just his words, it was his deeds as well.

I will end where I began: history has accelerated. I believe that once again it will be the human mind that will notice this acceleration, give it a name, and transform those words into deeds.

Thank you.