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**OA/ID Number:** 13777  
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**Folder Title:**  
President Havel of Czechoslovakia 10/22/91 [OA 8330] [5]

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read?*

McGroarty/Bunton  
October 16, 1991  
2:00 pm  
[CZECH.TST]

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: TOAST AT THE STATE DINNER IN HONOR OF  
CZECHOSLOVAK PRESIDENT VACLAV HAVEL  
THE WHITE HOUSE  
OCTOBER 22, 1991  
7:30 PM

It is my great pleasure to welcome all of you to the White House. / Our distinguished guest tonight set out to make his name as a writer of plays. Instead he finds himself center stage in a compelling drama: a Revolution that marked the end of a long era of suffering and opened up a new world of hope. //

Vaclav Havel has been called a "reluctant politician." *what? the writings*  
Certainly, he takes a different tack than most public servants. Others might toss around budget statistics or quote the latest opinion polls, but not President Havel. When he addressed Congress last year, he spoke of what he called his "one great certainty" -- and I quote: "Consciousness precedes Being, and not the other way around." // *2/21/90* [[Congress is still scratching their heads about that one. Maybe I can explain what my friend meant in my next State of the Union address ((make that the theme of my next Report on the Budget.)) //]]

Mr. President, your country turned to you because it saw in you a man of moral clarity -- a man of convictions, principles beyond compromise. Even when a criminal regime banned your plays and sent you to prison, you remained free. // *(?)*

The people of Czechoslovakia chose wisely. In welcoming President Havel earlier today, I mentioned that Czechoslovakia

faces the challenge of not one but three revolutions: first, an economic revolution, to replace the failed system of command and control with a market that responds to the rules of supply and demand. Second, a political revolution -- to replace the totalitarian travesty with responsive institutions and the rule of law. Third -- and most critical -- a moral revolution: the process of building public trust, creating a sense of society -- trading cynicism about all things public for the sense of civic duty that makes democracy work. //

Mr. President, of the many unforgettable moments in the Revolution of 89, I'd like to recall one I know both of us regard as special -- one that underscores the common cause that links our countries. / It happened at a place called Branik [BRAH-neek] on the outskirts of Prague. A worker dressed in grimy overalls rose to speak at the factory gates. He began his speech to his fellow citizens with these words:

"We hold these truths to be self-evident. That all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, [and] that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." //

In that same spirit, let us raise our glasses:

To our guests, President and Mrs. Havel; to the friendship that links the citizens of this country to the Czech and Slovak people -- and to the most precious gift of all: freedom.

# # #

NYT  
Nov. 29, 89

NEXIS

BRANIK

Nov. 27, 1989.

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NYT.

# DAN ADDRESS CONFLICTS - IN YELLOW HIGHLIGHT

McGroarty/Bunton  
October 16, 1991  
2:15 pm  
[CZECH]

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PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: ARRIVAL STATEMENT FOR OFFICIAL VISIT OF  
CZECHOSLOVAK PRESIDENT VACLAV HAVEL  
THE SOUTH LAWN  
OCTOBER 22, 1991  
10:00 AM

It is my great pleasure to welcome to the White House a man whose moral authority makes him a hero not simply in his own land -- but everywhere that people cherish freedom: President Vaclav Havel. //

I suspect the life of Vaclav Havel, President, would tax even the imagination of Vaclav Havel, playwright. Yet your life inspires precisely because what you've done stands within reach of everyone. Confronted with a wall of lies, you summoned the courage to ("live in truth:") to shun the silence that allows the lie to live -- to speak out, and risk the consequences.

That courage sustained you through five long years in prison and many more as an outcast in your own country -- to the autumn night <sup>Nov. 17, 1989 - revolution</sup> two years ago when the people of Czechoslovakia poured out into Wenceslaus Square to claim their freedom.

Long before that night, in the bleak years following 1968, Vaclav Havel wrote about "the power of the powerless." In the Revolution of 89, the world saw that power at work -- saw affirmed once more the undeniable power of the democratic idea.

//

For your revolution was also a renewal: a rebirth of the universal principles that bind my country to yours -- principles enshrined in Czechoslovakia's own Declaration of Independence,

btw 1970 and 1989  
jailed 3 times

1978  
title of essay - open letters

\* POWER OF THE POWERLESS WRITTEN IN 1978 (or)

issued here in the United States in 1918 by your first President, Thomas Masaryk (TOE-mas MASS-ah-rick), and Milan Stefanik (MEE-lan SHTEH-fah-neek), proud Slovak patriot. //

Almost one year ago now, on the first anniversary of the Velvet Revolution, I had the honor of becoming the first American President ever to visit Czechoslovakia. Mr. President, when I addressed your country's Federal Congress, I brought with me copies of the American Constitution and our Bill of Rights -- not as a blueprint, a set of rules for you to follow, but as a gesture of friendship between fellow democracies. //

Now in 1991, as America celebrates the Bicentennial of the Bill of Rights -- as Czechoslovakia and its Republics craft their own constitutions -- we must affirm the world-shaking wisdom of these simple truths: That democracy means far more than mere free elections. That majority rule must respect minority rights. That democracy is never certain until we safeguard the freedom of all men and women to live, work and worship as they wish. ///

Today, the electricity of the first moments of revolution has given way to the more sober business of democracy-building. Yet Czechoslovakia must never lose sight of the magic of this moment -- a time when each citizen holds in his hands the chance to write a Nation's history. //

Czechoslovakia faces the challenge of not one but three revolutions: first, an economic revolution, to replace the failed system of command and control with a market that responds to the rules of supply and demand. Second, a political

revolution -- to replace the totalitarian travesty with responsive institutions and the rule of law. Third -- and critical to the success of the other two -- a moral revolution: the process of building public trust, creating a sense of society -- trading the cynicism essential to survive the previous regime for the sense of civic duty that makes democracy work. ///

Mr. President, for forty years, the regime that ruled your country fed your people nothing but lies: a steady diet of quotas fulfilled, record harvests, unanimous support for this or that state policy -- an elaborate fantasy that fooled no one. / Today, you lead a people who recognize that being free means facing the truth -- preferring fact to fiction -- no matter how harsh the truth may be.

The struggle to shrug off the dead weight of communist rule is far from over. Everywhere, from the streets of Prague to the smallest village, you've felt the strains -- the dislocations and depressed standard of living -- and I know the transition has hit particularly hard in Slovakia. //

Yet your country has made progress. Czechoslovakia has taken decisive steps to privatize state-enterprises, to liberalize trade and investment, to lift restrictions on private enterprise -- to unleash the economic energies of the Czech and Slovak people. //

One year after the Revolution, nearly half-a-million private entrepreneurs have registered to do business. Trade with Western economies has increased. When I visited your country one year

(1990) (1990-488,400)  
1990

ago, just 15 American businesses had offices in Prague. Now that number is nearly 100, with more on the way.

America stands ready to help. The answer lies not with torrents of government-to-government aid that breeds dependency, but with market-tested advice and assistance -- and with initiatives that encourage business-to-business contacts. That's the logic behind our Czechoslovakia Enterprise Fund to channel Western capital to Czech and Slovak entrepreneurs. It's why OPIC -- the U.S. Government's Overseas Private Investment Corporation -- just completed a mission to Czechoslovakia to generate new business opportunities for American companies. //

At the same moment of this transformation within, Czechoslovakia has claimed its place in the councils of Europe. Czechoslovakia now works closely with Poland and Hungary to chart a common course in democracy-building. / Mr. President, as a founding member of Charter 77 and a firm believer in the Helsinki process, you must marvel that Prague now serves as headquarters of the CSCE. / Each of these developments proves that Europe can once more look to the Czechoslovak example.

Czechoslovakia's vision extends beyond the confines of its own continent. Mr. President, your nation knows better than most countries the harsh lessons of history -- what happens when aggression goes unchecked. // When Iraq invaded Kuwait, the Czech and Slovak people stepped forward to take their place in the international coalition against the aggressor.

(ARRIVE  
May 1991)

Czechoslovakia's defense of Kuwait was a proud moment for a new nation. //

This visit gives us me an opportunity to learn more about the transformations underway in your country -- and to discuss with you the prospects for lasting peace and prosperity, in Europe and the world beyond. //

Once again, Mr. President, it is an honor to meet with you today. Welcome to the White House -- and may God bless the Czech and Slovak people.

# # #

....lived walled off from the outside world. Writing plays you never saw performed. Winning praise....

////////////////////

21  
October 17, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH:           DAVE DEMAREST  
                  TONY SNOW

FROM:               DAN MC GROARTY

SUBJECT:            PROPOSED ARRIVAL REMARKS AND DINNER TOAST FOR THE  
                      STATE VISIT OF PRESIDENT VACLAV HAVEL OF  
                      CZECHOSLOVAKIA

I. SUMMARY

On Tuesday, October 22 at 10 a.m. you will ~~deliver brief~~ *welcome*  
~~remarks on the South Lawn at the State Arrival of President~~  
Vaclav Havel of Czechoslovakia. President Havel will be  
accompanied by his wife Olga. That evening, at 7:30 p.m. you  
will honor President Havel with a dinner toast.

II. DISCUSSION

Your arrival remarks (approximately 10 minutes/cards) pay  
tribute to President Havel ~~as a man of courage and a hero of~~  
~~freedom and acknowledge Czechoslovakia's role in Desert Storm.~~

Your remarks mention the return of the Czechoslovakian  
Declaration of Independence (to occur on October 23 at the U.S.  
Capitol - Dr. James Billington, Librarian of Congress to present)  
to the people of Czechoslovakia.

~~Your remarks discuss~~ *and focus on the* the economic, political, and moral  
challenges President Havel and Czechoslovakia ~~will~~ *now* face.

# The Power of the Powerless

*To the memory of Jan Patočka*

*April 1978*

"The Power of the Powerless" (October 1978) was originally written ("quickly," Havel said later) as a discussion piece for a projected joint Polish-Czechoslovak volume of essays on the subject of freedom and power. All the participants were to receive Havel's essay, and then respond to it in writing. Twenty participants were chosen on both sides, but only the Czechoslovak side was completed. Meanwhile, in May 1979, some of the Czechoslovak contributors who were also members of VONS (the Committee to Defend the Unjustly Prosecuted), including Havel, were arrested, and it was decided to go ahead and "publish" the Czechoslovak contributions separately.

Havel's essay has had a profound impact on Eastern Europe. Here is what Zbigniew Bujak, a Solidarity activist, told me: "This essay reached us in the Ursus factory in 1979 at a point when we felt we were at the end of the road. Inspired by KOR [the Polish Workers' Defense Committee], we had been speaking on the shop floor, talking to people, participating in public meetings, trying to speak the truth about the factory, the country, and politics. There came a moment when people thought we were crazy. Why were we doing this? Why were we taking such risks? Not seeing any immediate and tangible results, we began to doubt the purposefulness of

By Jay Rosen

**MEDIA**

*World Monitor*  
11/90

# Missing Havel's Message

— The public loses a proven leader's insights when reporters don't get out of their ruts and grapple with a strong, fresh philosophy of truth and its effectiveness.

**W**HEN VÁCLAV HAVEL ARRIVED IN WASHINGTON for his first official visit as president of Czechoslovakia, he had no important negotiations to conduct. He did not come seeking American aid, and other than a few minor agreements on increased trade, he had almost no state business to transact.

"We are going there to learn," he told *The New York Times* a week before the trip. But it was clear from his speech to Congress that he had also come to teach. "We too can offer something to you," he told Congress, "our experience and the knowledge that has come from it."

This offer was filtered through the American news media, which translated and interpreted the meaning of Havel's three-day visit. But, while his reception in the press was extremely positive, the coverage often said more about American politics—and journalism—than it did about the Czech playwright, essayist, and national hero. Missing especially was any serious examination of Havel's political message, which he has articulated forcefully in his writings. The press seemed to back away from any intellectual encounter with Havel, preferring instead to praise his presence in America and to marvel over his personal story.

"Consider this episode: Near the end of his address to Congress, Havel observed that, while the people of Eastern Europe required assistance from the West, they also had something to offer—the lessons of their "bitter experience" under Soviet domination. That experience, he said, had left him certain of one thing: "Consciousness precedes being, and not the other way around, as the Marxists claim." At that, the members of Congress broke into hearty applause.

*Consciousness precedes being.* Few in the press knew what to make of this line. Here is how David Nyhan of *The Boston Globe* reacted in a Feb. 25 column: "Consciousness precedes being, and not the other way around, the way the Marxists would have it.' Whaaaaat? A real, live philosophical notion?

Discussed in front of our congresspeople? What gives? Hey, folks. The man is an intellectual."

Al Kamen of *The Washington Post* wrote on Feb. 22 that, while "consciousness precedes being" is "not often the subject of floor debate," this did not stop Congress from cheering.

The portrait emerged of Havel as a speaker of an alien discourse. Serious journalists would not think of remaining ignorant for long about a MIRV'd missile or the Jackson-Vanik trade provisions. But these same professionals were content to concede that they hadn't a clue what "consciousness precedes being" meant. Why?

## A RATHER SIMPLE IDEA

To raise the issue of "consciousness" is to speak frankly of the inner life, rather than outward events. Journalists tend to dismiss such talk, but not because they are godless technocrats unmoved by deeper questions. They are simply more interested in the game of power, and they consider ideas about the nature of "being" irrelevant to their journalistic task.

But "consciousness precedes being" is, in fact, a rather simple idea, one with direct relevance to recent headlines. The human mind, Havel was saying, is not a mere reflection of the prevailing social structure, as Marxist dogma often claims. Since consciousness precedes material existence, it cannot be determined by an economic system, whether that system is socialist or capitalist.

As he said to Congress, "Without a global revolution in the sphere of human consciousness" a more humane society will not emerge. The end of the Cold War and the triumph of capitalism do not go to the heart of the problem, which is that "we still don't know how to put morality ahead of politics, science, and economics." To do that, we must realize our responsibility to "something higher than my family, my country, my firm, my success."

These are themes that run throughout Havel's writings, but, unfortunately, those writings were of

Jay Rosen, whose writings have appeared in *Harper's*, *The Los Angeles Times*, and other periodicals, is currently a research fellow at the Gannett Center for Media Studies at Columbia University. This article is drawn from one in *Deadline*, published by New York University's Center for War, Peace, and the News Media, of which Mr. Rosen is an associate.

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Illustration by Alison Martin, using a political poster photo © Tomas Muscionico/Contact

little interest to the press. Among articles covering his visit that appeared in 18 of America's largest-circulation dailies, only one, a derisive Washington Post editorial, dealt directly with any of Havel's political essays; only one, Richard Grenier's Feb. 28 column in *The Washington Times*, took one of Havel's ideas seriously enough to argue against it; only one, an opinion piece by Amy Schwartz in the Feb. 20 Washington Post, investigated any of his dramatic works.

#### A HUMAN-INTEREST ITEM

If Havel as writer was largely missing from the coverage, *Havel as a human-interest item* was continually present. This is not surprising, given the enormous appeal of his personal story. As the *New York Daily News* put it in a Feb. 22 editorial, "Havel's life is a marvelous political Cinderella tale—a persecuted dissident one year, leader of his liberated nation the next."

The turns in Havel's life are strange, but they express in compact form the speed and reach of the changes sweeping Europe; in his biography the acceleration of history could become readable to all.

In his 1985 essay "Anatomy of a Reticence," Havel wrote of an "essentially different conception of the meaning of politics than that prevailing in the world today." This was the politics of the dissident, operating "outside the sphere of power," who "has no desire for office and does not gather votes." The dissident becomes a political actor, not

because he expects or desires to be handed power, but "solely because he has no other way of affirming the truth he stands for."

Havel continued: "The innermost foundation of his 'political' efforts is moral and existential. All he does, he does in the first place for his own sake: Something within him [has] simply revolted and left him incapable of going on 'living a lie.'" Finding himself in this odd position, the dissident proceeds in the hope, "vague, indefinite, and hard to verify," that his actions, "by whatever hidden, complex ways," will have some effect, "that even something as ephemeral-seeming as a truth spoken out loud, an openly expressed concern for the humanity of human beings, bears with it a certain power."

These were the notions that Havel employed in his contest with Czech authorities. But they are notions that fit uncomfortably within the American journalist's political universe, in which it is more important to be savvy and effective than to be right or truthful. This conflict in conceptions of politics could be seen in another image that emerged in the coverage of his visit: *Havel as a political novice*.

That Havel, as a playwright, needed a lesson in the real world of politics was the theme of a remarkable exchange between Jack Nelson of the *Los Angeles Times* and Thomas L. Friedman of the *New York Times*, who discussed Havel's visit on PBS's "Washington Week in Review" on Feb. 23. Quoting his own discussions with White House press secretary Marlin Fitzwater, Nelson gave an

*The coverage surveyed for this review appeared from Feb. 19 to 22 on the ABC, CBS, NBC, and PBS evening newscasts, on "Washington Week in Review" (PBS), and in these newspapers: Baltimore Sun, Boston Globe, Chicago Sun-Times, Chicago Tribune, Detroit News, Detroit Free Press, Los Angeles Times, Miami Herald, Minneapolis Star and Tribune, New York Daily News, New York Post, New York Times, Newark Star-Ledger, Newsday, Philadelphia Inquirer, San Francisco Chronicle, Washington Post, Washington Times.*

## Havel's 'staggering agenda' is to make Czechoslovakia the spiritual center of European politics.

account of a "learning experience" he said Havel had undergone during his visit. According to Nelson, in a Feb. 20 meeting with Bush, Havel had said he saw no need for US troops in Europe. Bush, said Nelson, then "had to lay out the security reason and so forth," and as a result Havel had changed his views. Nelson's evidence for this change of mind was a State Department statement on Feb. 20 that said Havel had agreed on the need for US troops to play a "stabilizing role" in the near term.

But Havel himself seemed unaware that he had changed his mind in any significant way; in interviews on CNN and the "MacNeil/Lehrer NewsHour," he repeated his opinion that US troops should eventually leave Europe. And in his address to Congress the following day he artfully rephrased the view, denying that he wanted "to dissolve the Warsaw Pact tomorrow and then NATO the day after that, as some eager journalists have written." However, he continued, "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." As Mary McGrory remarked in her Washington Post column of Feb. 25, "Has the 'Yankee Go Home' message ever been more deftly delivered?"

Nonetheless, the idea that Havel had received a lesson in real-world politics appealed to both Nelson and Friedman. "I think you're right, Jack," Friedman responded after hearing the "learning experience" account. "You know, it's great to have a playwright up there, and it was all wonderful symbolism.... But politics is not about poetry, it's about power, and it's about making hard choices, and not very pure choices sometimes. I think Havel's a wonderful man...I hope he makes a wonderful president, but I think the book is still out."

### A BLITHE ASSUMPTION

This strikingly condescending statement contains a pair of complementary themes: first, the blithe assertion that Havel, as a writer, knows nothing about power. This said of a man who helped engineer the peaceful overthrow of a brutal government, and whose 1978 essay "The Power of the Powerless" was perhaps the key intellectual document for the resistance movements that led up

### In Havel's Own Words

*If a better economic and political model is to be created, then perhaps more than ever before it must derive from profound existential and moral changes in society. This is not something that can be designed and introduced like a new car. If it is to be more than just a new variation on the old degeneration, it must above all be an expression of life in the process of transforming itself. A better system will not automatically ensure a better life. In fact, the opposite is true: a better system can only be developed if a better life is first developed.*

From "The Power of the Powerless," edited by John Keene (M.E. Sharpe, 1985)

to Eastern Europe's recent revolutions. Second, the assumption that if Havel continues in office, he will discover that politics is about "making hard choices," which inevitably compromise an immature desire to remain morally pure. The evidence so far suggests a very different possibility—that, far from learning to compromise on moral questions, Havel will make "living in truth" and human rights first principles of his presidency.

One of his first acts as head of state was to order a commission of inquiry into the expulsion of ethnic Germans from the Sudetenland in 1945. He believes that this act of revenge, which took place under a Czech government not yet dominated by the Soviet Union, was an important first step in his nation's surrender to totalitarianism. In his New Year's address in Prague he asked the people of Czechoslovakia to acknowledge their participation in that surrender. "All of us have grown used to the totalitarian system, accepted it as an immutable fact, and thereby actually helped it keep going," he said.

Taking note of such moves, Trudy Rubin of The Philadelphia Inquirer wrote in a Feb. 23 column of the "concerted effort by Havel to inject, by example, a new kind of politics into a world where the old politics of ideology is fading." Because of his "genius with

words" and his moral standing as a man who "lived by his principles for twenty years," Havel, in Rubin's view, forces us to take seriously his "staggering agenda"—which is to make Czechoslovakia the spiritual center of European politics, an example to other nations of moral responsibility.

### WARNING TO AMERICANS

In proclaiming in his speech that "consciousness precedes being" Havel was not only refuting "a bit of communist dogma," as Mary McGrory said in her Feb. 25 column in The Washington Post. He was also issuing a warning to Americans. Do not assume, said Havel, that the coming triumph of your economic system will by itself bring freedom and justice to the world. The next paragraph of his speech, widely quoted but never put in context by the press, read: "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." Havel was here warning the winners of the Cold War that the victory of free markets and elected governments might leave undisturbed "the anonymous megamachinery we have created for ourselves"—a society that, enslaved to technology and the restless search for material pleasures, is consuming the planet at a dangerous rate.

In his essay "The Power of the Powerless," Havel makes it clear that he regards the totalitarian regimes of the East as "simply another form of the consumer and industrial society." He asks if the passivity of people in a totalitarian society cannot be compared "with the general unwillingness of consumption-oriented people to sacrifice some material certainties for the sake of their own spiritual and moral integrity? With their willingness to surrender higher values when faced with the trivializing temptations of modern civilization? With their vulnerability to the attractions of mass indifference?"

Similar critiques of Western consumer culture have been made before. But rarely have they come from a figure whose opposition to the regimes of the East has been so articulate, so public, and so effective. Havel, because of his experience, takes truth seriously as a force in politics—more seriously, perhaps, than the press.

I VOA / Havel

~~6~~

Regards  
M. Dobrovidel

## BIOGRAPHY OF VACLAV HAVEL

Vaclav Havel was born on October 5, 1936, in Prague. Considered "politically unreliable" by Communist regime he was denied education of his choice and was trained as a chemical laboratory technician, and worked in this capacity from 1951 to 1955. At the same time, he took courses in night school. Beginning in 1955 he attended the School of Economics of the Czech Technical Institute of Higher Learning in Prague. He did not finish the degree, and in 1957 he began basic military training. After finishing his military duty in 1959, he worked as a stage technician at the ABC Theater in Prague. In 1961 he was employed by the Na Zbradli Theater as writer, assistant director and repertory planner. In 1967 he finished his degree at the School of Performing Arts in Prague. One year later - during the Czechoslovak Prague Spring - he joined the "Club of Non-Communist Activists", and became Chairman of the "Club of Independent Writers". Because of his political and artistic views, he was forbidden to work in his profession, and was forced to leave the theater. He was prevented from publishing his books, and his plays were banned. After 1969 he held several blue collar jobs, including a job in a brewery.

Between 1970 and 1989 he was jailed three times, for a total of about 5 years. He is one of the founders and first speakers for Charter 77, a member of the Committee for the Unjustly Persecuted, a member of PEN Club in Czechoslovakia, as well as in a number of other countries including France, Austria, Sweden and Switzerland. In 1982 he received an honorary doctoral degree from the University of Toulouse-le Mirail in France. Last year (1989) he received the Olaf Palme Prize and the German Bookmarket Peace Prize. Dennis deConcini (D-AZ) and CoChairman Steny H. Hoyer (D-MD) of the United States Helsinki Commission nominated Vaclav Havel "...in recognition of (his) tremendous efforts on behalf of human rights" for 1989 Peace Prize.

Vaclav Havel is known not only as an activist for human rights in Czechoslovakia, but also as an outstanding author and playwright. He is the author of 16 plays, among them: Slum Clearance, Audience, Private View, Largo Desolato, The Increased Difficulty of Concentration, and several books: Protocols, An Experiment in Living in Truth, Letters to Olga, The Power of the Powerless, In Various Directions. In 1991, he published his "Open Letters, Selected Writings 1965-1990" (Alfred A Knoff, New York).

Many European institutions have praised and rewarded his civic and moral views, and for many years he symbolized Czechoslovakia's movement against injustice. In 1982 he received the Jan Palach Prize from the International Committee for the Support of Charter 77, the Erasmus of Rotterdam Prize in 1986, the Freedom Prize in 1989, as well as many others.

After the Czechoslovak Gentle Revolution, which began on November 17, 1989, he became the Chairman of the Civic Forum, which initiated the beginning of Czechoslovakia's return to democracy. On December 29, 1989, he was elected by the Federal Assembly to the office of President of Czechoslovakia.

October 15, 1991  
jč/en/md

MIROSLAV S. DOBROVODSKY



Voice of America

European Division

Chief, Czechoslovak Service

330 Independence Ave., S. W.

Washington, D.C., 20547

Tel.: 202/475-2208, 475-2209

Fax Number: 202/475-6208

Date: February 26, 1990

Subject: President Havel on VOA

The Hon.

Allan Mollohan

229 Cannon House building

House of Representatives

Washington, D.C. 20515

Attn. : Rebecca

Following our phone conversation, here is the statement by the President of Czechoslovakia, Vaclav Havel, during his visit at VOA on Tuesday, February 20, 1990. .

The original statement, in Czech:

Chtěl bych poděkovat českému a slovenskému vysílání Hlasu Ameriky za jeho práci. Dlouhá léta to byla nejposlouchanější (československá) stanice. Informovali jste pravdivě o situaci ve světě i u nás doma a pomáhali jste tím k tomu, že přišla ona pokojná revoluce, které jsme se dočkali. Tím ale nechci říci, že teď ztratila vaše práce smysl. Naopak, teď má nový smysl - budete nás muset informovat jak se dělá demokracie, protože my ji teď začínáme budovat, obnovovat po dlouhých desetiletích a máme se hodně co učit. Děkuji vám.

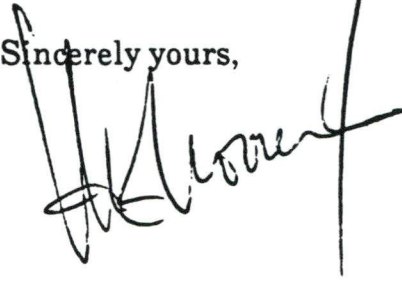
The English translation:

I would like to thank the Czech and Slovak broadcasting service of Voice of America for its work. For many years, it has been the most listened-to (Czechoslovak) radio station. You have informed us truthfully of events around the world and in our country as well, and in this way you helped to bring about the peaceful revolution which had at long last taken place. However, by this I don't intend to say that your work has now lost its meaning. On the contrary, it now has taken on a new meaning - you will have to inform

us about how to create democracy, because we are now beginning to build it,  
to renew it after many long decades, and we have a lot to learn. Thank you

Also, I thought you might be interested in an attached script from last Friday, February 23, by VOA correspondent in Prague on President Havel's press conference upon his return from the U. S. During the televised press conference President (page 2) again spoke about VOA (and RFE) in connection with congressional funding of foreign broadcasts.

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be "M. Kovach", written in a cursive style.

# VOA Broadcast ("Velvet Revolution") Nov 17, 1989

## JUSTIFICATION:

NOTE: The quality of this tape is impaired due to the fact that the recording was taken from VOA archives (reference recorder), not having been recorded at the time the events were taking place.

## DAY ONE, FIRST DEMONSTRATIONS IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

These are segments from the Friday, November 17, 1989, 2 hour show which broke the news, in Prague and in many parts of Czechoslovakia, that a massive demonstration was taking place in Prague, that riot police and airborne troops had been called in to break it up, even though the demonstration had originally been permitted by the authorities. Vaclav Benda, of the newly-established political party "The Czechoslovak Democratic Initiative", commented on the brutal action in Prague as he watched--from his apartment window--the events as they happened. Present Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel's brother Ivan described his personal encounter with the police a few minutes after the occurred. Jan Kuchyna of the Democratic Press Center in Prague went on the air live after 2200 local time, at which time VOA Czechoslovak broke into regular programming to update the police action story.

On the afternoon and evening of Friday, November 17, 1989, Czechoslovakia was under total news blackout. VOA-Czechoslovak was one of the very few sources of information, in many areas of Prague and Czechoslovakia the ONLY source of up to the minute information. According to our sources, many people left Prague suburbs to join the demonstration in the center of town AFTER 2115 local time, having learned about the events from our first news broadcast. According to CNN News, Northern Bohemia (the cities of Hradec Kralove and Liberec,) learned about the demonstration from VOA broadcasts and left for Prague on Saturday, November 18, in order to join the demonstrations that followed.

The immediacy of the situation--the events began at 2:15 PM EST, some 50 minutes before we broke the story--required a total restructuring of the 2 hour Czechoslovak show. In the second hour we interrupted our regular programming in order to broadcast a live telephone conversation with Mr. Kuchyna from Prague.

The staff displayed quick thinking and imagination in bringing the information on the air. When we called a certain apartment in Prague to ask about the situation, and Mr. Ivan Havel answered quite unexpectedly, we asked him to relate his experiences, and the reporter quickly recorded the telephone conversation on an unsophisticated cassette recorder. He ran into the studio with the cassette, and we broadcast the conversation within three minutes of the conversation with Mr. Havel..

Announcer:

We are receiving information that the legally permitted student demonstration which began at four o'clock this afternoon on the occasion of the observance of the International Students' Day, is continuing. A few minutes ago, Dr. Vaclav Benda of the Committee for the Defense of the Unjustly Persecuted, and the speaker for the newly established Christian group, Group for Citizens' Freedom, told us by telephone that in his estimation the original number of participants, earlier estimated to be around 10,000, has increased several fold.

Benda:

At this time, a column of twenty to thirty thousand people is marching into the center of town. The police is trying to somehow stop and divide it. Now emergency units have been called up, and clashes are occurring in the area of the National Theater and National Street. It is impossible to say how things will develop from there.

Announcer:

Vaclav Benda spoke with our reporter Zdenek Sadlon.

In the meantime, we received a message from the Democratic Press Center in Prague which confirms the fact that the demonstration is continuing. The students are carrying signs saying "We don't want violence", "Arise, arise, you great city of Prague", "Students of all colleges, unite", "Stop beating students", "Jakes out, Stepan out", "Long live the Charter", and "We don't want to stand alone".

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Announcer:

And now a short report about the present situation in Prague.

Voice:

A few minutes ago we contacted Ivan Havel in Prague and received the latest news about the current state of the manifestation in Prague.

Ivan Havel:

When the program ended in Vysehrad, the column moved, as a unit, down to the riverfront, past the U Manesu Art Gallery, past the National Theater where it turned into National Street. Up till then there was no police intervention, in fact, there was a policeman in every side street holding back the traffic. It looked almost as if the police were guarding the crowd. And when the crowd moved down National Street, when the head of the column reached the Maj department store, or Perstyn, everything kind of stopped, and that was the first indication that something was wrong. Up till then people chanted, everyone was happy, they sang, high spirits. That's where they blocked a thoroughway, at Pernstyn, there were about four cops there, in those helmets. That column must have been several kilometers long, because by the time we got to Zofin, the head had already turned

down National Street, and the crowd was still coming from beyond the U Manesu Art Gallery. The crowd carried signs with all kinds of interesting messages, which I'm sure someone had already mentioned. And when the crowd stopped at Pernstyn, the column telescoped, into an area from Pernstyn to--[aside] what's the name of that church? that church on National street, opposite the Writers' Union? What did you say?--to the Volsovsky church. That area was packed. And another police appeared at the back, so they made a kind of pincers, those two cordons, and the only escape route was this little alley, the Vokulantska, but no one was escaping, because evdryone was trying to support everyone else, they chanted "We want to go to Wenceslas Square" and so on, and the police began to yell through megaphones, "Diperse!" for quite a while. Usually they start to move agianst the crowd right after that. But this time they did "t do anything for quite a while, sothe crowd just kind of stayed there. For example, everyone sat down at one point, then total silence, then everyone would start yelling, chanted, then they began to sing that song "We Won't Go Home", and others. And then, after a while, the police began to move against the crowd. They began--I was in the middle of the crowd, so I'm not really sure what happened all over, but at some point the cops became very hectic, they'd run into the crowd, pull someone out and start beating him up with nightsticks and chasing him toward the buses they had ready, and that's how my wife and I ended up, because we just kind of stood there next to the metro, and one of the cops picked me out, and my wife grabbed onto me, so they took us away. But we got lucky that they let us go a little later, because I had some scientific article in my briefcase, in English, and at first they thought it was some kind of a subversive document, but then they somehow found out what it was, and didn't know what to do with it, so they let us go.

Voice:

Did they ask for your identification?

Ivan Havel:

Yes, of course. And wrote it down, too. Some people ended up in bad shape, got all beaten up. Well, we also got hit with a nightstick a few times, but not too bad. Nevertheless, the fact remains that they left it alone until the crowd reached Pernstyn, and that's where they began.

Anouncer:

That was Prague. Now over to Libor Roucek.

Voice:

We just got a message from eyewitnesses, which however has not been confirmed by other objective sources. Riot police and airborne troops, supported by armored vehicles, are taking brutal action against the crowd of 20 to 30 thousand which had gathered on National Street. It is the most brutal intervention in the past 20 years. According to witnesses, blood has been spilled. This is the latest from Prague, and I repeat, has not been confirmed by other sources. I repeat, there is no confirmation from other sources.

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Anouncer:

**INTRO INTO HITPARADE** Continues for 2 minutes, at which point announcer interrupts:

**Announcer:**

Dear listeners, we are interrupting The American Hitparade to bring you the latest news from Prague. Zdenek Sadlon now speaks with Mr. Kuchyna of the Democratic Press Center in Prague.

**Voice:**

Mr. Kuchyna...Mr. Kuchyna...Mr. Kuchyna, you have just returned from the demonstration in Prague. Could you tell us something about how it ended? and if possible, could you confirm or disprove news we received from an eyewitness who said that there was shooting on National Street?

/Mr. Kuchyna speaks about the final moments of the National Street and Wencesals Square demonstration. Since the telephone line quality was not the best, our reporter later synopsized Mr. Kuchyna's statements./

A mass demonstration took place in Prague. Riot police and military units began to break the crowds up. The demonstrating crowd was surrounded on both sides, was squeezed up against walls, beaten with nightsticks. Neither the police nor the airborne units used shields, just nightsticks, which they used to beat up the demonstrators. Mr. Kuchyna said he saw bloodied faces, people were terrified. All in all, nothing pretty.

**Announcer:**

Dear listeners, now back to the regularly scheduled program of our two hour broadcast.

VOA BROADCAST / OCT 15/89

JUSTIFICATION

Dubcek and Jakes on Havel

NOTE: The translation is as accurate as we could manage. Any illogic or incorrect grammar are Mr. Jakes' fault, not ours.

This backgrounder, in which we used the secretly recorded speech Mr. Jakes made at a meeting of west Bohemia's Party and Government leadership, was broadcast on Sunday, October 15, 1989--the day Mr. Vaclav Havel, presently the President of Czechoslovakia, was to be awarded the Peace Prize in Frankfurt, West Germany. Despite the fact that the West German government officially requested that the Czechoslovak government allow Mr. Havel to accept the prize in person, Mr. Havel was not allowed to leave Czechoslovakia. We used excerpts from Mr. Jake's speech justifying this decision, and counter-balanced his reasoning with those of thre other prominent Czechs and Slovaks, among them Alexander Dubcek, presently the Speaker of the Czechoslovak Assembly.

This was the first time that Mr. Alexander Dubcek agreed to a VOA interview conducted via telephone. The interviews were prepared one hour before broadcast.

The post-revolution Czechoslovak State Radio asked VOA Czechoslovak for a copy of this program, which they broadcast on December 29, 1989--the day Mr. Havel was elected President of Czechoslovakia.

## JAKES, DUBCEK ON VACLAV HAVEL

Announcer:

West German President Richard von Weizsaecker, Chancellor Helmut Kohl and other dignitaries were present at today's International Book Fair in Frankfurt when the Peace Prize was awarded. This year's recipient was Czech playwright and human rights activist Vaclav Havel. Some time ago, West German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher had asked Czechoslovak authorities to allow Vaclav Havel to travel to West Germany in order to receive the prize in person. Even Alexander Dubcek, who had led the communist party in 1968, criticized the fact that Havel was not permitted to travel to West Germany. Dubcek said that in his opinion the decision not to allow Havel to leave the country is characteristic of present day atmosphere in Czechoslovakia.

Dubcek:

All I have to say is this: I heard he received the prize, but at the same time I heard that he won't be able to accept it in person, since he cannot leave the country. Allegedly, they confiscated his passport. I don't know how much of this is true, but if it is true, which fact would correspond with today's atmosphere, I can't agree with the decision, can't say more than that it's part of a non-democratic way of doing things. Because if he was awarded a prize of that magnitude, he should have the right to accept it in person. I can't imagine creating obstacles in such a case. It is sad that this is the case, but it reflects the specific type of situation, atmosphere presently prevailing in Czechoslovakia.

Announcer:

The decision not to allow Vaclav Havel to accept the Peace Prize in person was evidently made in the highest circles of Party leadership. This fact is indicated in a secretly made recording of a speech Milos Jakes made at a closed meeting of Western Bohemia's state and party leadership, which took place in July of this year. Jakes confirmed the fact that West German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher asked Czechoslovak authorities to permit Vaclav Havel to visit Frankfurt. Jakes continued that Czechoslovak leadership heard Minister Genscher out, but, as Milos Jakes stated, "we gave him no answer. Naturally," added Jakes, "we won't allow Vaclav Havel to leave."

Jakes:

What in principle should we do? There is a difference if the people support us, and if the people call for it, many people, and there is a difference in whether we formulate this as official, open politics [sic]. If we say, Well, we'll simply lock up Havel, I think that would do no one any good. In my opinion, as long as he doesn't commit any clearly and seriously illegal acts--but it's another thing whether we let him go anywhere--no one made any such promises--Mr. Genscher asked us to let him go, and we heard him out. And let it go without an answer. Said we'd think about it. Why should we argue about things like that? That's our business, whether we do it or not. And clearly, we won't let him go there. He wants a

guarantee. He says he has no passport. So, for us to give him a passport, but so he can come back. He's afraid we won't let him come back. That we'll strip him of his citizenship. And if that happens, from that moment he is nothing. He's nothing. He's valuable while he is here. As long as he's active here. We have to strike not directly at him, but at someone else, generally, so it can't be used against us. Because that entire cultural world immediately mobilizes to help him, and that means even the democratic one, world wide. Meaning, all international radio stations immediately start screaming, all western journals print articles, about what we did with Havel, what we did to Havel. And some kind of opinion forms against us, and opinion about us. Those people can't verify anything. Therefore we have to carry on wisely, so that our interests suffer no damage.

Announcer:

Milos Jakes' statement at the secret meeting is considered to be in direct contradiction to Czechoslovakia's official human rights obligations. In a telephone conversation with the Voice of America, Alexander Dubcek spoke of these obligations.

Dubcek:

Well, I don't believe they should sign international agreements such as the Helsinki agreement, or the latter Vienna agreement, when in reality they can't adhere to it, and, what I feel is the greatest mistake of all, these international agreements are not formulated in such a manner that they can be adapted to each country's laws. Any such internationally recognized document should be incorporated into the legal system. That is not true of us here, so the theory is not in agreement with reality. I can't explain it any other way.

Announcer:

The Czechoslovak leadership asks party members to actually support its decisions to act against all individuals and groups which demand dialog. They cracked down hard on the organizers of the Few Sentences petition, which has been signed by Vaclav Havel, in fact, which has already been signed by more than 30,000 people.

In July of this year, Milos Jakes spoke of 2,500 signatures, and asked party members to act against the petition and, in his words, "not leave the party up a creek."

Jakes:

A comrade asked yesterday why we should write resolutions condemning the Few Sentences petition, if Havel is the author, when our leadership promised Minister Genscher that Havel will be permitted to award [sic] that prize, that it had been announced out of West Germany. Well, then first of all, we should write denouncements. Well, look. These things need reaction. Why do they need reaction [sic]. Because then those who wrote the Few Sentences will say: see, the Central Committee has been heard from, the leadership denounced it. The people are silent, they don't care, and we have 2,500 signatures. The people stand behind us. And those people, that expression of democracy, has a right, and I would even say a duty, to state its position. Not leave its leadership up a creek [sic].

Announcer:

Alexander Dubcek insists that the people have a right to express a differing opinion. These words were in rebuttal to Milos Jakes' criticism, during the secret meeting of western Bohemian state and party leadership, of Dubcek's visits of Vaclav Havel and Cardinal Tomasek.

"You were criticized for visiting--you, a communist--Vaclav Havel and Cardinal Tomasek."

Dubcek:

This, of course, is pertinent not only today, but 21 years ago: we had instituted a premise that one may be a reform-minded socialist, and still have a good relationship with those who want to express an opinion that varies [with the official line].

Announcer:

So you don't see Vaclav Havel's activities as anti-state, anti-patriotic?

Dubcek:

Well, if that were the case, I wouldn't have done what I did. I believe that everyone has his own way of expressing his relationship to his country. I believe that even those who are on the outside, have left this country, that they left under specific circumstances. Those people held their own opinions. I can't follow their lead, but I don't see their actions as representing any kind of anti-state activity. And I can't hold any such opinion of Havel, who expresses his dissatisfaction with internal policies. That is a matter of the rights of every citizen, to express his opinion of the country's policies.

Announcer:

That means that by not allowing Vaclav Havel to travel to Frankfurt to accept the Peace Prize.

Dubcek:

I don't consider that to be right.

Announcer:

According to the secretly made recording, the General Secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, Milos Jakes, holds a diametrically opposing opinion.

Jakes:

And the same goes for that man Dubcek. He travels around, or would like to travel around in the world. We're heavily criticized. He wanted to visit Italy a second time. We wouldn't let him. Now he wants to go to Spain. No. Naturally, ambassadors call on us. Premiers write letters, party secretaries. The Chairman of the Socialist

International--what's his name, Brandt, Willy Brandt--writes, and so on. Everyone intervenes. It's complicated, these matters. And that's why this support from below is so important. So that we can say, We're not the ones who want it that way, the people demand it! Also, we agree with the people. We are fulfilling their wishes. So that we're not just standing there all alone.

Announcer:

Prominent Czechoslovak human rights activist, engineer Jiri Hanzelka of the Hanzelka-Zikmund explorer duo, considers the awarding of the International Book Fair Peace Prize to Vaclav Havel to be in recognition of self-sacrifice and of the work of a man who leads an all-out fight for the eradication of antagonism, a fight against stupidity and cowardice, and for understanding. When asked about the significance of the award in the fight for political and social democratization of Czechoslovakia, Jiri Hanzelka said:

Hanzelka:

Please don't take this in the wrong way, but I believe that answering such an ambiguous question would be a little like carrying coals to Newcastle. And on top of that, it is a little difficult for me to be objective, because Vaclav Havel is among my closest, and highly respected, friends. But at any rate, I still think that this is a basic and permanent characteristic of literary and social activity. It is a self-sacrificing and all-out fight for the removal of anachronistic, and--in a highly developed, cultured society of the end of the twentieth century--ridiculous-- social antagonisms. The search for the ways and means to remove from the road to a democratic society the boulders of lack of understanding, willfulness, stupidity and cowardice. Havel not only senses that which prevents a democratic coexistence of citizens; he is also able to clearly articulate it both artistically and in societal activity. And that something is none other than the establishment of a true peace; a mutual understanding, and a wisely organized, productive activity of the decisive majority of the citizens of this country. Havel, in his entire being, is cognizant of this basic necessity, and serves it loyally. He knows that only a society divested of senseless tensions can establish positive traditions, and, like a self contained spring, can be integrated into the mainstream of European culture. And for that reason I am convinced that the decision made by the West German publishers was not only good, but also fully justified. And if you don't mind, I would like to take this opportunity and use your medium, the Voice of America, to sincerely congratulate him.

Announcer:

Dr. Milan Simecka, a Bratislava writer and philosopher, considers the awarding of the Peace Prize to Vaclav Havel to be a recognition of his moral stand, his struggle to do all so man can live in truth, and speak the truth.

Simecka:

The Frankfurt Prize is a huge one. That is evident even from the list of names of those who have received it in the past. I think that, first of all, that this is a personal award. It is Havel's prize. It is an award that has to do with his literary work, his position in the cultural world, and of Havel as a public figure. I believe this, even though I understand, from having heard many interviews, that Havel sees this prize as an award to the entire new movement in Czechoslovakia, a movement

which has existed for ten years or more. And he's not just being polite. Sometimes I feel that all this fame is really wearying to him, that sometimes he would like to exchange some of those prizes for applause at the Na Zabradli Theater, the Bratislava Theater, or anywhere else one of his plays could now be staged, here in Czechoslovakia. What's important is that this award expresses appreciation of his stand, which I would hardly call political, because he himself denies any leanings toward politics, or any interest in politics. He has a different understanding of it all. And I believe that this is an unusual phenomenon, because there is presently a tendency in Europe, and especially in Czechoslovakia, to view as extraordinarily important something that was once not considered to be politics at all: by that I mean such havelian phrases as "to live in truth", "to speak the truth", or better yet, "to say what you are thinking". That's Havel's belief. I once read a letter from Havel to Dubcek, dated 1969, in which he states his position. And now it is beginning to bear fruit, despite the fact that Havel never, ever uses political language, doesn't use political jargon, that he bases everything on moral grounds. And that works in Czechoslovakia. Surprisingly, this works all over Eastern Europe, that's what the entire movement is based on. And looking at it from that point of view, I can't imagine anyone else who would more deserve that award.

Announcer:

Vaclav Havel announced that he will use the financial award which accompanies the Frankfurt International Book Fair Peace Prize to establish an independent publishing house in Czechoslovakia.

## WASHINGTON WAYS

## Vaclav Havel, Face to Face With the Voice

By Donnie Radcliffe  
Washington Post Staff Writer

**H**e had been listening to their voices for years. Last week, en route from the White House to the Library of Congress, Czechoslovakian President Vaclav Havel wanted to see the faces at the Voice of America, to thank the broadcasters and to tell them their work has taken on new meaning.

When Havel arrived at VOA studios, awaiting him were 30 members of the Czechoslovak Service who had kept Havel and his countrymen informed all those years under Communist rule. "You will have to inform us about how to create democracy, because we are now beginning to build it, to renew it after many long decades, and we have a lot to learn," he told them later.

But before the broadcasters could present flowers or the traditional greeting of bread and salt or a tape of memorable VOA broadcasts, including the first word of the November Revolution aired in Czechoslovakia, somebody whispered to VOA Director Richard W. Carlson that Havel had more urgent business.

Ever the obliging host, Carlson set off with Havel, leading an entourage that included the VOA's Czechoslovak Service Chief Miroslav Dobrovodsky, Ambassador Shirley Temple Black, Chief of Protocol Joseph V. Reed Jr., a detail of Secret Service agents plus VOA's entire Czech language service down a long corridor, destination unknown. Finally they stopped and as Havel turned in there was laughter and applause.

There's talk that men's room door should get a plaque.

To whom does the chief of protocol turn as final authority when he doesn't know the answer?

Faced with deciding whether to accompany Czechoslovakian President Havel on his rounds one night last week or attend a dinner Moroccan

Foreign Minister Abdulatif Filali, Reed chose the latter.

"The king of Morocco is my friend and Minister Filali his representative," said Reed, who was U.S. ambassador to Morocco from 1981-85. "What would you have done?"

Probably the same thing Reed did: Ask the president of the United States for a ruling.

There's more than one way to promote your state even though breaking a leg probably isn't one of them. When the New Mexico First Couple turned up at the Bushes' black tie dinner for the nation's governors Sunday night, Katherine Carruthers hobbled in on crutches. "You ought to ski New Mexico like she does," Gov. Garrey E. Carruthers urged reporters.

Just when the White House press corps thought the peripatetic George Bush might actually be slowing down for a weekend of R&R at Walter and Lee Annenberg's palatial Palm Springs estate, he invited Japanese Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu over for a summit meeting. "I wanted to give you something to keep you busy," Bush teased reporters Sunday night.

Turning serious, the president confirmed an air of urgency about his invitation.

"It's very important that he solidify his position," Bush said of Kaifu, who claimed victory in parliamentary elections last week.

"The United States, as fascinated as we are by the changes in Eastern Europe and even in South America, does not want to send signals to the Pacific that we're neglecting them," said Bush, whose defense secretary, Dick Cheney, last week announced belt tightening measures that will reduce U.S. troops in the Pacific region by 10 percent.

Woodlawn Plantation's 27th annual needlework exhibition, opening to the public Saturday, will

needlepoint creche. Made by the "Saintly Stitchers" of Houston's St. Martin's Episcopal Church, the creche was a surprise gift to the Bushes shortly before Christmas. Mrs. Bush will attend an awards coffee Friday at the Richmond Highway plantation when Friends of Woodlawn will preview the show, which continues through March 25.

Other activities on Mrs. Bush's schedule for the week include a visit to the Bethesda Retirement and Nursing Home in Chevy Chase today. She's taking along her dog though nobody is expecting Millie to care a lot about the "Music and Memories" sing-along. This afternoon, Mrs. Bush will visit the Eastern Branch of the Boys and Girls Club of Greater Washington, where she'll talk to students doing their homework, see the print shop and game room and participate with teen mothers in something called "Swap Talk," which is part of a program called Project Right Start.

Thursday, the First Lady will address a Wolf Trap and the Arts luncheon at the Willard Hotel.

At the White House they're known as "The Incredible Shrinking Flacks."

Press secretary Marlin Fitzwater's waistline has tapered to a wasp-like 38 inches thanks to an Optifast liquid diet and 55 fewer pounds. And Anna Perez, Barbara Bush's press secretary, is tipping her scales 12 pounds lighter than she did a month ago.

Perez, who sips Slim Fast at two of her three daily meals, says she has 25 pounds yet to shed. Probably nobody watches her silhouette more closely than her boss.

"Should we all go in and weigh Anna and then once a week have a report on Anna's weight—and see how she feels about that?" Mrs. Bush recently asked reporters in a get-even jab at Perez for the way she handles announcements about the First Lady's health.

Nobody took Mrs. Bush up on it, however. To Perez's relief

**SUBJECT: Quotes on VOA**

as of June 13, 1991

From: Miroslav S. Dobrovodsky, Chief, Czechoslovak Service

V. HAVEL'S QUOTES  
on Page 2 & 3

Following are some statements on VOA in general, and VOA Czechoslovak in particular, collected as of June 7, 1991, for future references.

● **SENATOR RICHARD LUGAR (R-INDIANA), June 7, 1991**

In a VOA Czechoslovak exclusive interview upon his return from Prague Senator Lugar also mentioned the continuous need and an appeal of VOA and RFE in Czechoslovakia:

"I was intrigued --- (Czechoslovak) officials as well as people who are not in government said: please, keep Radio Free Europe going, please, keep Voice of America going, please, keep all those programs what you now have. And I said (to them): Why do you say that? You have now a free press. (Their) answer: That's right, but as with all institutions, the press is on the learning curve, likewise we're trying to learn how to be legislators, administrators, economists, and we should try (to learn) how to be journalists, how to be critical of the government but not destructive, how to seek out stories...these broadcast (RFE and VOA) offer an objective standard and at least to the next elections --- so they said --- you are to try keep up that level of broadcasting. It was a very interesting point".

● **PRESIDENT GEORGE BUSH, in Prague, November 17, 1990**

President George Bush, in Prague, in his address to the Federal Assembly of the Czech and Slovak Federated Republic, November 17, 1990:

"Generations of Americans, Czechs and Slovaks sustained these common bonds. In the battle to defeat Nazi tyranny, America stood with the courageous Czech and Slovak Partisans, fighting for freedom. Through the long dark days after 1940, we --- like you --- refused to accept Europe's division. Through Radio Free Europe and the Voice of America, we held aloft the ideal of truth --- we spoke a common language of hope. At long last, the grip of dictators weakened."

● **Congressman MARTIN FROST (D - Texas)** in a letter to the Chief, Czechoslovak Service, thanking him for the tapes of a Dubcek interview he had requested, September 10, 1990:

"Voice of America continues to be a strong part of our foreign policy, and the results that are now showing in Europe can, in great part, be attributed to the influence of mass media, including radio --- particularly the Voice of America".

● **PRESIDENT GEORGE BUSH, April 2, 1990**

Remarks to THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF BROADCASTERS, Georgia World Congress Center, Atlanta, Georgia.

For these (oppressed) nations, truth was something to be twisted and stretched by the brutal hands of authority, manipulated beyond recognition. The Czech author, Milan Kundera, calls this time the "kingdom of forgetting" --- when whole nations almost forgot their heroic histories and finest traditions... From Havana to Prague to Phom Penh, the peoples of these lands never fully gave in to amnesia, because even in the worst hours of repression, they could always count on a friendly voice to remind them of the truth --- Radio Marti, Radio Liberty, Radio Free Europe --- and, God bless it, the Voice of America..."

"How did it (the downfall of Communism in Eastern Europe) happen? It happened in part because of the power of truth. Czechoslovakia's playwright-president, Vaclav Havel, paid a very personal tribute to this power on his recent visit to Washington, when he visited the Voice of America, and met the employees of its (Czechoslovak) division. It was a very poignant encounter -- for Havel didn't recognize any of them by face, he knew them all by name the instant he heard them speak..."

● **Czechoslovak President Vaclav HAVEL, February 20, 1990**

During his visit at VOA Czechoslovak on Tuesday, February 20, 1990, President Havel said:

"I would like to thank the Czech and Slovak broadcasting service of Voice of America for its work. For many years, it has been the most listened-to (Czechoslovak) radio station. You have informed us truthfully of events around the world and in our country as well, and in this way you helped to bring about the peaceful revolution which had at long last taken place. However, by this I don't intend to say that your work has now lost its meaning. On the contrary, it now has taken on a new meaning - you will have to inform us about how to create democracy, because we are now beginning to build it, to renew it after many long decades, and we have a lot to learn. Thank you."

● **President George BUSH at the press conference, March 15, 1990**

(Unidentified questioner) "It seems to me the Voice of America has been one of the best tool for exporting ideas of democracy. And yet, I understand that we want to cut their budget. Don't you think that it would be better if we just maintain the budget in order to continue to have this influence in the countries of the Eastern bloc?"

President Bush's response: "I am embarrassed to say that I don't have the figures, but I am not aware of any cut in the budget because, like you, I accept your premise --- your hypothesis. And you know why? Because Vaclav Havel, the playwright president of Czechoslovakia, expressed his --- not only appreciation ---for what the

Voice of America did in bringing --- keeping the hope of democracy and freedom alive --- but also insisted it's essential that the Voice still goes there. So I don't think --- can somebody help me? --- we don't think we have recommended cuts in the Voice, but maybe we could get your name. It's a good, specific question and --- we'll let you know the exact numbers. But whatever the figures, believe me. There is no philosophical commitment to 'ratchet down', or cut back on the Voice because, I agree with you, it's even more important that the message of freedom continue to be heard, and I accept the word of (President) Havel in the process."

- Czechoslovak President Vaclav HAVEL in Prague, February 23, 1990

Report from Prague on President Havel's press conference on Friday, February 23, 1990, upon his return from the United States:

President Havel said at the televised news conference in Prague on Friday, February 23, that he had told President Bush and members of the congressional foreign relation committees that they should allocate more, rather than less, funding to the Voice of America (and Radio Free Europe) for broadcasts to Eastern Europe. In his words: these stations "have not lost their purpose and if they make certain changes in their concepts, they can continue to play an incredibly significant and important role and do numerous things which domestic media are unable to do." He also referred to the warm welcome (strašně vřelé přivítání) he received at the Voice of America while in Washington.

- Alexander DUBCEK, President of the Czechoslovakian Parliament, at VOA Washington studio, May 12, 1990

On Saturday, May 12, Alexander Dubcek, the '68 Prague Spring leader and presently the President of the Czechoslovakian Parliament, paid tribute to the Voice of America. Shortly after the beginning of his interview, A. Dubcek said it was a very good feeling to sit at the VOA studio in Washington because it suggested that the fight for democracy in Czechoslovakia begun during the 1968 Prague Spring was not a futile one. He continued:

"It is a good feeling. Because today, here at the Voice of America, I probably have exactly the same feeling as any other listener of yours (in Czechoslovakia) who very carefully followed your every single word on the air, each one of your voices that so helped to inform our people about what was happening. Unfortunately, during those days, and you must be very well aware of it, we had no chance (to get information) from our domestic media, so the Voice of America meant so much to us. So, in my opinion, it is a good feeling (to be here and speak with you) not only for us (the Czechs and the Slovaks), and for me personally, but I hope you at the Voice of America also feel a great deal of satisfaction at the fact that you also were among (those) who had helped to get things done, thus in your own humble way made that Brezhnevite militarism and neo-stalinism a thing of the past."

At the end of his 40 minute long interview, after being thanked for granting the interview, he said:

"And I have to express my thanks for everything that the staff of this radio station (Voice of America) have done for us... those who had worked at home in not easy, difficult conditions, and in their own way helped to bring down, what I would call the Czechoslovak Bastille.

- **THE WASHINGTON POST, February 27, 1990**

"He had been listening to their voices for years. Last week, en route from the White House to the Library of Congress, Czechoslovakian President Vaclav Havel wanted to see the faces at the Voice of America, to thank the broadcasters and to tell them their work has taken on new meaning... "You will have to inform us about how to create democracy, because we are now beginning to build it, to renew it after many long decades, and we have a lot to learn," he told them..."

- **NATIONAL REVIEW, March 19, 1990**

"It was an emotional moment at Voice of America headquarters in Washington last week when (Czechoslovak) president Vaclav HAVEL interrupted his busy schedule to meet and embrace writers and broadcasters from the (Czech/Slovak-language) service, many of whose voices were familiar to him from long years of listening to VOA. "The part you played in in the revolution was very real," he told them. Two weeks earlier Lech Walensa had said much about Radio Free Europe's role in Poland's liberation.... Years earlier, shortly after his exile, Aleksandr Solzhenicyn had lyrically evoked "the mighty non-military force which resides in the airwaves and whose kindling power in the midst of Communist darkness cannot even be grasped by the Western civilization." Such encomiums should blunt the enthusiasm of D. C budget-cutters who are asking whether the Voice... shouldn't be cut back with the waning of the cold war. The answer is resounding No."

- **Karel MASTNY, Editor-in-Chief, News and Documentary Programs, Radio Prague**

In closing statements of the live radiobridge (March 7, 1990) between Czechoslovak Radio, Prague, and VOA Czechoslovak, Washington (on the founder of Czechoslovakia, Thomas Garrigue Masaryk and his American experience and inspiration), the Radio Prague moderator Karel Mastny (Editor-in-Chief, News and Documentary Programs) unexpectedly felt obliged to pay tribute to VOA. He said:

"Over the past years it was you ( the Voice of America ) who have not only supplied us with serious information, but also filled us with the hope that man can live to see something better. We had no notion that it would happen; of course, this has already been said many times. But we in the (Czechoslovak) radio, those of us who have been able to stay and to survive, so to speak, have been following you very closely, you were a source of such great hopes for us. And I will tell you that (I am proud) at having the honor of establishing contact with the radio station that had managed to do so much work during .... our dark days".

- **New Czechoslovak Ambassador to the U. S. Rita KLIMOVA**

In an interview granted to the VOA Czechoslovak reporter and broadcast on February 10, 1990 (taking her official duties in Washington) the ambassador said:

"Voice of America is very popular in Czechoslovakia, I am sure you know its nickname "Prague 3"... I believe that many people (in Czechoslovakia) listen faithfully to Voice of America, simply because that is what they have been doing every evening at 9 o'clock for many years, and, especially, because they can be sure that Voice of America will inform them in a concise way about the main world

events. Radio Free Europe, in my opinion, has a tendency to raise a false impression that Eastern and Central Europe is the hub of the world. Compared to that, Voice of America has an advantage in that its programming is more objective and truthful. For example, if the main news event of the day comes from the Pacific area, your line-up will give it the number one position, whereas Radio Free Europe will relegate it to the 28th position. Therefore, people keep listening to Voice of America, and I personally wish that VOA would help to educate and inform people about political structures existing in the world and their alternatives. I believe that the Voice of America could perform that very well... The same applies to the economy. People in Czechoslovakia have, for example, terrible fear of unemployment and imagine that unemployed are starving to death... Teaching of English is also needed...It would be wonderful if Voice of America could do all I have mentioned."

● **Czechoslovak MINISTER OF INTERIOR RICHARD SACHER on Secret Service's dossiers on VOA Czechoslovak, March 22, 1990**

Minister of Interior Richard Sacher, in charge of dismantling the old Communist Secret Service in Czechoslovakia visited VOA Czechoslovak Service. In an interview with the VOA reporter he also responded frankly to a question about possible "old" secret service's dossiers in Prague collected over the years and kept on Czech and Slovak VOA staff members working in Washington.

"What kind of dossiers are there in your vaults on the Czechoslovak Service of the Voice of America... if we were to measure their thickness in centimeters, how thick would they be?"

Minister Sacher: "Well, I guess, it would not be enough to use centimeters. We would probably have to use some larger unit of measurement... for measuring distances."

Question: "What will happen to those dossiers?"

Minister Sacher: "Well, it depends. We (may) leave them in the archives. (Or) if the Voice of America would be interested, then we will release them to (you)."

● **PEOPLES NEWS DAILY (LIDOVE NOVINY) PRAGUE, JANUARY 9, 1990**

Staff writer Alexander Kramer, under the headline "The Instigating (foreign) radio stations" writes:

"We used to listen to foreign stations broadcasting in Czech and Slovak. To Voice of America, BBC, Radio Free Europe, Deutsche Welle and some others. We learned from them all what our press, our radio, our television should have told us - but did not ... Naturally, we also had access to samizdat publications. However, the scope of their reach had been negligible... We know by now that most of what we were told by these stations (in the past) was true.... That's why today it is proper to say to them all: 'Thank you!'... I believe that our main criterion in our attitude (towards foreign radio stations) should be whether they are helping or hurting us.

● **FIRST DEPUTY PREMIER OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA on VOA's effectiveness, APRIL 3, 1990**

The First Deputy Premier of the Czechoslovak Federal Government, Dr. Jan Carnogursky, in an interview with VOA during his recent visit to VOA's Czechoslovak

Service in Washington, touched upon the role and impact of Voice of America, past and future, among Czech and Slovak listeners. He said:

**"I believe the Voice of America has been the most listened to radio in Czechoslovakia, certainly until the velvet revolution. Even now, because of (VOA's) enormous expertise in gathering the information, in elaborating on it and thus in broadcasting it, the Voice of America is the radio that (people) do listen to and will listen to in the future. And in this sense (VOA) can, in certain sense, teach our (domestic) media about how to disseminate the news... Voice of America has played a big role in the downfall of the old (Czechoslovak) government. I dare to say that if it were not for Voice of America, the downfall of the Communist regime would have materialized, but probably not in November 1989, as it did, but later, let's say, in November 1990."**

U.S. Congress • Washington, D.C. 20515  
Steny H. Hoyer, Chairman  
Dennis DeConcini, Co-Chairman

202/225-1901

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Contact: Erika B. Schlager

1989

**VACLAV HAVEL NOMINATED  
FOR 1989 NOBEL PEACE PRIZE**

Washington, D.C. -- In a letter to the Nobel Institute, Chairman Dennis DeConcini (D-AZ) and CoChairman Steny H. Hoyer (D-MD) of the United States Helsinki Commission nominated Vaclav Havel for the 1989 Nobel Peace Prize. Havel, who is currently in prison because of his activities as a human right monitor, is a world renown playwright and long-time activist for human rights.

After noting that Mr. Havel was one of the original participants in Charter 77, a citizens' initiative, and an early activist in VONS, the Committee for the Defense of the Unjustly Persecuted, the letter noted that Havel's dedication to fundamental freedoms and democracy has endured relentless harassment -- including imprisonment and repeated detentions, house searches, and confiscation of property -- by the authorities. DeConcini and Hoyer stated, in part:

"In 1988, Mr. Havel became associated with several new Czechoslovak human rights initiatives. In particular, he has signed 'Democracy for All,' the manifesto of the Movement for Civil Liberties, which was established in October 1988 in order to promote political pluralism and democracy through peaceful means. He is also a member of the Czechoslovak Helsinki Committee, created in November 1988 with the specific goal of monitoring and reporting on compliance with the Helsinki Accords, including the strong new commitments contained in the concluding document of the recently concluded Vienna CSCE Review Meeting.

"At a time when many other East European states appear to be making substantial movement towards greater democracy, Czechoslovakia is experiencing a wave of repression the severity and extent of which has not been seen since 1968-69. Yet Vaclav Havel's devotion to peace and human rights has been unwavering and his role critical to the fate of human rights in Czechoslovakia. As of this writing, he is once again in prison and facing uncertain charges related to his independent and peaceful activities.

"In recognition of Vaclav Havel's tremendous efforts on behalf of human rights and democratic reform, [we] nominate him for the unique recognition which only the Nobel Institute can bestow: the 1989 Nobel Peace Prize."

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*"Although there are forces in Czechoslovakia that do not support the new order, the country's level of economic development, its Western orientation, its developed country structure and its previous experience with democratic political institutions all bode well for the future of democracy. . . . However, the transition to democracy and a market economy will not be a rapid or easy process."*

## Czechoslovakia's "Velvet Revolution"

BY SHARON L. WOLCHIK

*Director, Russian and East European Studies, George Washington University*

**T**HE year 1989 saw the collapse of communism in Czechoslovakia and elsewhere in the region. Ruled by a leadership that was widely regarded by outside observers as one of the most resistant of the East European countries to the changes sparked by Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev's policies, Czechoslovakia seemed an unlikely candidate to follow Hungary and Poland on the road to radical reform. And yet, once the process of change began, Czechoslovakia took the lead in the effort to restore a multiparty democratic political system and a market economy.

Although it lagged behind some of its East European neighbors in challenging the Communist system, once the process of change began in Czechoslovakia, the old system was swept away quickly. The "Velvet Revolution," as the mass demonstrations that followed the brutal police attack on peaceful student demonstrators on November 17, 1989, came to be called, led to the resignation of the conservative Communist party leadership of Milos Jakes, the renunciation of the party's leading role and the formation of the country's first non-Communist government in 41 years. The victory of the revolution was capped by the election of dissident playwright and longtime human rights activist, Vaclav Havel, as President of the republic in late December, 1989. Free elections held in June, 1991, legitimized this government and set the stage for the changes needed to consolidate democratic government, to reform the economy and to reorient the country's external economic and political relations.

The timing and the speed with which the Communist system fell in Czechoslovakia took most observers and activists by surprise. Although the Gustav Husak and Jakes leaderships had given lip

service to the notions of glasnost and perestroika, few changes had occurred in Czechoslovakia in practice. The situation in Czechoslovakia and in many other countries in the region is illustrated by the treatment of dissidents. In the spring of 1989, while Soviet dissident Andrei Sakharov was invited to the Kremlin to consult with Soviet leaders and negotiations were under way between the Communist leaderships and the opposition in both Hungary and Poland, Vaclav Havel and other Czechoslovak dissident activists were in prison for their participation in unauthorized demonstrations to commemorate the death by self-immolation of the Czech student Jan Palach in January, 1969.

Yet despite the determination to avoid any accommodation with the opposition, Czechoslovakia faced many of the economic and political problems that threatened the survival of Communist systems elsewhere in the region. And, beneath the surface, there were also important changes at several levels of Czech and Slovak society between 1987 and 1989. As the events of November, 1989, demonstrated, outside factors were important catalysts for the downfall of communism in Czechoslovakia. Thus the changes in Poland and Hungary and the downfall of the regime of Erich Honecker in East Germany, both of which could ultimately be traced to the changed Soviet attitude toward East Europe, encouraged Czechs and Slovaks to take to the streets to win their freedom. But national factors, including the economic and political crisis and the actions of groups and individuals working for change, undermined support for the system and set the stage for the dramatic popular repudiation of the regime that occurred in November.<sup>1</sup>

Although Czechoslovakia did not experience the acute economic crises that occurred in Poland during the late Communist period, economic performance declined in the late 1970's and the 1980's. By the late 1980's, popular dissatisfaction with the stagnation in living standards and economic inefficiency was matched by official recognition of the need for more fundamental economic reform.

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<sup>1</sup>Sharon L. Wolchik, "Prospects for Political Change in Czechoslovakia," paper presented at the Midwest Slavic Conference, Chicago, April, 1989; and "Czechoslovakia in Transition," paper presented at the Conference on Eastern Europe, United States Army War College, Carlisle, Pennsylvania, February, 1990.

However, the plan for economic change adopted in January, 1987, did not go far enough for most economists and was not implemented to any extent before the collapse of the system.<sup>2</sup>

As in the economic sphere, political developments in Czechoslovakia in the 1970's and 1980's were not as dramatic as those in Poland or Hungary. But, particularly after Milos Jakes replaced Gustav Husak as head of the Communist party in December, 1987, changes were evident at both the mass and the elite levels. Jakes's elevation was soon followed by broader changes in the composition of the top party bodies. The people who were brought into the leadership at this time did not differ radically from their predecessors in terms of social background or career experiences. However, they were somewhat younger, and they were usually not as responsible for reversing the 1968 reforms as their predecessors had been. As a result, although a core of "normalizers" remained in power, the Jakes leadership was less committed than its predecessor to maintaining the status quo at all costs. It was also more deeply divided over issues like how to respond to the mounting challenge from below. At the same time, in contrast to the situation in Poland and Hungary, there was no strong reformist group in the party that might have eased the transition by opening negotiations with the opposition before November, 1989.<sup>3</sup>

These features of the leadership were evident in its response to the activities of the opposition and other citizens in the late 1980's. Although the leadership eventually chose repression in most instances, its vacillation and the limited steps it took to emulate Gorbachev allowed support for the opposition to grow. Before the late 1980's, active opposition to the regime was limited largely to the small circle of people associated with Charter 77 who had kept alive the spirit of independent thought and had challenged the regime's human rights violations. Dissent among religious activists and young people became evident in the early 1980's, and small groups of sociologists, lawyers, scientists and other intellectuals who remained in the official world also began acting in unauthorized ways.<sup>4</sup> But, for the most part, these activities remained below the surface.

<sup>2</sup>See Karel Dyba and Karel Kouba, "Czechoslovak Attempts at Systemic Changes," *Communist Economies*, vol. 1, no. 3 (1989).

<sup>3</sup>For a more detailed analysis see Wolchik, "Czechoslovakia in Transition."

<sup>4</sup>See *Bratislava Nahlas* (Bratislava, 1989) for an example of the activities of environmental activists in Slovakia. A similar coalition of concerned citizens and experts was active in Prague in the 1980's.

<sup>5</sup>See Timothy Garton Ash, "The Revolution of the Magic Lantern," *New York Review of Books*, January 18, 1990, for a brief account of the revolution.

In the late 1980's, Czech and Slovak citizens began to challenge the system more openly. Scores of illegal independent groups were formed, and the number of unauthorized protests and demonstrations increased. These activities radicalized growing numbers of citizens. They also developed links between longtime opposition figures and the new activists, including young people. By 1989, even many of those who remained in the official world were willing to express openly their dissatisfaction with the regime. Many cultural figures and ordinary workers signed petitions of support for Vaclav Havel during his trial and imprisonment in the spring of 1989. These attitudes were also reflected in the many individuals in the official world who signed "A Few Sentences," a petition circulated in the summer of 1989 that called for the end of censorship and for radical political reform.

The impact of these experiences became evident in November, 1989. When the brutal police attack on peaceful student demonstrators on November 17, 1989, galvanized the nation, the links that had been forged in the late 1980's among student activists, well-known opposition figures and critics in the official world allowed these individuals to organize quickly to use the momentum generated by mass protest to oust the Communist leadership. Civic Forum, the grass-roots organization that emerged to negotiate with the government in the Czech Lands, and the Public Against Violence, its Slovak counterpart, thus had their roots in the opposition that had developed over the preceding decades. However, even opposition activists and leaders were taken by surprise at the speed and extent of the changes.<sup>5</sup>

In contrast to the situation in Poland and Hungary, where reformist factions of the Communist parties negotiated themselves out of power over a period of several months, the collapse of communism occurred over several weeks in Czechoslovakia. As a result, supporters of the "Velvet Revolution" had to take responsibility almost immediately for running the government, as well as for instituting fundamental reforms in political organization and values, economic structure and policies, and foreign policy. Led by the former dissident, Vaclav Havel, who soon emerged as the leader of the nation, members of the Government of National Understanding, Czechoslovakia's first non-Communist-dominated government in 41 years, embarked on the process of restoring multiparty democracy, recreating a market economy and returning to European values.

## ON THE ROAD TO DEMOCRACY

In the political realm, Czechoslovakia's new leaders face many of the problems that confront

other post-Communist leaders in the region. Thus, they must reestablish the rule of law, find new leaders to replace old officials, reform old institutions and establish new ones, deal with the remnants of the Communist party's power and the legacy of the Communist period on popular values and expectations, and find a way to channel popular desire for change into coherent political directions and policy orientations. They must also reshape the structure of the country to satisfy the national aspirations of Czechs, Slovaks and other national groups and to deal with the accumulated social, environmental and other problems that are the result of over 40 years of Communist rule.<sup>6</sup>

The end of the Communist party's monopoly of power was accompanied by a rapid reemergence of the country's associational and political life. Most of the official mass organizations that served to transmit the directives of the Communist party to their members and the official trade unions were disbanded or lost the majority of their members. These groups have been replaced by a wide variety of interest groups, charitable, patriotic, religious and professional organizations, and independent unions. Many of these groups are recreations of pre-World War II groups; others, including the many new citizen initiatives and many ecological groups, have formed around new issues.

### NEW PARTIES

The period between November, 1989, and June, 1990, also saw the proliferation of political parties. As in the interwar period, in the post-Communist era Czechoslovakia will have a multiparty system. Over 60 political parties and nonparty political groupings were registered by late February, 1990, and 23 fulfilled the conditions necessary to participate in the June 8 and 9 elections. These ranged from the Communist party, which retained the same name and fielded candidates in the elections, to the Friends of Beer party. The Czechoslovak Socialist party and the Czechoslovak People's party, which were allowed to exist under the control of the Communist party during the Communist period, became independent parties. Also competing in the elections were a number of parties with roots in the interwar period, like the Agrarians, the National Socialists and the Social Democrats; nationalist parties, like the Slovak National party and the Association for Moravia and Silesia; and political

groupings and citizen initiatives formed around new issues, like the Civic Forum and the Public Against Violence.<sup>7</sup>

Many of these parties were winnowed out, at least for the time being, by the results of the June, 1990, elections. At the federal level, the Civic Forum–Public Against Violence coalition emerged as the dominant political force and was able to determine the composition of the new government to a large extent. Civic Forum received 50 percent of the votes to the House of Nations and 53.2 percent of the votes to the House of the People of the Federal Assembly. Civic Forum also did well in the elections to the Czech Republic's legislature, receiving 49.5 percent of the vote. The primary election rival of the Civic Forum in the Czech Lands, a union of Christian Democratic parties, was badly hurt at the end of the campaign by charges that Josef Bartoncik, the leader of its main political faction, the Czechoslovak People's party, had collaborated with the secret police; it received only 8.7 percent of the vote to the Federal Assembly.

In Slovakia, the Public Against Violence did better than expected in the elections to federal bodies, winning 33 percent of the vote for the House of the People and 37 percent for the House of Nations. The Christian Democratic party, led by the former dissident and current first deputy premier of Slovakia, Jan Carnogursky, remains a strong political force in Slovakia, where it won 19 percent of the vote for the House of the People and 17 percent of the vote for the House of Nations. It received approximately the same proportion of the vote for the Slovak National Council (19.2 percent), compared with 29.3 percent won by the Public Against Violence.

The Communist party won approximately 13 percent of the vote in both the Czech Lands and Slovakia. Representatives of small nationalist parties were also elected to the Federal Assembly from both parts of the country. In the Czech Lands, the Movement for Self-Administrative Democracy–Association for Moravia and Silesia won 7.9 percent of the votes for the House of the People and 9.1 percent for the House of Nations. In Slovakia, the separatist Slovak Nationalist party, formed in April, 1990, won 13 percent of the vote for the former and 11 percent of the vote for the latter. Neither the Social Democrats nor the Greens won enough votes to seat deputies.

The June elections thus validated the policies adopted by the first post-Communist government and legitimized the new government that was formed afterward. At the same time, the fact that the elections took place while the electoral system and the broader political environment were still very much in flux means that their results do not

<sup>6</sup>See Sharon L. Wolchik, "Central and Eastern Europe in Transition," in Young C. Kim and Gaston Sigur, eds., *Asia and the Decline of Communism* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Publishers, forthcoming).

<sup>7</sup>See "Czechoslovakia Parliamentary Elections on June 8th–9th 1990," in *Daily News and Press Survey Bulletin* (Czechoslovak News Agency, Prague, n.d.) for a brief summary of the platforms of the individual parties.

necessarily predict future political alignments. Civic Forum and the Public Against Violence continue to provide umbrellas for a wide variety of groups and individuals with varying political views and policy preferences. Certain groups that originally supported these organizations have already broken away, and it is likely that others may do so as political views and policy preferences become more differentiated.

A further aspect of the current transitional period is the lack of a credible opposition to the Civic Forum–Public Against Violence at the federal level. The federal government selected after the June, 1990, elections includes members from parties other than Civic Forum and the Public Against Violence, as well as several members who are not affiliated with a political group or party.

However, given the poor electoral showing of the Czechoslovak People's party, the main opposition comes from the Communist party. The 13 percent of the vote gained by the party is very similar to its levels of support in the interwar period when the party was legal and won between 10 and 13 percent of the vote. Although it is unlikely that the party will play any significant role in Czechoslovak politics in the near future, given the dramatic rejection of communism and socialism evident in the events of 1989, it may continue to play a small role in a democratic Czechoslovakia. Efforts to reform the party by current party leaders have been hampered by the mass defection of party members, as well as by the overall impact of 40 years of Communist rule. At present, support for the party appears to be drawn largely from older people as well as from those so compromised by their roles in the old system that they have nowhere else to go politically. The party may also gain support as a result of fear of change and the negative impact of economic reforms in the future. But, at present, it is not a viable alternative to the government in power and cannot really serve as a responsible opposition.

The primary task of the newly elected Federal Assembly, which will serve for only two years, is to revise Czechoslovakia's constitution and legal system. Central issues in this respect include the revision of constitutional provisions and laws to reflect the country's return to parliamentary democracy and a redefinition of the relationship between the federal and lower level governments. The country's new leaders must also continue to change institutions and reform the bureaucracy to eliminate remnants of the Communist party's power and ensure a neutral, efficient civil service. They must also attempt to foster allegiance to new democratic political values.

<sup>8</sup>See "Scenar ekonomické reformy," *Hospodarske noviny*, September 4, 1990, for the latest government proposals.

## ECONOMIC REFORM

As in other East European countries, Czechoslovakia's new leaders are faced with the economic, as well as the political, legacy of 40 years of Communist rule. They are also wrestling with the tasks of recreating a market economy and reorienting the country's external economic relations. Although there is a general consensus on the need to move toward a market economy, important divisions have occurred among political leaders and experts concerning the pace and extent of the economic change that is necessary. Evident in the differing perspectives of the President's top economic advisers in early 1990, these differences were resolved to some degree by the decision to move ahead more rapidly to liberalize prices, encourage demonopolization and privatize the economy.

A series of laws dealing with private ownership and private enterprises, the running of state enterprises, the use of land, joint ventures, foreign exchange, joint stock companies and foreign trade were adopted in April to lay the basis for the return to a market economy. Under pressure from many political groups, including the Civic Forum, the government adopted a program for economic reform before the June elections that has been widely interpreted as a victory for those, including Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus, who wish to move more quickly. Its key elements are privatization of the economy by using domestic and foreign capital, a reduction of subsidies and the deregulation of prices, and the internal convertibility of the koruna.

Other aspects of the general program of reform proposed by the government include a restrictive monetary policy and institutional changes designed to simplify the economic ministries and planning apparatus and to increase the responsibility of enterprise management. As part of its efforts to implement these policies, the government increased prices for many food products and gasoline in July, 1990. The basic tenets of this plan for economic change were reaffirmed in the proposal for economic reform submitted by the Federal, Czech and Slovak governments to the Federal Assembly in early September, 1990.<sup>8</sup>

(Continued on page 435)

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**Sharon L. Wolchik** is the coeditor of *Women, State, and Party in Eastern Europe* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1985), and *Foreign and Domestic Policies in Eastern Europe in the 1980's* (London: Macmillan and New York: St. Martin's Press, 1983). She traveled in Czechoslovakia in March and June, 1990, to interview activists and scholars and to observe the elections; she is currently working on a study of mass-elite relations in the transition to democracy in Czechoslovakia.

The air pollution is visible in the deposits of soot that seem to creep further and further up the fronts of buildings.

And people are dying. Infant mortality rates are high and growing. Life expectancy is one of the lowest in Europe today.

Mirroring its Socialist brothers, Hungary's social deviance indicators—suicide, divorce, alcoholism—have also risen at rates that far exceed those of its Western colleagues. Like some of the buildings, part of society is crumbling: the sight of bag ladies and beggars, the homeless and the garbage-eaters is no longer rare; young people on drugs are also part of the debris of society.

While one cannot say with certainty how much of this is due to 45 years of Communist rule, one legacy of communism is clearly the mentality fostered by the system. In that system, everyone was both a servant and a master. Everyone had a commodity to sell and to buy on the market of scarcity: a ticket to the opera or a slice of salami, some information, a little influence. Everyone was part of the system, no matter how small the sale or purchase. This mentality became ingrained, limiting real progress; living in Hungary sometimes seems like living in a pressure cooker. And the native authoritarianism, the lack of respect for one another, the belief that "only I know the truth"—all severely limit the emergence of civil society in Hungary today.

Contemporary Hungary is still a land of contradictions. It has a Prime Minister who is not an anti-Semite ruling over a party in which anti-Semites abound. It has a Parliament dominated by that party; yet the Speaker is a Jew. In that Parliament the former Communist Prime Minister and one of the leaders of the 1956 revolution sit side by side.

Hungary has an economy that allows Western corporations like General Electric-Tungstam to coexist alongside state-owned and bankrupt giants like the Ozd Lenin Steel Works. It has highly profitable and highly mediocre "European" restaurants that charge Paris prices, and it has some state-owned establishments with excellent and inexpensive food. It has its Mafias in the retail greengrocer trade, in video distribution, in the entertainment world, and in the book and journal distribution network. About 20,000 of its people live in luxurious surroundings; many of them make nearly \$1 million a year, live in marble houses and blithely ignore the rules. And Hungary has its poor, by now about half the population and growing by leaps and bounds. The gap between the rich and the poor has never been greater in modern Hungary.

The comrades, in or out of uniform, are gone. In their places, German businessmen parade with the

certainty that Hungary is their playground, brushing against the odd American looking for a quick profit. The symbols of communism are nearly all gone: the red stars, the Lenin statues, the pictures, the transparencies, the funny and objectionable street names, like Lumumba and the Rosenbergs. In their places old flags, old statues, old street names reemerge, harking back to an age long gone. The visible Communist legacies have passed so quickly that one has a hard time seeing the marks of four decades of communism.

In the autumn of 1990, Budapest is still beautiful. Viewed from the hills of Buda, the domes and rooftops glisten in the sunshine; the Danube flows under bridges that are crowded with tourists. At night, Budapest is Disneyland all over again: Chain Bridge, girded in a maze of light, connects the romantic, golden castle above the Danube with the strikingly beautiful Parliament building and the row of Western hotels on the river's opposite bank. Light and shadow weaving in and out and across the dramatic scene seem to have equal billing, tricking the eye of the delighted observer. Whether light or shadow will dominate tomorrow is a toss-up. ■

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## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

(Continued from page 416)

Plans for economic reform also include a substantial reorientation of the country's external economic relations away from the very high level of dependence on the Soviet Union and other CMEA (Council for Mutual Economic Assistance) countries and toward the West. At the same time, Czech and Slovak leaders must deal with changes in Soviet economic policies toward the East European states, as well as with decreases in Soviet deliveries of oil. The latter will exacerbate the impact of the Persian Gulf crisis on oil prices.

As in the political realm, Czechoslovakia has a number of advantages over some of its East European neighbors that may make the transition to a market economy less painful than it will be elsewhere.<sup>9</sup> But the process will still be a difficult one with the potential to create substantial dissatisfaction with the government. Public opinion research conducted in 1990 found that the majority of the population favors a conversion to a market economy, even at the expense of a short-term decline in living standards and an increase in unemployment. However, approximately one-third of the respondents were somewhat or firmly opposed to such changes. Fears of possible unemployment and of the impact of anticipated increases in rents

<sup>9</sup>See Wolchik, "Central and Eastern Europe in Transition," in Kim and Sigur, *op. cit.*

and the cost of living are also widespread.<sup>10</sup>

Resistance to radical reform is also voiced by many enterprise managers and economic experts. Differences in the perspectives of the federal and republic-level governments regarding economic issues have also emerged. Economic issues will thus continue to dominate the political agenda in Czechoslovakia in the near future. The success of the government's efforts to reform the economy and deal with the impact of changes in the country's external economic relations without producing a prolonged decline in the standard of living will also have important implications for the success of the transition to democracy.

With the end of Communist rule, issues that were previously swept under the rug have re-emerged as subjects of public debate. New social and political issues have also emerged. The renewed debate about the status of Czechoslovakia's various ethnic groups is among the most important of these. As in the interwar period, the main threat to political stability and the success of Czechoslovakia's transition to democracy is likely to come from ethnic conflicts. Tensions between the country's two main ethnic groups, the Czechs and the Slovaks, continued to grow during the Communist period, despite the federalization of the country's political structure in 1969; tensions have resurfaced very forcefully in the post-Communist period. Illustrated by the intense parliamentary debate over the name of the country, which was changed twice in a month in the spring of 1990, these conflicts pervade discussion of most of the critical issues facing the current government, including constitutional change and economic reform. As in the late 1960's, members of other ethnic groups, including the Hungarians, Moravians, Ukrainians and the large Gypsy minority, are also demanding greater rights.

Concern over the environment has also emerged as a central political issue. Although the previous government established institutions that ostensibly dealt with environmental issues, they had very little influence, and Czechoslovakia's environment continued to deteriorate. The Havel government has taken measures designed to halt the degradation of the environment, including the closing of certain mines that produced brown coal and the suspension of Czechoslovakia's plan to continue building a controversial dam with Hungary. It has also established a Federal Committee on the Environment to supplement the work of the republic-level ministries that deal with environmental issues.

The greater freedom of expression and action

allowed under a democratic political system has also led to the emergence of less exemplary forms of behavior and attitudes. Episodes of racial intolerance and attacks on Gypsies and Vietnamese "guest workers" by groups of young "skinheads" have occurred in recent months, as have hostile actions toward Romanian refugees. Crime, including attacks against individuals as well as against property, has also increased, particularly in the larger cities.

The end of the Communist party's monopoly of power has been followed by radical changes in the cultural, as well as the political and economic realms. The public, long used to the products of official culture, has been offered a feast of previously unavailable material. Approximately 500 books by banned writers including Vaclav Havel, Ivan Klima, Eda Kriseova, Milan Kundera, Josef Skvorecky and many others previously available only in samizdat versions or abroad were published in 1990. Many journals that were formerly samizdat publications have become regular publications, including some, like *Listy*, that had been published abroad. There has also been a proliferation of new, independent publishing houses. Similar developments have occurred in the area of theater, film and popular music.

Although the changes since November, 1989, have allowed the revitalization of Czech and Slovak culture, they have also raised a number of new issues. These include the changed function of culture, which during the Communist period was to some extent a substitute for politics. The financing of culture has also emerged as an important problem in the post-Communist period. The ministers of culture in both the Czech and Slovak republics reaffirmed the need for some state role in subsidizing culture, but it is clear that the state will not subsidize artists to the same extent it did under the Communist regime. Fear of the commercialization of culture, as well as of personal financial hardship, has led many artists and cultural figures to oppose projected taxes on artists and increased charges for studio space.

## BACK TO EUROPE

Czechoslovakia's foreign policy has also changed in the post-Communist period. President Havel and Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier have undertaken a number of initiatives to assert Czechoslovakia's independence in international relations and to increase the country's visibility abroad. Czechoslovakia's reputation as one of the Soviet Union's most loyal allies in the international realm persisted with only a slight interruption until the end of the Communist period.

Under the direction of Havel and Dienstbier,

<sup>10</sup>See research reported in Marek Boguszak in Vladimir Rak, *Czechoslovakia: May 1990 Survey Report* (Prague: Association for Independent Social Analysis, 1990).

Czechoslovakia's relationship with the Soviet Union has changed in important ways. As one of their first actions, they negotiated the withdrawal of Soviet troops. The first stage of the withdrawal, according to the terms of the February 26, 1990, agreement signed in Moscow, was completed by May 31, 1990; all Soviet troops are to be withdrawn by the end of 1991. Czechoslovakia remains a member of both CMEA and the Warsaw Treaty Organization (WTO, the Warsaw Pact) at the present time. However, its representatives have taken the lead in working to change the structure and function of both organizations. According to Czechoslovak proposals, which formed the basis for a Warsaw Pact plan to transform the organization significantly, the WTO will no longer function as a real military alliance, but will become a largely political organization to draw the Soviet Union into the all-European security process and to serve as a negotiating partner with NATO (the North Atlantic Treaty Organization) for arms negotiations and troop reduction talks.

There have also been significant changes in Czechoslovakia's relationships with the United States and other Western democracies. Supported from its inception by the United States, the new government of Czechoslovakia moved very quickly to normalize its relationship with the United States. President Havel's visit to the United States in February, 1990, symbolized the importance his government attaches to reinstating the traditionally warm ties between the two countries that date to the founding of the Czechoslovak state.

The central focus of Czechoslovakia's foreign policy initiatives, however, has been Europe. Reflected in the campaign slogan "Back to Europe," this orientation echoes the desire of Czechs and Slovaks to reaffirm their country's links with Western culture and their place in European history. Havel and other Czechoslovak leaders have made clear their desire to see their country included in European institutions.<sup>11</sup> Czechoslovakia has also applied to be readmitted to the International Monetary Fund (IMF), of which it was previously a member, and to join the World Bank. President Havel and Foreign Minister Dienstbier have also taken the lead in articulating a new vision of Europe without military blocs. Their central proposal in this respect is the call for the CSCE (Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe) process to become the foundation for a new security system in Europe. Czechoslovakia has also taken the lead in

forming new regional groupings, like the Pentagonal Alliance, which includes Austria, Hungary, Yugoslavia and Italy.

## PROSPECTS

As 1990 draws to a close, the process of change and transformation begun with the dramatic events of late 1989 continues in Czechoslovakia. In the political realm, the transition to post-Communist rule has occurred smoothly. Barring a severe economic crisis or an unanticipated increase in support for extreme nationalist groups, it is likely that the democratic political system that is being recreated will survive the many challenges it faces. Although there are forces in Czechoslovakia that do not support the new order, the country's level of economic development, its Western orientation, its developed social structure and its previous experience with democratic political institutions all bode well for the future of democracy.

The country's standard of living, modest Western debt and trained labor force also provide resources that can be used to support economic reform and buffer its negative effects. However, the transition to democracy and a market economy will not be a rapid or easy process. As in the other formerly Communist countries of East Europe, the outcome of this transition will also depend on the extent to which developments outside the country facilitate or hinder the process of change now under way. ■

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## BOOK REVIEWS

(Continued from page 425)

nationalism, the Romanian version of Marxism-Leninism and the influence and subsequent fall of the Ceausescu family. C.K.

INDUSTRY AND POLITICS IN WEST GERMANY: TOWARD THE THIRD REPUBLIC. *Edited by Peter J. Katzenstein.* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989. 363 pages and index, \$49.50, cloth; \$16.95, paper.)

West Germany's economic miracle of the 1950's was consolidated in the 1960's and survived the oil shocks of the next decade only to sputter in the mid-1980's. Yet by the end of the decade, the West German economy was again a model for developed nations. Eleven contributors to this volume explore the West German economy of the last 20 years, examining how technological developments, national politics and the international economy have contributed to West Germany's prosperity and political stability. Essays deal with six West German industries, the changes in West German theories of mass production and product innova-

<sup>11</sup>See Vaclav Havel's message to the president of the Commission of the European Community, as reported by the Czechoslovak News Agency (CTK), March 2, 1990; and Jiri Dienstbier, interview in Brussels, reported by CTK, March 2, 1990.

# Uncle Sam's Message Found Audiences That Listen Hard

**SUMMARY: Praise is being heaped on the broadcast services that have beamed the word on democracy and America to the world on behalf of Uncle Sam. At the same time, the stations are beginning to feel the squeeze of budget cuts. Several East European leaders credit the services with sowing seeds that inspired the transition of the communist world. Even so, the endeavors have not escaped criticism.**



At the mike, singer Lena Horne (1945)

**A**s communism crumbles, explanations of how the West won invoke various heroes, depending on the viewpoint: Mikhail Gorbachev, Ronald Reagan or even — to go back a ways — George Kennan, the architect of the post-war policy of containment.

Also being credited are the children of that policy: the U.S. government's Voice of America and the government-funded, Munich-based Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty.

After more than 40 years of laboring with little recognition in the United States and of being labeled "propaganda" agencies or "instruments of the Cold War" by their enemies, the radios are finally coming in from the cold.

The kudos are rolling in from all sides, most prominently from the dissident-turned-leaders of Eastern Europe. When Poland's Lech Walesa, visiting the United States in November, was asked whether Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty had played a role in the growth of Solidarity and his political rise, he responded, "Ladies and gentlemen, the degree cannot even be

described. Would there be Earth without sun?"

During his recent trip to Washington, Czechoslovakia's President Vaclav Havel wowed pundits and legislators with his "family of man/consciousness precedes being philosophy tutorial before a joint session of Congress. But before climbing Capitol Hill, he first stopped in at VOA's Czech broadcasting service. There, the playwright expressed his appreciation for the role the radio station played in making possible the Velvet Revolution: "You have informed us truthfully of events around the world and in our country as well, and in this way you helped to bring about the peaceful revolution which has at long last taken place."

Ironically for the broadcasting services, mounting praise from influential listeners has been accompanied by squabbling in Washington over their future. Despite relatively low price tags, the radios, like other government institutions, face their turn at the Gramm-Rudman chopping block. The proposed VOA budget for fiscal 1991 requires cutbacks, and Director Richard W. Carlson announced Feb. 1 that six of its 43 language services would be eliminated to meet budgetary requirements. Among the services slated for elimination was the one that broadcasts in Uzbek and has, according to listener surveys, an audience of 20 million in Soviet Central Asia.

"I was appalled to learn that the Uzbek broadcasts [were] to be discontinued," says Harvard University's Richard Pipes. "There are millions of Uzbeks. They are the most important nationality in Central Asia." The sentiment voiced by Pipes was widely shared. Indeed, if the VOA announcement was intended as budgetary skirmishing, it succeeded magnificently. Barely a month after Carlson's first announcement came a second: Cuts might be made somewhere, but definitely not in the language services.

The politicking that saved the language services was intense. In a Feb. 12 letter to President Bush, House Foreign Affairs Committee Chairman Dante B. Fascell

called for a bipartisan presidential commission to be set up "with all alacrity" to review public diplomacy efforts, particularly the radio activities, in light of the changes in international politics. The letter began by noting the stations' role in "bringing down the wall dividing the European continent" and expressed concern over the proposed cuts at VOA. "In times of change," wrote the Florida Democrat, "we should do more, not less." (The announced cuts corresponded with a nice little inside-the-Beltway stink, in which Bruce Gelb, claiming to be upset by the cuts, reportedly tried to fire Carlson. Sources at VOA say that Gelb, director of the U.S. Information Agency, had originally signed off on the cuts and used the issue simply as a pretext for firing Carlson. The VOA director went to the White House, where he got a vote of confidence.)

According to one VOA official, there are two camps in Congress: those who are ready to declare the Cold War over and bring America home, and others, like Fascell, who believe the United States needs to consolidate the gains that democracy has already made. "There is a split. How many are on each side, it's tough to say right now," the official says. "But there are some people who say that now that the mission is completed, we should start to retreat, that we should consider these institutions to be relics of the Cold War. However, I think that many more people on the other side realize that the mission has just begun."

The Voice of America began as the brainchild of playwright Robert Sherwood,



Grateful Havel made a point of visiting VOA's Czech service; protesters in Washington (right) decrying cutbacks.



BOLESŁAW EDELBALT / GAMMA - LIAISON

RFE's Bulgarian service, once a CIA endeavor, is funded by a federal board.

who became one of Franklin Delano Roosevelt's speech writers on the eve of World War II. The station went on the air in 1942, headed by theater director John Houseman. Its broadcasts dwindled at the war's end, but the agency was revitalized in the aftermath of the 1948 Berlin blockade, as the Cold War got under way in earnest. From 1945 to 1953 it operated under the State Department, after which it came under the aegis of the newly created U.S. Information Agency.

Radio Free Europe came into being in 1950 to broadcast to the countries of Eastern Europe. Radio Liberty — originally called Radio Liberation, reflecting the "rollback" policy of John Foster Dulles — began in 1953, its target the Soviet Union. The RFE/RL stations, ostensibly private, were covertly funded by the Central Intelligence Agency until 1971. That year, Con-

gress made the stations private corporations under a bipartisan Board for International Broadcasting, a federal agency that receives from Congress the money for the broadcasting operations.

**T**oday, Radio Free Europe broadcasts to Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Romania and the three Baltic states, while Radio Liberty broadcasts to the Soviet Union in 12 languages. VOA broadcasts in 43 languages; it is by no means restricted to Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union but rather sees itself as competing with the BBC World Service and other government-sponsored international shortwave broadcasts. Another competitor, Radio Moscow, broadcasts in 64 languages.

"A quarter of the world's population in China relies on us for news and information

from outside the country and also about events in the country, where I think we demonstrated our importance during the Chinese student demonstrations," says the VOA's Carlson. Pro-democracy activists in China last summer pointed to Voice of America broadcasts as crucial to their movement; some were given long prison terms for talking to VOA reporters and even for listening to the station after the declaration of martial law in May and the Tiananmen Square massacre of June 4. Beijing has since resumed jamming VOA and has frequently denounced the station for conspiring with "counterrevolutionary" elements. The Voice also has large audiences in Africa, Asia and Latin America.

Voice of America's budget is a little more than \$172 million, not including the costs for transmitter modernization and Radio Marti, which broadcasts to Cuba. Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty has a budget of a bit more than \$190 million, with the mission to continue to function as surrogate "home" stations for the countries of Eastern Europe and the republics of the Soviet Union. VOA is chartered to give a balanced presentation of both American society and the policies of the U.S. government, as well as to report news in a manner that is "accurate, objective and comprehensive."

The careers of the radio services have not been without controversy. Despite the fact that they are forbidden by law to broadcast domestically, critics have often argued that neither should the United States be in the business of beaming "propaganda" abroad. While the recent events in the communist world have muted this sort of criticism, it nonetheless persists and continues to be taken to heart even by some station officials. In an article in the winter 1989-90 issue of Foreign Policy, Kim Elliott, VOA's audience research officer, advocated a consolidation of RFE/RL and VOA, as well as changing their names. Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty are "tendentious" names, he wrote. "The Voice of America sounds too much like 'the Voice of the Government of the United States of America' . . . A consolidated U.S. international broadcasting entity ought to be renamed so that it could begin as a new station with a clean slate."

There were also persistent critics on the other side. In 1973, at the height of detente, excerpts of Alexander Solzhenitsyn's "Gulag Archipelago" were read over VOA. Radio Moscow protested vehemently, and the readings ceased. The exiled author detected a propensity for not offending the



DON PRESLEY / INSIGHT

# Police Break Up Anti-Government Rally in Prague

By Mary Battiata  
Washington Post Foreign Service

PRAGUE, Oct. 28—Thousands of people thronged Wenceslas Square today to demand democratic change and political dialogue with Czechoslovakia's hard-line Communist leadership, but riot police pushed the protesters off the square within a half-hour of the start of the demonstration.

There were at least a dozen bloody confrontations between police and demonstrators, but the protest continued throughout the evening as smaller groups of chanting demonstrators gathered on cobblestoned side streets around the square, long the focal point of public dissent here.

Police said tonight they had arrested 250 people, but unofficial sources said the figure was at least 700. The demonstration, planned as a peaceful rally on the 71st anniversary of Czechoslovak independence from the old Austro-Hungarian Empire, was called by the Charter 77 human rights group and five other outlawed opposition movements.

"Dialogue! Dialogue! We want democracy!" the crowd shouted. Many chanted "*Swoboda!*"—meaning freedom—and called for the removal of Communist Party chief Milos Jakes as they were shoved off the vast square by riot troops. Jakes presided over the purge of a half-million "unreliable" party members here after the Soviet-led invasion in 1968 that crushed the so-called "Prague Spring" political reform movement.

As the demonstration began, a wiry, blond-haired teenage boy climbed the steps to the statue of St. Wenceslas at one end of the square and laid a wreath of dried flowers near the spot where Czech student Jan Palach burned himself to death 20 years ago to protest the Soviet crackdown.

Stepping down from the statue, the youth was grabbed by an undercover policeman. He jerked free and wriggled away, only to have three more undercover policemen give chase into a small clearing. "Let him go! Let him go!" the crowd cried at the policemen. "The whole world sees you!"

Meanwhile, protesters being forced backward along the square by the moving police line pleaded: "No violence, no violence . . . All we have is our bare hands . . . You should be ashamed."

It was the sixth demonstration called by Czechoslovakia's outlawed political opposition in the past 15 months. Organizers had hoped that the example of East Germany, where hundreds of thousands have taken part in public protests in recent weeks, might draw huge crowds to the square, but today's turnout—estimated at between 6,000 and 8,000—was slightly smaller than at a similar demonstration here just over a year ago.

"It's enough to rattle this government a bit yet again, but it's not a Leipzig," said one West European diplomat here, referring to the East German city where massive demon-

strations have forced the government into dialogue with the New Forum opposition group. Some dissidents and others here had said that a modest turnout could mean that the political opposition must look for methods to supplement demonstrations in order to effect change.

On Friday, the government arrested at least 11 of the country's most prominent dissidents and continues to hold them. Several other well-known dissidents, threatened in advance with prison sentences, appeared on the square today.

Playwright and Charter 77 co-founder Vaclav Havel was taken from his sickbed by police on Thursday and was hospitalized shortly afterward with a lung infection. His brother Ivan, a sister-in-law and a friend were arrested by police tonight as they left the hospital after visiting him, sources here said.

State television tonight showed footage of the demonstration and read a government statement that blamed "anti-socialist forces supported by Charter 77, Western mass media, the Voice of America, Radio Free Europe and the British Broadcasting Corporation" for staging "a provocative demonstration aimed at confrontation with the state."

## National

## Havel lauds VOA's role in aiding Czech reform

By Benjamin Shore

*Copley News Service*

WASHINGTON — During his visit here this week, Czechoslovakian playwright-turned-President Vaclav Havel met with President Bush, addressed a joint meeting of Congress — and visited the Voice of America.

Thanking VOA officials for playing a role "to bring about the peaceful revolution" in Czechoslovakia that saw him transformed from a jailed dissident to the nation's leader, Havel added that the Voice of America now "will have to inform us about how to create democracy, (and) we have a lot to learn."

Havel's endorsement of a post-Cold War mission for the VOA did not surprise Richard Carlson, former San Diegan and now director of the U.S. government's global radio service that broadcasts in 43 languages.

"Until the day comes when Eastern European countries and the Soviet Union have competing media that make available the kind of information we have in the United States ... we won't go out of business," Carlson said. "I don't see that coming in the near future."

Added Carlson, "The programming that's of interest to Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union now relates to democracy, such as how to run a grass-roots political campaign, how to organize a real labor union, how to function as a Western-style journalist. There are so many things that are new to the lives of people there."

This is a change for the VOA, created during World War II and then kept on the air by Congress as the Cold War with the Soviet Union and its allies began over four decades ago.

Similarly, government-funded Radio Free Europe (RFE), which beams its signal into Eastern Europe, and Radio Liberty (RL), which focuses on the Soviet Union, including Estonia, Lithuania and Latvia, see their mission changing but continuing.

Free media are being developed in those countries, said Mark Pomar, deputy executive director of the Board for International Broadcasting, which runs the two broadcasting operations, but it's a "very slow" process.

"Poland, for example, would like to have an independent media, but, like other countries in Eastern Europe, it simply can't afford it at this time. There is no money to set up radio and television stations and establish newspapers, and it's not likely to happen in the near future."

Pomar said Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia "are farthest along the path toward democratic institutions (and) all three have asked us to open bureaus in their countries," which has been done in Poland and Hungary, with a bureau in Czechoslovakia to open soon.

"Their sense is that RFE can continue to play a very important role of providing a world view and information about their country in an environment of fast-developing change, where the internal structures and institutions (of a free media) are not in place."

Pomar added that "the changes in the Soviet Union, Romania and Bulgaria have not been as overwhelming as they may appear to Americans. There have certainly been all kinds of noises made in terms of a freer press — and the press compared to what it was a few years ago is much

freer — but it's still all directed and controlled by the government. So we are still years away in those countries from having anything resembling Western Europe."

Both RFE and RL differ from the VOA, British Broadcasting Corp. (BBC) and other government-sponsored radio broadcasting in that they tell listeners in greater detail what is happening inside their countries, relying on indigenous reporters, stringers and other sources.

Munich-based RFE and RL function more like local news sources, while the VOA and others report the bigger picture, news about their own countries, and features such as, in the case of the VOA, popular music, literature, and now, how-to discussions of building a democratic society.

The Voice of America costs taxpayers about \$170 million a year, while Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty together cost about \$190 million.

**Postmark:** 24-January-90 (Wednesday) 15:00:34 EST - (MS4:BOPS:VOA)  
**From:** Miroslav S. Dobrovodsky:EUR:VOA **To:** Joe Oconnell:DIR  
**Sender:** Miroslav S. Dobrovodsky:eur:VOA **Copies:** Miro Dobrovodsky  
**Subject:** Czechoslovak president's brother visit at VOA

**In Reply To:**  
**Answer To:**  
**Note:**

V. HAVEL'S BROTHER

~~Please accept my appology for not answering your mail of yesterday (2:00 PM) about Mr. Ivan Havel's visit here. My SNAP screen showed no incoming mail sign (little envelope), so I have retrieveed no mail after 2:00 PM. However, the visit by I. Havel and M. Palous went extraordinarily well today, considering the time pressure and the logistics of it all in general, and I appreciate your help extremely.~~  
After seeing many distinguished American officials from the legislative and executive branches of the U. S. Government, Messrs. Havel and Palous also said they were very happy and proud to meet and speak with the VOA Director Mr. R. Carlson and S. Davis, the top leaders of the organization "which has meant so much to us over the long years of prehistoric times" and will mean even more, in different ways, "teaching Czechs and Slovaks the values of democracy" in the future. They also expressed their deep appreciation that Mr. Alan Heil came to studio 27 while they were recording their interview in Czech, and later in English.

**Attachments:** MailNote

Remarks by  
VACLAV HAVEL  
President of Czechoslovakia  
to the  
CZECHOSLOVAK SERVICE OF THE VOICE OF AMERICA  
February 20, 1990

I would like to thank the Czech and Slovak broadcasting service of the Voice of America for its work. For many years, it has been the most listened-to Czechoslovak radio station.

You have informed us truthfully of events around the world and in our country as well and, in this way, you helped to bring about the peaceful revolution which has at long last taken place.

However, by this I don't intend to say that your work has now lost its meaning. On the contrary, it now has taken on a new meaning. You will have to inform us about how to create democracy, because we are now beginning to build it, to renew it after many long decades, and we have a lot to learn.

# **Voice of America**

Washington, D.C. 20547



There have been many heroes of the past year. Lech Walesa. Vaclav Havel. The young man who stopped a column of tanks in Beijing. The Germans who breached the Berlin Wall. The Lithuanians who refused to bow to foreign rule.

Behind these heroes were countless others. People who for years kept alive thoughts and ideas and cultures that governments tried to kill. When the wave of freedom swept through the world, these people kept level heads and stuck to their principles. Among these people were you. You were part of the Revolution of '89.

- Excerpts from remarks by VOA Director  
Richard W. Carlson at the annual VOA  
Employee Awards Ceremony, March 1990

■ 2/23/90

■ CORRESPONDENT REPORT 2-51304

■ HAVEL RETURN (L)

■ JOLYON NAEGELE / PRAGUE

■ () - VOICED AT:

■ INTRO: CZECHOSLOVAK PRESIDENT VACLAV HAVEL MADE A TRIUMPHAL RETURN TO PRAGUE FRIDAY FOLLOWING A HIGHLY SUCCESSFUL TRIP TO NORTH AMERICA. V-O-A'S JOLYON NAEGELE, WHO HAS BEEN TRAVELLING WITH THE CZECHOSLOVAK PRESIDENT, REPORTS FROM PRAGUE.

■ // ACTUALITY BRASS FANFARE MARCH //

■ TEXT: A MILITARY HONOR GUARD, FEDERAL ASSEMBLY CHAIRMAN ALEXANDER DUBCEK AND OTHER GOVERNMENT LEADERS, BOUQUETS AND GLASSES OF CHAMPAGNE AND SEVERAL HUNDRED CHEERING CZECHOSLOVAKS GREETED PRESIDENT VACLAV HAVEL AT PRAGUE AIRPORT AFTER THE CZECHOSLOVAK LEADER RETURNED IN TRIUMPH FROM A SIX-DAY TRIP TO ICELAND, CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES.

■ A MUCH BIGGER CROWD, NUMBERING IN THE TENS OF THOUSANDS, CHEERED THE PRESIDENT WHEN HE ARRIVED SOON AFTERWARDS AT PRAGUE'S OLD TOWN HALL.

■ PRESIDENT HAVEL, SPEAKING FROM THE BALCONY, TOLD THE CROWD HE HAD NOT GONE TO ICELAND AND NORTH AMERICA TO REST OR GAZE AT THE OCEAN OR AT SKYSCRAPERS, BUT TO WORK.

■ /// HAVEL ACT ///

■ A DOMNIVAM SE ZE JSME DOSAHLI DALEKO VIC NEZ JSME OCEKAVALI. (CHEERS, FADE)

■ /// END ACT ///

■ I BELIEVE WE ACHIEVED FAR MORE THAN WE HAD EXPECTED, PRESIDENT HAVEL TOLD THE CHEERING CROWD.

■ ON THE FLIGHT BACK FROM NEW YORK, PRESIDENT HAVEL THANKED HIS FELLOW PASSENGERS FOR THEIR HELP-- AS HE PUT IT-- IN CONQUERING ("DOBIT") AMERICA. AMERICANS AND CANADIANS SHOWERED THE CZECHOSLOVAK PLAYWRIGHT / PRESIDENT WITH PRAISE AND AWARDS.

■ MR. HAVEL TOLD REPORTERS AT A NEWS CONFERENCE IN PRAGUE THAT HIS TALKS WITH PRESIDENT BUSH-- PARTICULARLY THE SECOND, UNSCHEDULED ROUND ON WEDNESDAY-- CONTRIBUTED TO A U-S UNDERSTANDING OF CZECHOSLOVAK INITIATIVES AND CZECHOSLOVAK COMPREHENSION OF THE WAY OF THINKING OF THE U-S ADMINISTRATION.

■ DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER AND STATE PLANNING CHAIRMAN VLADIMIR DLOUHY, WHO LED THE MR. HAVEL'S ECONOMIC DELEGATION, SAYS HE FOUND ENORMOUS INTEREST AMONG AMERICAN BUSINESS LEADERS IN INVESTING IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

■ //REST OPT// HE SAYS THE AMERICANS CALLED ON CZECHOSLOVAKIA TO MAKE CLEAR WHAT THE NEW RULES ARE ON PROMOTING INVESTMENT FROM ABROAD. THE TWO SIDES

AGREED TO BEGIN NEGOTIATING A COMMERCIAL AGREEMENT EARLY NEXT MONTH FOR SIGNING BY EARLY APRIL.

■PRESIDENT HAVEL REVEALED THAT HE HAD HELD DISCUSSIONS WITH BUSH ADMINISTRATION OFFICIALS ON NEGOTIATING AN AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE CZECHOSLOVAK INTERIOR MINISTRY AND WHAT HE TERMED U-S SECURITY AGENCIES. HOWEVER, HE DID NOT PROVIDE DETAILS.

■// REST UNVOICED OPT //

■PRESIDENT HAVEL SAID AT THE TELEVISED NEWS CONFERENCE IN PRAGUE THAT HE HAD TOLD PRESIDENT BUSH AND MEMBERS OF THE CONGRESSIONAL FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEES THAT THEY SHOULD ALLOCATE MORE, RATHER THAN LESS, FUNDING TO THE VOICE OF AMERICA AND RADIO FREE EUROPE FOR BROADCASTS TO EASTERN EUROPE.

■IN PRESIDENT HAVEL'S WORDS, "THESE STATIONS HAVE NOT LOST THEIR PURPOSE AND IF THEY MAKE CERTAIN CHANGES IN THEIR CONCEPTS, THEY CAN CONTINUE TO PLAY AN INCREDIBLY SIGNIFICANT AND IMPORTANT ROLE AND DO NUMEROUS THINGS WHICH DOMESTIC NEWS MEDIA ARE UNABLE TO DO." HE ALSO REFERED TO THE WARM WELCOME (STRASNE VRELE) HE RECEIVED AT THE VOICE OF AMERICA WHILE IN WASHINGTON.

■PRESIDENT HAVEL TRAVELS TO MOSCOW ON MONDAY FOR TWO DAYS OF TALKS WITH SOVIET LEADER MIKHAIL GORBACHEV AND OTHER SOVIET OFFICIALS, PARTICULARLY CONCERNING THE WITHDRAWAL OF ALL SOVIET FORCES FROM CZECHOSLOVAKIA. THE AGREEMENT WAS INITIALLED IN PRAGUE THURSDAY. DETAILS OF THE ACCORD, ARE TO B ANNOUNCED, ONCE IT HAS BEEN SIGNED, MOST PROBABLY IN MOSCOW DURING PRESIDENT HAVEL'S VISIT. // END OPTS // (SIGNED)

■NEB/JN/CF/RWL

2/23/90 1:36 pm

2/21/89

CORRESPONDENT REPORT 2-00000

CZECH TRIALS (L)

JOLYON NAEGELE/PRAGUE

() - VOICED AT:

FEBRUARY 21, 1989  
(AT THE TIME OF HIS SPEECH  
TO JOINT SESSION OF CONGRESS  
EXACTLY A YEAR AGO.)

INTRO: A PRAGUE COURT TUESDAY SENTENCED CZECHOSLOVAK  
PLAYWRIGHT AND HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVIST VACLAV (VAAHTS-LAV)  
HAVEL TO NINE MONTHS IN PRISON ON CHARGES OF INCITEMENT AND  
OBSTRUCTION. V-O-A'S JOLYON NAEGELE REPORTS FROM PRAGUE A  
SECOND TRIAL OF EIGHT HUMAN RIGHTS AND PEACE ACTIVISTS ALSO  
OPENED IN THE CZECHOSLOVAK CAPITAL TUESDAY.

TEXT: THE PRAGUE DISTRICT COURT FOUND PLAYWRIGHT, PHILOSOPHER  
AND CHARTER 77 CO-FOUNDER VACLAV HAVEL GUILTY ON BOTH CHARGES  
-- INCITING THE PUBLIC TO DEMONSTRATE AND OBSTRUCTING A POLICE  
OFFICER.

THE PROSECUTION DEMANDED HALF THE MAXIMUM PENALTY WHICH  
WOULD HAVE MEANT AT LEAST ONE YEAR. BUT JUDGE HELENA HLIVATA  
FOUND HIM GUILTY OF WHAT SHE TERMED UNINTENTIONAL INCITEMENT  
AND SENTENCED MR. HAVEL TO NINE MONTHS IN PRISON (CZECH EDS:  
DRUHA NAPRAVNA SKUPINA).

MR. HAVEL IS APPEALING THE VERDICT.

THE PROSECUTOR, KAREL FLORIAN, SAID RADIO FREE EUROPE AND B-B-C  
HAD TAKEN ADVANTAGE OF MR. HAVEL'S WORDS. LAST MONTH, THE 52-  
YEAR-OLD HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVIST RECEIVED AN ANONYMOUS LETTER  
FROM SOMEONE WHO THREATENED TO COMMIT SUICIDE ON PRAGUE'S  
WENCESLAS SQUARE ON THE 20TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE SELF-  
IMMOLATION OF CZECH STUDENT MARTYR, JAN PALACH.

MR. HAVEL IMMEDIATELY TURNED THE LETTER OVER TO THE POLICE BUT ALSO MADE A PUBLIC PLEA BROADCAST BY WESTERN RADIO STATIONS N-O-T TO COMMIT SUICIDE AND SAYING THAT HE AND OTHER HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVISTS WOULD BE ON WENCESLAS SQUARE JANUARY 15TH TO LAY FLOWERS IN PALACH'S MEMORY AND PREVENT ANY SUICIDE ATTEMPT.

POLICE BLOCKED OFF THE SQUARE AND MUCH OF THE CENTER OF PRAGUE AND ALSO TEMPORARILY DETAINED A GROUP OF DISSIDENTS WHO HAD PLANNED TO LAY FLOWERS. NEVERTHELESS, PROTEST DEMONSTRATIONS ERUPTED AT AT LEAST 10 LOCATIONS IN PRAGUE. POLICE USED FORCE TO DISPERSE THEM.

THE FOLLOWING DAY, JANUARY 16TH, THE ACTUAL ANNIVERSARY OF PALACH'S SUICIDE, SEVERAL HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVISTS CONVERGED INDIVIDUALLY ON WENCESLAS SQUARE TO LAY FLOWERS. POLICE DETAINED THEM AND OTHER PASSERSBY. POLICE DETAINED MR. HAVEL MORE THAN ONE HOUR LATER ALTHOUGH HE HAD N-O-T PARTICIPATED IN THE FLOWER LAYINGS.

SEVEN (CORRECT) OF THE DISSIDENTS DETAINED THEN WENT ON TRIAL TUESDAY IN A SEPARATE COURTHOUSE IN PRAGUE ON CHARGES OF HOOLIGANISM (VYTRZNICTVI). THAT TRIAL IS EXPECTED TO CONCLUDE WEDNESDAY. (EDS: SEPARATE STORY TO FOLLOW)

MR. HAVEL TOLD THE COURT TUESDAY HE HAD N-O-T HEARD AN ORDER TO DISPERSE UNTIL HE WAS ARRESTED.

//UNVOICED OPT// MR. HAVEL SAYS THE COURT HE HAD WANTED TO LEAVE RIGHT AFTER WITNESSING THE DETENTIONS OF THE OTHER ACTIVISTS, BUT STAYED IN THE SQUARE FOR AN HOUR, BECAUSE AS HE PUTS IT, "I COULD N-O-T BELIEVE MY EYES" -- HE SAYS THE POLICE ACTION TURNED RANDOM PASSERS-BY INTO PROTESTERS. IN MR. HAVEL'S WORDS, I REALIZED HOW DEEP CIVIL DISSATISFACTION MUST BE IF THIS WAS

HAPPENING AND THAT THE SITUATION WAS EVEN MORE SERIOUS THAN EVEN I HAD THOUGHT.

MR. HAVEL SAID THE AUTHORITIES WOULD LEARN A LESSON AND EVENTUALLY WILL BE READY TO OPEN A DIGNIFIED DIALOG WITH THE WHOLE OF SOCIETY, N-O-T EXCLUDING ANYONE. //END OPT//

A KEY STATE WITNESS, DAVID KABZAN TESTIFIED THAT ON THE 15TH OF JANUARY HE WAS NEAR THE NATIONAL THEATER, N-O-T ON WENCESLAS SQUARE. HE TOLD REPORTERS WAITING OUTSIDE THE COURTROOM HE HAD BEEN BEATEN BY POLICE AND FORCED TO SIGN A STATEMENT SAYING HE HAD GONE TO THE WENCESLAS SQUARE DEMONSTRATION AFTER HAVING HEARD MR. HAVEL'S CALL ON A WESTERN RADIO STATION. MR. KABZAN SAYS HE IS NOW SUING THE POLICE.

MR. HAVEL STOOD UP IN COURT TO POINT OUT THAT THE STATE'S ONLY WITNESS TO SAY HIS BROADCAST HAD ATTRACTED PEOPLE TO DEMONSTRATE HAD RECANTED.

//OPT// THE JUDGE THEN READ TRANSCRIPTS OF WESTERN RADIO NEWS ITEMS (EDS: JAN 9, 10, 14, 15) MENTIONING AN UNOFFICIAL CEREMONY WOULD BE HELD JANUARY 15TH. //END OPT//

MR. HAVEL TOLD THE COURT HE DOES N-O-T FEEL GUILTY AND SAID THE CHARGES HAD N-O-T BEEN PROVEN. HE SAID IF HE IS SENTENCED, HE WOULD ACCEPT IT AS A SACRIFIC FOR A GOOD CAUSE WHICH HE SAID IS NOTHING IN COMPARISON WITH THE ULTIMATE SACFRICE JAN PALACH MADE.

//OPT// MR. HAVEL SAID HE HAD HAD N-O INTENTION TO INCITE THE PUBLIC AGAINST THE STATE.

//REST UNVOICED// IN MR. HAVEL'S WORDS, THE TERMS "ANTI-STATE AND ANTI-SOCIALIST HAVE LOST ALL SEMANTIC MEANING" IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA. HE POINTED OUT THAT RUDOLF SLANSKY, GUSTAV HUSAK AND ALEXANDER DUBCEK, ALL FORMER PARTY FIRST SECRETARIES HAD ALL FACED ACCUSATIONS OF ANTISTATE AND ANTISOCIALIST ACTIVITIES AT ONE TIME OR ANOTHER.

MR. HAVEL WENT ON TO DEFEND THE CHARTER 77 HUMAN RIGHTS MOVEMENT, SAYING THAT EVER SINCE ITS FOUNDING 12 YEARS AGO, CHARTER 77 HAD BEEN PEACEFULLY CALLING ON THE AUTHORITIES TO RESPECT HUMAN RIGHTS AND HAD BEEN OFFERING DIALOG. HOWEVER, HE SAID, THE STATE HAS N-O-T RESPONDED TO CHARTER'S INITIATIVES.

HE SAYS THE AUTHORITIES TODAY CONCEDE THE EXISTENCE OF MANY PROBLEMS THAT CHARTER 77 POINTED OUT LONG AGO AND THAT HE SAYS COULD HAVE BEEN SOLVED MUCH SOONER. (SIGNED)

NEB/JN/

2/21/89 7:26 pm

2/16/90

SAT 12<sup>30</sup> / 3PM

BACKGROUND REPORT 5-10323  
HAVEL TRIP (SCENESETTER)  
JOLYON NAEGELE / PRAGUE  
( ) -- VOICED AT:

INTRO: CZECHOSLOVAK PRESIDENT VACLAV (PRONOUNCED VAAHT-sv) HAVEL DEPARTS PRAGUE SATURDAY FOR ICELAND, CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES. V-O-A'S JOLYON NAEGELE REPORTS FROM THE CZECHOSLOVAK CAPITAL ON THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE TRIP.

TEXT: CZECHOSLOVAKIA'S UNCONVENTIONAL, NON-COMMUNIST PRESIDENT VACLAV HAVEL WILL START HIS NEARLY WEEK-LONG NORTH ATLANTIC ODYSSEY WITH A VISIT TO ICELAND. THE PLAYWRIGHT / PRESIDENT WILL BE A GUEST OF ICELAND'S PRESIDENT VIGDIS FINNBOGADOTTIR, WHO BEFORE BEING ELECTED PRESIDENT IN 1980 SERVED FOR EIGHT YEARS AS A THEATER DIRECTOR.

PRESIDENT HAVEL IS SCHEDULED TO ATTEND A PERFORMANCE OF ONE OF HIS MOST RECENT PLAYS (ASANACE / CLEARANCE) AT THE ICELANDIC NATIONAL THEATER. THIS IS A RARE TREAT FOR THE FORMERLY PERSECUTED DISSIDENT PLAYWRIGHT. AFTER THE SOVIET-LED INVASION OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA IN 1968, HIS PLAYS WERE BANNED AND ARE ONLY NOW RESURFACING ON CZECHOSLOVAK STAGES. HIS WORKS WERE PERFORMED IN MAJOR NON-COMMUNIST THEATERS AROUND THE WORLD, BUT MR. HAVEL SAW THESE PRODUCTIONS ONLY AS VIDEOS, OFTEN LONG AFTER THEY WERE PERFORMED, IN PART BECAUSE HE SPENT A TOTAL OF ABOUT FIVE YEARS IN PRISON DURING THE 1970'S AND 80'S FOR HIS HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVITIES.

FROM ICELAND, PRESIDENT HAVEL TRAVELS ON TO CANADA, HOME TO A LARGE COMMUNITY OF CZECHS AND SLOVAKS. HE WILL HOLD TALKS WITH CANADIAN OFFICIALS IN OTTAWA ON SUNDAY AND THEN TRAVEL TO TORONTO ON MONDAY TO VISIT THE CZECH EMIGRE PUBLISHING HOUSE, "68 PUBLISHERS" AND ITS HUSBAND AND WIFE FOUNDERS -- THE CZECH WRITERS, JOSEF SKVORECKY (SHKVOR-ET-SKI) AND ZDENA SALIVAROVA.

DURING THE LAST TWO DECADES WHEN CZECHOSLOVAKIA'S COMMUNIST AUTHORITIES STAMPED OUT FREE EXPRESSION AND BANNED MOST OF THE COUNTRY'S BEST WRITERS, "68 PUBLISHERS" ISSUED SEVERAL HUNDRED TITLES OF CONTEMPORARY CZECH LITERATURE, ENSURING THAT LITERARY MANUSCRIPTS WERE NOT FORGOTTEN.

THE POLITICAL HIGH POINT OF PRESIDENT HAVEL'S TRIP IS EXPECTED IN WASHINGTON ON TUESDAY AND WEDNESDAY WHEN HE MEETS WITH PRESIDENT BUSH AT THE WHITE HOUSE AND LATER ADDRESSES A JOINT SESSION OF CONGRESS -- AN EXTREMELY RARE HONOR FOR A FOREIGNER, ACCORDED IN THE PAST TO WINSTON CHURCHILL AND LECH WALESA BUT RECENTLY DENIED TO MIKHAIL GORBACHEV.

VACLAV HAVEL WILL BE THE FIRST CZECHOSLOVAK PRESIDENT TO VISIT THE UNITED STATES WHILE IN OFFICE, ALTHOUGH THE COUNTRY'S FIRST TWO PRESIDENTS, TOMAS MASARYK AND EDVARD BENES, VISITED THE UNITED STATES TO DRUM UP SUPPORT FOR A FREE CZECHOSLOVAKIA WHILE IN EXILE DURING THE FIRST AND SECOND WORLD WARS.

PRESIDENT HAVEL WILL BE TRAVELLING WITH A HIGH-LEVEL DELEGATION INCLUDING PRIME MINISTER MARIAN CALFA AND THE TRIO OF FORMER ECONOMIC FORECASTERS WHO ARE IN CHARGE OF TRANSFORMING THE

TO MIKHAIL GORBACHEV.

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CZECHOSLOVAK ECONOMY FROM AN INFLEXIBLE CENTRALLY PLANNED SYSTEM TO A FREE MARKET.

CULTURE RE-EMERGES AS THE FOCUS OF THE FINAL DAY OF PRESIDENT HAVEL'S TRIP, WHEN HE GOES TO NEW YORK. HE IS EXPECTED TO MEET WITH ACTORS AND PLAYWRIGHTS, INCLUDING WOODY ALLEN AND PAUL NEWMAN. HE IS DUE TO VISIT THE MUSEUM OF MODERN ART AND THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART AND ATTEND A ROCK CONCERT BEFORE FLYING HOME TO PRAGUE.

// REST UNVOICED OPT //

SINCE TAKING OFFICE SEVEN WEEKS AGO, PRESIDENT HAVEL HAS RETURNED CZECHOSLOVAK FOREIGN POLICY TO ITS PRE-WAR, PRO-CENTRAL EUROPEAN AND PRO-WESTERN, DEMOCRATIC ROOTS. HE PAID SYMBOLIC VISITS TO BERLIN AND MUNICH ON HIS FIRST FULL BUSINESS DAY IN OFFICE, EFFECTIVELY ENDING A NEARLY HALF CENTURY OLD PARADIGM OF CZECHOSLOVAK FOREIGN POLICY: THAT THE WEST COULD NOT BE TRUSTED BECAUSE IT HAD BETRAYED ITS ALLY CZECHOSLOVAKIA TO NAZI GERMANY AT MUNICH IN 1938, ALLOWING THE COUNTRY TO BE CARVED UP. THE WORDS OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA'S FIRST COMMUNIST LEADER, KLEMENT GOTTWALD, DETERMINED FOREIGN POLICY UNTIL LAST YEAR: "WITH THE SOVIET UNION FOR ETERNITY AND NEVER OTHERWISE."

THE NEW CZECHOSLOVAK LEADERSHIP HAS DEMANDED THE WITHDRAWAL THIS YEAR OF ALL 75 THOUSAND SOVIET OCCUPATION TROOPS AND THEIR FAMILIES. THE BEGINNING OF THAT WITHDRAWAL WILL COINCIDE WITH PRESIDENT HAVEL'S VISIT TO MOSCOW ON FEBRUARY 26TH, WHEN A BILATERAL COMPROMISE AGREEMENT IS EXPECTED TO BE REACHED ALLOWING FOR THE WITHDRAWAL TO BE COMPLETED BY THE MIDDLE OF NEXT YEAR. THE SOVIET UNION, FOR ALMOST HALF A CENTURY THE MANDATORY FIRST STOP FOR ALL CZECHOSLOVAK LEADERS, IS THE EIGHTH COUNTRY PRESIDENT HAVEL WILL VISIT SINCE TAKING OFFICE. (SIGNED)

NEB/JN/CF/SD

2/16/90 2:53 pm

2/21/90  
CORRESPONDENT REPORT 2-51185  
HAVEL/CONGRESS  
JOLYON NAEGELE / WASHINGTON  
( ) = VOICED AT:

INTRO: CZECHOSLOVAK PRESIDENT VACLAV HAVEL RECEIVED A THUNDEROUS WELCOME, REPEATED APPLAUSE, AND STANDING OVATIONS WHEN HE ADDRESSED A JOINT MEETING OF THE U-S CONGRESS WEDNESDAY. V-O-A'S JOLYON NAEGELE, WHO IS TRAVELING WITH THE CZECHOSLOVAK PRESIDENT, REPORTS.

TEXT: PRESIDENT VACLAV HAVEL, IN A SPEECH TO THE U-S CONGRESS, WHICH WAS INTERRUPTED BY APPLAUSE 22 TIMES, SPOKE ABOUT THE NEED FOR RESPONSIBILITY AND CONSCIENTIOUSNESS TO ENSURE FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY.

SPEAKING THROUGH AN INTERPRETER, THE CZECHOSLOVAK PRESIDENT DESCRIBED THE RAPID AND UNEXPECTED END OF TOTALITARIANISM IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA SINCE HE WAS ARRESTED FOR THE LAST TIME AS A DISSIDENT LAST OCTOBER.

/// HAVEL ACT ///

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, 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. (APPLAUSE)

/// END ACT ///

PRESIDENT HAVEL SAYS HIS COUNTRY'S FREEDOM, INDEPENDENCE, AND NEWLY BORN DEMOCRACY HAVE BEEN PURCHASED AT GREAT COST AND WILL NOT BE SURRENDERED. HE REFERS TO CZECHOSLOVAKIA, POLAND AND HUNGARY AS EUROPE'S WAYWARD CHILDREN, WHICH HE SAYS INTEND TO COORDINATE THEIR POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC RETURN TO EUROPE.

PRESIDENT HAVEL SAYS HE IS FIRMLY CONVINCED THAT THE COLLAPSE OF SOVIET TOTALITARIAN RULE IN EASTERN EUROPE IS A HISTORICALLY IRREVERSIBLE PROCESS. AS A RESULT, HE SAYS, EUROPE WILL BEGIN AGAIN TO SEEK ITS OWN IDENTITY WITHOUT BEING COMPELLED TO BE A DIVIDED ARMORY.

PRESIDENT HAVEL SAYS POLITICAL STABILITY IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA HAS TRADITIONALLY BEEN IMPORTANT FOR THE WHOLE OF EUROPE, BECAUSE OVER THE CENTURIES MOST BIG WARS HAVE TRADITIONALLY STARTED AND ENDED ON THE TERRITORY OF WHAT IS TODAY CZECHOSLOVAKIA. HE REITERATED THAT HE WILL PERSONALLY GUARANTEE STABILITY IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA UNTIL FREE PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS IN JUNE. TO THIS END, HE SAYS AS MANY SOVIET TROOPS BASED IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA AS POSSIBLE SHOULD BE WITHDRAWN FROM THE COUNTRY BEFORE THE ELECTIONS.

THE CZECHOSLOVAK PRESIDENT TRAVELS TO MOSCOW NEXT MONDAY FOR TROOP WITHDRAWAL NEGOTIATIONS WITH SOVIET LEADER MIKHAIL GORBACHEV. IN MR. HAVEL'S WORDS, THE MORE SUCCESSFUL OUR NEGOTIATIONS, THE MORE THOSE WHO ARE ELECTED IN OUR PLACES WILL

NOT BE SURRENDERED. HE REFERS TO CZECHOSLOVAKIA, POLAND AND HUNGARY AS EUROPE'S WAYWARD CHILDREN, WHICH HE SAYS INTEND TO COORDINATE THEIR POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC RETURN TO EUROPE.

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BE ABLE TO GUARANTEE POLITICAL STABILITY IN OUR COUNTRY EVEN AFTER THE ELECTIONS.

PRESIDENT HAVEL SAYS THE UNITED STATES CAN HELP CZECHOSLOVAKIA MOST OF ALL, AS HE PUTS IT, BY HELPING THE SOVIET UNION ON WHAT HE TERMS ITS IRREVERSIBLE, BUT IMMENSELY COMPLICATED ROAD TO DEMOCRACY. HE SAYS THE SOONER THE SOVIET UNION MOVES PEACEFULLY TOWARD POLITICAL PLURALISM, RESPECT FOR THE RIGHTS OF NATIONS, AND A MARKET ECONOMY, THE BETTER IT WILL BE, NOT JUST FOR CZECHS AND SLOVAKS, BUT FOR THE WHOLE WORLD.

// REST UNVOICED OPT //

MR. HAVEL REJECTS THE IDEA THAT HE WANTS TO SEE AN IMMEDIATE DISSOLUTION OF NATO AND THE WARSAW PACT. RATHER, HE SAYS EUROPE MUST BECOME A GUARANTOR OF WORLD PEACE SO THAT, AS HE PUTS IT, U-S SOLDIERS NEED NO LONGER BE SEPARATED FROM THEIR MOTHERS. HE SAYS PRESIDENT BUSH'S RECENT OFFER TO REDUCE U-S AND SOVIET FORCES IN CENTRAL EUROPE TO 195 THOUSAND SOLDIERS IS, IN MR. HAVEL'S WORDS, A MAGNIFICENT SHOT IN THE ARM (BOOST) FOR THE VIENNA DISARMAMENT TALKS AND CREATES FAVORABLE CONDITIONS FOR THE QUICKEST POSSIBLE DEPARTURE OF SOVIET FORCES FROM CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

THE CZECHOSLOVAK PRESIDENT JOINED OTHER WORLD LEADERS IN CALLING FOR A SUMMIT CONFERENCE OF THE 35 EUROPEAN AND NORTH AMERICAN COUNTRIES IN THE HELSINKI PROCESS OF SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE, EARLIER THAN THE PLANNED DATE OF 1992. HE SAYS THIS CONFERENCE SHOULD BE EQUIVALENT TO A EUROPEAN PEACE CONFERENCE, WHICH HE SAYS SHOULD FORMALLY END THE SECOND WORLD WAR AND WHAT HE CALLS ALL ITS UNHAPPY CONSEQUENCES. (SIGNED)

NEB/JN/JB

2/21/90 1:53 PM

2/23/90  
CORRESPONDENT REPORT 2-51304  
HAVEL RETURN (L)  
JOLYON NAEGELE / PRAGUE  
( ) - VOICED AT:

INTRO: CZECHOSLOVAK PRESIDENT VACLAV HAVEL MADE A TRIUMPHAL RETURN TO PRAGUE FRIDAY FOLLOWING A HIGHLY SUCCESSFUL TRIP TO NORTH AMERICA. V-O-A'S JOLYON NAEGELE, WHO HAS BEEN TRAVELLING WITH THE CZECHOSLOVAK PRESIDENT, REPORTS FROM PRAGUE.

// ACTUALITY BRASS FANFARE MARCH //

TEXT: A MILITARY HONOR GUARD, FEDERAL ASSEMBLY CHAIRMAN ALEXANDER DUBCEK AND OTHER GOVERNMENT LEADERS, BOUQUETS AND GLASSES OF CHAMPAGNE AND SEVERAL HUNDRED CHEERING CZECHOSLOVAKS GREETED PRESIDENT VACLAV HAVEL AT PRAGUE AIRPORT AFTER THE CZECHOSLOVAK LEADER RETURNED IN TRIUMPH FROM A SIX-DAY TRIP TO ICELAND, CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES.

A MUCH BIGGER CROWD, NUMBERING IN THE TENS OF THOUSANDS, CHEERED THE PRESIDENT WHEN HE ARRIVED SOON AFTERWARDS AT PRAGUE'S OLD TOWN HALL.

PRESIDENT HAVEL, SPEAKING FROM THE BALCONY, TOLD THE CROWD HE HAD NOT GONE TO ICELAND AND NORTH AMERICA TO REST OR GAZE AT THE OCEAN OR AT SKYSCRAPERS, BUT TO WORK.

/// HAVEL ACT ///

A DOMNIVAM SE ZE JSME DOSAHLI DALEKO VIC NEZ JSME  
OCEKAVALI. (CHEERS, FADE)

/// END ACT ///

I BELIEVE WE ACHIEVED FAR MORE THAN WE HAD EXPECTED. PRESIDENT HAVEL TOLD THE CHEERING CROWD.

ON THE FLIGHT BACK FROM NEW YORK, PRESIDENT HAVEL THANKED HIS FELLOW PASSENGERS FOR THEIR HELP-- AS HE PUT IT-- IN CONQUERING ("DOBIT") AMERICA. AMERICANS AND CANADIANS SHOWERED THE CZECHOSLOVAK PLAYWRIGHT / PRESIDENT WITH PRAISE AND AWARDS.

MR. HAVEL TOLD REPORTERS AT A NEWS CONFERENCE IN PRAGUE THAT HIS TALKS WITH PRESIDENT BUSH-- PARTICULARLY THE SECOND, UNSCHEDULED ROUND ON WEDNESDAY-- CONTRIBUTED TO A U-S UNDERSTANDING OF CZECHOSLOVAK INITIATIVES AND CZECHOSLOVAK COMPREHENSION OF THE WAY OF THINKING OF THE U-S ADMINISTRATION.

DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER AND STATE PLANNING CHAIRMAN VLADIMIR DLOUHY, WHO LED THE MR. HAVEL'S ECONOMIC DELEGATION, SAYS HE FOUND ENORMOUS INTEREST AMONG AMERICAN BUSINESS LEADERS IN INVESTING IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

//REST OPT// HE SAYS THE AMERICANS CALLED ON CZECHOSLOVAKIA TO MAKE CLEAR WHAT THE NEW RULES ARE ON PROMOTING INVESTMENT FROM ABROAD. THE TWO SIDES AGREED TO BEGIN NEGOTIATING A COMMERCIAL AGREEMENT EARLY NEXT MONTH FOR SIGNING BY EARLY APRIL.

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/// HAVEL ACT ///

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AGREEMENT EARLY NEXT MONTH FOR SIGNING BY EARLY APRIL.

PRESIDENT HAVEL REVEALED THAT HE HAD HELD DISCUSSIONS WITH BUSH  
ADMINISTRATION OFFICIALS ON NEGOTIATING AN AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE  
CZECHOSLOVAK INTERIOR MINISTRY AND WHAT HE TERMED U-S SECURITY  
AGENCIES. HOWEVER, HE DID NOT PROVIDE DETAILS.

// REST UNVOICED OPT //

PRESIDENT HAVEL SAID AT THE TELEVISED NEWS CONFERENCE IN PRAGUE  
THAT HE HAD TOLD PRESIDENT BUSH AND MEMBERS OF THE CONGRESSIONAL  
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PARTICULARLY CONCERNING THE WITHDRAWAL OF ALL SOVIET FORCES FROM  
CZECHOSLOVAKIA. THE AGREEMENT WAS INITIALLED IN PRAGUE THURSDAY.  
DETAILS OF THE ACCORD, ARE TO BE ANNOUNCED, ONCE IT HAS BEEN  
SIGNED. MOST PROBABLY IN MOSCOW DURING PRESIDENT HAVEL'S VISIT

CZECHOSLOVAK SERVICE  
PRESIDENT BUSH VISITS CZECHOSLOVAKIA  
JUSTIFICATION

VOA  
script

On November 17, 1990, President George Bush was the first US President ever to visit Czechoslovakia. The ramifications are immense. Not only does a Presidential visit to a formerly Communist country signify the enormous political changes which took place in Central Europe in the last year, but it also emphasizes US support of the new Democracy and blossoming tradition of US-Czechoslovak relations.

Although Czechoslovak media covered the visit thoroughly, Czechs and Slovaks tuned into the VOA to get the American point of view. For that reason, VOA-Czechoslovak invited as guest analyst Georgetown University Professor Madeliene Albright, former Advisor on International Affairs to President Jimmy Carter, Candidate Michael Dukakis, and present advisor to Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel.

## BUSH-CZECHOSLOVAK VISIT

### VOICE:

Good morning, dear listeners. Good day to all of you in Czechoslovakia and all of you around the world, whlisten to us us on on the 25 and 31 meter wave lengths. We bring you this special show due to a special event, and that is President George Bush's first visit to Czechoslovakia, the first visit of any US President to Czechoslovakia. In about 14 minutes we will go live to St. Wenceslas Square. President Havel and President Bush are on their way there right now.

However, allow me at this time to welcome to our studio our special guest, Professor Madeleine Albright, of Washington's Georgetown University. Professor Albright served as Advisor to President Carter as well as of Candidate Michael Dukakis, and who presently works for the National Security Council here in Washington. My colleague here in the studio is Ludvik Brezina, Ludek Cizinsky. Allow me to repeat, for the benefit of those of our listeners who are tuning in to us on short wave, around the world--this is a special Voice of America broadcast, and in about 13 minutes we will go live to Prague's Wenceslas Square. A few minutes ago we heard President Havel's and President Bush's press conferences. Shortly before that President Bush gave a speech before the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly.

Professor Albright, President Bush spoke about aid to Czechoslovakia, about aid to Eastern Europe, about the private sector, about Stirin and the Center for European Studies, he even spoke about the possibility of Prague hosting the Helsinki Conference for Security and Co-operation in Europe. What is your opinion on his speech?

### ALBRIGHT:

I believe that this is truly an important speech, and a good indication that relations between the US and Czechoslovakia will become even stronger, and that the United States will really help. As you said, Mr. Bush brought up a number of ideas as to what could be done, and I believe that the most important of all is the \$60 million for the investment fund. America did the same for Poland and for Hungary, and it prepares the ground for loans for the Czechoslovak private sector and so on.

DOBROVODSKY:

Mr. Cizinsky.

CIZINSKY:

It seems that help from the International Monetary Fund and from World Bank is a certainty. In view of the fact that Czechoslovak society is divided at the moment, could the United States help in this aspect?

ALBRIGHT:

From what I read in today's speech, in Mr. Bush's words, the United States federal system works very well, and believes that it could be applied even better in Czechoslovakia. And I believe that the United States is very interested in seeing that Czechs and Slovaks work together, and aid will be directed at insuring that people work together.

LEADER:

DOBROVODSKY:

We are still hearing background noise from Wenceslas Square in Prague, live, where the President of the Czech and Slovak Federative Republic Vaclav Havel, and President of the United States George Bush are expected momentarily. President George Bush is the first American President to visit Czechoslovakia, although relations between modern, post-1918 Czechoslovakia and the United States have been good. Still, President Bush is the first American President to actually visit Czechoslovakia.

LEADER:

VOICE:

Dear fellow citizens, here comes the limousine with President Havel and his wife Olga...

DOBROVODSKY:

Dear friends, please excuse me but I must interrupt, we are going to our remote in Prague, live.

VOICE:

....accompanied by the President of the United States George Bush and his wife Barbara.

/Repeat in English, followed by music./

DOBROVODSKY

The limousines have arrived, and in them, President Vaclav Havel and his wife, and President George Bush with his wife. Now the entourage is coming along, to the grandstand. I repeat,

you are listening to a special Voice of America broadcast, live, for the benefit of all those listening in Czechoslovakia and around the world, to those who have no access to other media covering the story, Czechoslovak television and radio. Therefore we may be describing scenes that some of you might be viewing on television, and might think that my descriptions are redundant. We see President Bush. He is wearing a coat, naturally, it is quite cold in Prague. A few hour ago, President Havel requested that reporters ask no more than a couple more questions, so that, as he put it, "the wind wouldn't carry us away." Other members VIPs are now stepping up, as are President Havel and President Bush, Mr. Bush is to Mr. Havel's left. Naturally other members of the entourage are close by, as are the security people. Safety must be insured, just like anywhere else. We remember well how it was when President Havel visited Washington. Now we go to Prague.

VOICE:

Ladies and gentlemen, the national anthems.

*/repeated in English./*

LEADER:

DOBROVODSKY:

We just heard the speeches of President Havel and President Bush from Wenceslas Square in Prague.

Now to Ludek Brezina.

CIZINSKY:

I would like to ask Professor Albright to evaluate both speeches. On one hand, President Havel's relatively pessimist speech, on the other, President Bush's speech, which saw the future in a very positive light, not only in Czechoslovakia, but in all the countries of former Eastern Europe. What do you think?

ALBRIGHT:

They were two very interesting speeches, because they were so different. I was a little surprised at President Havel's pessimism, and it is obvious that there are many serious problems in Czechoslovakia, and that his speech is a warning that the Velvet Revolution has not ended, and that he is looking to identify the problems, and it was obvious that he understands that the people are not celebrating success, that they are aware of the problems. It was also interesting that from among those American scientists who spoke about problems that develop when groups of people argue, he quoted Alexander Hamilton. In other words, he saw that there were crises in America, too. He even used the word Crises. Bush spoke as Americans always do when they want victory. It was a typical American optimistic speech. What I thought was also important, as we say here, every speech has a message. The second message was, he compared Czechoslovakia to Kuwait, and spoke about how important it is to resist aggression. This was something he said to Americans, too. What is important for Czechs and Slovaks to know is that the American President has terrible problems in America, and that such a welcome in Czechoslovakia was very important to him. So that both messages were very important.

DOBROVODSKY:

On the other hand, as you said, President Havel spoke about rudeness and jealousy, as something that should be eliminated from the lives of Czechs and Slovaks, about blaming

problems on one another, and again, as he had said in some of his famous speeches, such as A Word About Words, he spoke about kind wisdom, the strength of the word...

**ALBRIGHT:**

I think President Havel's speech was very important, because he did something he does so well, and that is to understand the philosophical meaning of the moment, and to speak about a kind of moral poverty and urge action. He understands people, understands what's going on, and I think that he very wisely explained to his people that the next stage is going to be very difficult, and that it is very important to the evolution of the country that people work together. And that everything hasn't been done yet, for people not to think that he thinks that everything is fine, that he knows what's going on. I think that this speech by President Havel is one that should be widely read in the United States, and should be widely read in Czechoslovakia. The speech was full of things that people must understand. President Bush's speech indicates that the whole world is watching Czechoslovakia, and that Czechoslovakia is a kind of symbol of everything that took place in Eastern Europe.

**DOBROVODSKY:**

Dont' you think there is a kind of internal similarity between President Havel's mention of racial and nationalist intolerance, and President Bush's speech fifteen minutes late, in which he proudly talks about a free, united Europe that is so close to existence?

**ALBRIGHT:**

I think he says that all these racial and nationalistic problems can come to an end by virtue of the existence of this common European House, where people can live together, keep their own

culture and language, and still be a part of a group of nations. That's very important. Also, what Bush said here is important to what he will say in Paris, I hope. We already spoke about the fact that now Europe exists as a whole, and that you can no longer have agreements with the East and with the West separately.

LEADER:

DOBROVODSKY:

Dear friends, dear Professor Madeleine Albright, my colleague Ludek Brezina, I must interrupt you because we are out of time. Dear listeners in Czechoslovakia and everywhere in Western and Eastern Europe, and we even know that you in the Middle East listen to us, we must now end this special Voice of America broadcast, a remote, live broadcast from Wenceslas Square in Prague, on the occasion of United States President George Bush's visit to Czechoslovakia. Our audio guest was Professor Madeleine Albright of Georgetown University in Washington, former advisor to President Carter and presidential candidate Michael Dukakis, and member of the National Security Council, as well as advisor to President Havel in Prague. My colleague here at the studio was Ludek Brezina. I am Miroslav Dobrovodsky. Until next time.

8/15/90

BACKGROUND REPORT 5-00000

SLOVAK SEPARATISM

JOLYON NAEGELE/PRAGUE

() - VOICED AT:

*Nationalism*

INTRO: A DECLARATION BY NINE SLOVAK PARTIES DEMANDING SECESSION FROM CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND ESTABLISHMENT OF AN INDEPENDENT SLOVAKIA HAS UNLEASHED A STRONG OF CZECH REBUKES V-O-A'S JOLYON NAEGELE REPORTS FROM OUR PRAGUE BUREAU.

TEXT: THE SLOVAK PARTIES IN A JOINT DECLARATION ISSUED LATE TUESDAY CALLED FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A SOVEREIGN AND INDEPENDENT SLOVAK REPUBLIC.

//UNVOICED OPT// THE DECLARATION WAS SPARKED BY A MEETING LAST WEEK BETWEEN THE CZECH AND SLOVAK NATIONAL REPUBLIC GOVERNMENTS AT WHICH TENTATIVE AGREEMENT WAS REACHED TO TRANSFER AUTHORITY OVER MOST REMAINING ECONOMIC MINISTRIES FROM THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT TO THE NATIONAL REPUBLIC GOVERNMENTS. AUTHORITY OVER DEFENSE, INTERIOR, FINANCE AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS WOULD REMAIN AT THE FEDERAL LEVEL, ALTHOUGH THE CZECH AND SLOVAK REPUBLICS WOULD HAVE A SAY IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS. THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT ON TUESDAY TENTATIVELY AGREED WITH THE PROPOSAL WHICH IS STILL SUBJECT TO RATIFICATION BY THE FEDERAL ASSEMBLY. HOWEVER, THE SLOVAK OPPOSITION PARTIES SAY THEY DISAGREE WITH THE CONCLUSIONS OF LAST WEEK'S MEETING OF THE CZECH AND SLOVAK GOVERNMENTS AND GO SO FAR AS TO SUGGEST THAT THE MEETING WAS NOT BETWEEN THE TWO REPUBLIC GOVERNMENTS BUT RATHER BETWEEN THE TWO LEADING

POLITICAL MOVEMENTS IN THE COUNTRY, THE CZECH CIVIC FORUM AND ITS SLOVAK ALLY, PUBLIC AGAINST VIOLENCE. //END OPT//

TUESDAY'S MEETING OF SLOVAK OPPOSITION PARTIES WAS ORGANIZED BY THE SLOVAK NATIONAL PARTY AND THE RECENTLY FORMED INDEPENDENT PARTY OF SLOVAKS. MOST OF THE OTHER PARTIES AT THE MEETING ARE NEWLY FORMED AND EITHER DID NOT RUN IN THE JUNE PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS OR ELSE DID VERY BADLY.

THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT WHICH WON ABOUT 19 PERCENT OF THE SLOVAK VOTE ATTENDED TUESDAY'S MEETING AND WAS ORIGINALLY REPORTED AS HAVING SUPPORTED THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE. HOWEVER, THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS ON WEDNESDAY DISSOCIATED (DISTANCED) THEMSELVES FROM THE DECLARATION. BUT AN OFFICIAL OF THE SLOVAK NATIONAL PARTY SAYS THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC REPRESENTATIVE NEVER SAID HE WAS ATTENDING AS AN OBSERVER AND VOTED FOR THE RESOLUTION DEMANDING SLOVAK INDEPENDENCE.

//OPT// THE SLOVAK PARTIES ALSO DEMANDED THAT THE SLOVAK NATIONAL COUNCIL PASS A LAW MAKING SLOVAK THE STATE LANGUAGE ON SLOVAK TERRITORY, WITHOUT EXCEPTION. SUCH A BILL WOULD BE INTENDED TO PROTECT THE RIGHTS OF SLOVAKS IN AREAS OF SOUTHERN AND EASTERN SLOVAKIA WHICH ARE LARGELY INHABITED BY SLOVAKIA'S HUNGARIAN MINORITY. HOWEVER, IF PASSED THE LAW COULD PUT MEMBERS OF THE HUNGARIAN MINORITY AT A DISADVANTAGE. //END OPT//

ON WEDNESDAY, THE LEADERSHIP OF THE CZECHOSLOVAK SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY, BRANDED TUESDAY'S DECLARATION AN OPEN ATTEMPT AT DESTROYING THE CZECHOSLOVAK REPUBLIC. THE SOCIAL

DEMOCRATS SAY THEY DOUBT THESE SLOVAK PARTIES REPRESENT THE WILL OF A MAJORITY OF THE POPULATION OF SLOVAKIA.

THE MIDDLE OF THE ROAD CZECHOSLOVAK SOCIALIST PARTY ON WEDNESDAY DEMANDED THAT A REFERENDUM ON SEPARATION BE HELD WITH BOTH SLOVAKS AND CZECHS ALLOWED TO PARTICIPATE.

A NOTED CZECH ECONOMIC FORECASTER, MILOS ZEMAN, WRITING IN WEDNESDAY'S EDITION OF THE INDEPENDENT PRAGUE DAILY, "LIDOVE NOVINY," WARNED THAT SEPARATIST TENDENCIES WILL ENSURE NOT ONLY THAT CZECHOSLOVAKIA REMAINS OUTSIDE OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY BUT COULD PUT CZECHOSLOVAKIA ON THE ROAD TO JOINING THE THIRD WORLD INSTEAD. MOREOVER, MR. ZEMAN SAYS, THOSE CALLING FOR A CONFEDERATION IN WHICH ONLY FOREIGN AND DEFENSE POLICY WOULD BE UNIFIED AT THE FEDERAL LEVEL, FORGET THAT IN A UNITED EUROPE, FOREIGN AND DEFENSE POLICIES WOULD BE FORMULATED NEITHER IN PRAGUE NOR IN THE SLOVAK CAPITAL BRATISLAVA. (SIGNED)

NEB/JN/

8/15/90 5:59 pm

III.

Czechoslovakia  
Eco / Politics

DOHODA

COOPERATION - TWIN CITIES / IMPOSSIBLE BEFORE '89  
PROCLAMATION

Dohoda o uzavretí partnerských vzťahov medzi mestom Bratislava, Česká a Slovenská federatívna republika, a Clevelandom, Ohio, USA.

Sme hrdí, že spolu s obyvateľmi Bratislavy a Clevelandu sme sa dohodli uzavrieť partnerské vzťahy medzi Clevelandom a Bratislavou a žiadame, aby organizácia Sister Cities International, Inc. oficiálne uznala partnerstvo medzi Bratislavou a Clevelandom.

Cieľom tohto partnerského vzťahu je priateľstvo a snaha prispieť k rozvoju oboch miest výmenou v oblasti školstva a kultúry, hospodárstva, umožniť spoluprácu detí a študentov, ako aj ľudí, ktorí majú záujem spoznávať a podeliť sa o svoju kultúru.

Mestá, Bratislava a Cleveland, chcú takýmto spôsobom prispieť k svetovému mieru a k rozvoju medzinárodných priateľských vzťahov.

Táto dohoda o partnerských vzťahoch je vyhotovená v dvoch origináloch, jeden v angličtine, druhý v slovenčine, jedna kópia ostane pre každé mesto a jedna pre organizáciu Sister Cities International.

Na základe uvedeného, my, predstavitelia oboch spriateľených miest, vyhlasujeme Bratislavu a Cleveland za spriateľené mestá.

Ako svedectvo sme si podali ruky a pripojili spoločnú pečať oboch miest.

PRIMÁTOR MESTA BRATISLAVY

  
ING. ROMAN HOFBAUER  
22. októbra 1990


NÁMESTNÍK PRIMÁTORA  
MESTA BRATISLAVY

  
ING. STEFAN SKRIP  
22. októbra 1990

STAROSTA CLEVELANDU

  
MICHAEL R. WHITE  
22. októbra 1990

PREZIDENT MESTSKEJ RADY  
V CLEVELANDE

  
JAMES WESTBROOK  
22. októbra 1990

Declaring the Establishment of a Sister City Relationship Between the Cities of Bratislava, Czech and Slovak Republic and Cleveland, Ohio, USA.

We are proud to join with the citizens of Bratislava and Cleveland in mutually agreeing to declare the establishment of a Sister City relationship between Cleveland and Bratislava, and we request that Sister Cities International, Inc. officially recognize the Sister City relationship of Bratislava and Cleveland.

The purpose of this relationship is to further friendship and contribute to both cities' development by exchanging education and culture, industry and economy, childrens' and students' works, and people who are interested in learning and sharing a multi-cultural environment.

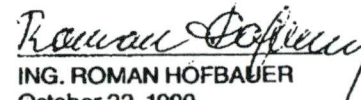
The cities of Bratislava and Cleveland intend in this way to give their contribution to the cause of world peace and to the development of friendly international relations.

This Declaration of Friendship is compiled in two originals, one in English and one in Slovak, a copy to be retained in both cities, with a copy to Sister Cities International.

Now, therefore, We, official representatives of the two friendly cities, do proclaim that Bratislava and Cleveland are Sister Cities.

In witness whereof, we have set our hands and caused the Corporate Seal of both cities to be affixed.


THE MAYOR OF BRATISLAVA

  
ING. ROMAN HOFBAUER  
October 22, 1990

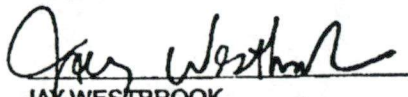
DEPUTY MAYOR OF BRATISLAVA

  
ING. STEFAN SKRIP  
October 22, 1990

THE MAYOR OF CLEVELAND

  
MICHAEL R. WHITE  
October 22, 1990

PRESIDENT OF CLEVELAND CITY  
COUNCIL

  
JAY WESTBROOK  
October 22, 1990

OCT-25-90 THU 8:09 FIRST CATHOLIC SLOVAK P. 02  
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# Business Outlook Abroad

## Current Reports From The Foreign Service

### CZECHOSLOVAKIA

#### Business Interest Mushrooms in Wake of Political Changes And March Toward Establishing a Modern Market Economy

*Czechoslovakia is well on the way toward creating a free market based on private enterprise. While the country has a long economic recovery ahead, the future of the economy and prospects for trade expansion remain bright. The extension of most favored nation trade status, implementation of favorable U.S. government programs, and a more liberal economic environment in Czechoslovakia have caused American companies' interest in this market to mushroom. At the beginning of 1990, there were only 15 U.S. companies with offices in Prague; now there are over 70 and more are on the way. The U.S. Embassy in Prague, however, advises in this report that success in the Czechoslovak market requires patience and persistence.*

Czechoslovakia is embarking on extensive economic reforms with the aim of transforming into a modern market economy. Major reforms which have already been implemented include liberalization of foreign trade and investment, removal of restrictions on private enterprise, creation of a framework for privatizing large and small enterprises, price liberalization, and partial convertibility. The government has combined these reforms with a strict, restrictive fiscal and monetary policy designed to keep inflation under control while the economy adjusts to new conditions.

During 1990 the economic decline which started in 1989 (by some measures even earlier) continued in Czechoslovakia. Net national income declined by 3.1 percent and gross material product by 2.3 percent. However, the Federal Office of Statistics did an experimental calculation of gross national product, including services, which showed an increase of 3.7 percent. The difference may be due to inflation and to a boom in tourism and the growth of other services, especially in the private sector, which was legalized in April 1990. At the end of 1990, 488,400 entrepreneurs were registered, but most of these were only active part-time. Most private enterprises are in the fields of services construction, repairs, trade and tourism.

Inefficiency in the use of raw materials and energy, low productivity, slow application of new technologies, and low quality of production continue to plague

the economy. In addition, for the first time there have been significant price rises and unemployment.

The path of economic reform and restructuring has been complicated by external developments. With the disintegration of CMEA, Czechoslovakia has had to pay more for its raw material imports from the Soviet Union and has lost most of its markets in the former East Bloc countries. Despite some increase in trade with developed market countries, Czechoslovakia's exports fell and imports rose, resulting in a shift from a trade surplus in 1989 to a deficit in 1990. A deficit is also expected in 1991. Loans from the IMF and other international organizations will help to cover the expected increase in foreign debt.

Beginning in 1990, Czechoslovakia embarked on a far-reaching program to convert itself into a market economy. The government appears to have reached a consensus that the move to a market economy must be complete and speedy. Although Czechoslovakia has been criticized for not moving swiftly enough, the number and scope of the economic reforms enacted by early 1991 is impressive, especially considering the profound political changes which had to be instituted at the same time.

#### Major Reform Measures

Below is a summary of the major economic reform measures passed since the beginning of 1990.

##### *Legalization of private enterprise*

(April 1990)—removed the restrictions which had limited private industries to small family businesses.

*Amendment to Joint Venture Act* (April 1990)—legalized 100 percent foreign ownership of enterprises, permitted joint ventures with private Czechoslovak companies and individuals.

*Amendment to Foreign Economic Relations Act* (April 1990)—abolished the monopoly of state-controlled foreign trade companies and removed most limits on rights of individuals and enterprises to engage in foreign trade.

*Copyright* (May 1990)—revised and strengthened copyright protection.

*Small privatization* (November 1990)—set up the framework for privatizing shops, restaurants, and other small businesses.

*Small restitution* (November 1990)—allows restitution of businesses nationalized during 1959. Most large businesses had already been nationalized by 1959, but in that year even small shops and family workshops were taken over by the state.

*Patents* (November 1990)—strengthened patent protection.

*Foreign exchange* (November 1990)—Allows businesses to freely purchase foreign exchange for use in business, current account transactions.

*Price liberalization* (November 1990)—allows most prices to be set by market, but retains controls on many to prevent monopolies from exploiting their advantages; after its implementation on Jan. 1, 1991, approximately 80 percent of prices were freed of state control.

*Indirect tax reform* (November 1990)—replaced the system of turnover taxes with a VAT system and simplified the rate structure.

*Labor* (December 1990)—amendments to the labor law governing collective bargaining.

*Safeguards legislation* (December 1990)—prevents illegal transfer of sensitive military or dual-use technology.

*Extra-Judicial restitution*—created the framework for restoring companies and properties nationalized after 1948 to their previous owners or heirs; permits restitu-

tion only to Czechoslovak citizens who reside in Czechoslovakia.

**Large privatization**—sets up the framework for privatizing large state enterprises. Under the Act, each state enterprise must draw up a privatization plan setting out how the firm will be privatized and information of interest to potential investors; some companies will be sold outright to foreign or domestic investors, while others will be privatized according to a controversial "voucher" scheme, under which each Czechoslovak citizen would be entitled to purchase vouchers for a nominal amount which could then be used to purchase stock in Czechoslovak companies.

Pending:

**Land law**—an act to privatize the agricultural sector is currently being considered by the Federal Assembly.

**Commercial code**—later this year the Federal Assembly is expected to pass legislation drastically revising the commercial code to conform to new market conditions.

**Tax reforms**—revisions of the income and business tax systems are needed; Ministry of Finance officials estimate that reforms of the tax code will not be complete until 1993.

In 1990 Czechoslovakia liberalized its foreign investment legislation, permitting 100 percent foreign-owned companies in Czechoslovakia and simplifying the procedures for getting permission to form a joint venture or to register as a foreign company. The government welcomes foreign investment and foreign investors are eligible for certain tax benefits.

As of December 1990, there were 1,168 firms with foreign capital participation in Czechoslovakia; 909 companies in the Czech lands and 259 in Slovakia. Some 20 percent of the companies are wholly-owned foreign subsidiaries; another 10 percent are joint ventures between a foreign partner and a state enterprise; the remaining 70 percent are between a foreign partner and private Czechoslovak enterprises or individuals. Most of the foreign ventures are small.

As a result of the dramatic political and economic changes that took place in Czechoslovakia in late 1989 and early 1990, the United States moved to normalize bilateral trade. In April 1990, the United States and Czechoslovakia signed a trade agreement which was ratified by both sides and came into effect in late November 1990, restoring most favored nation status to Czechoslovakia. The United States and Czechoslovakia are negotiating a bilateral investment treaty,

which should be completed soon. A bilateral tax treaty is also being negotiated.

Although Czechoslovakia did not benefit from lower tariffs until late 1990, trade with the United States rose significantly. U.S. customs figures show that in 1990 U.S. exports to Czechoslovakia increased by 25.9 percent, and imports by 6.6 percent. U.S.-Czechoslovakia trade remains very small in relation to the total trade of each country. However, total trade figures may give a misleading impression because much of bilateral trade occurs through European subsidiaries of U.S. companies and does not appear in official trade statistics.

Apart from removing trade restrictions, the political changes in Czechoslovakia have also made it possible for other kinds of economic cooperation between the United States and Czechoslovakia. U.S. Export-Import Bank financing is available to promote the export of U.S. goods and services to the CSFR. The Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC), a U.S. government agency which promotes growth in developing countries by encouraging U.S. private investment, now operates in Czechoslovakia. OPIC's key programs are its loan guaranties, direct loans, and political risk insurance. For Eastern European countries, OPIC also offers an Eastern European Growth Fund, designed to match OPIC funds with private venture capital to finance new business; the Small Business Loan Guaranty Program; and an environmental investment fund. The U.S. Trade and Development Program can offer grants for feasibility studies and certain other services which would promote U.S. exports.

The U.S. Agency for International Development is active in Czechoslovakia. Congress has appropriated \$370 million for assistance to Central and Eastern Europe. Czechoslovakia has recommended a number of projects to the U.S. government for funding. A Czechoslovak-U.S. Enterprise Fund, similar to those already in operation in Hungary and Poland, is in the process of being set up. The World Bank and the European Community are also funding a number of projects, primarily in the environmental area. The International Finance Corporation has established a permanent mission in Prague to assist privatization efforts and help set up joint ventures.

Czechoslovakia adheres to the same multilateral intellectual property conventions as the United States. In 1990 new laws on patents and copyrights were

passed by the Federal Assembly. The new Acts strengthen protection of intellectual property.

American companies' interest in the Czechoslovak market has mushroomed. At the beginning of 1990, there were only approximately 15 U.S. companies with offices in Prague; now there are over 70 and more are on the way. Some promising areas for U.S. exports are pollution equipment and services, computers and software, telecommunications, finance services, tourism, aircraft, medical equipment, education and manpower training services, management services, and accounting.

Success in the Czechoslovak market requires patience and persistence. American businesspeople are often criticized for wanting to "Arrive on Monday, have meetings on Tuesday, and take out their money on Wednesday." U.S. businesspeople should not limit their contacts to Ministry officials or even senior enterprise managers. Active support of middle management and, often, labor leaders may be crucial in the success of a deal. Do not underestimate the importance of regional sensitivities; it is vital to make contacts in Slovakia as well as in the Czech Republic.

The U.S.-Czechoslovak Economic Council, a private sector group sponsored by the U.S. and Czechoslovak Chambers of Commerce, provides a forum for disseminating information and for discussing trade prospects with experienced businesses. The Council is administered by the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, 1615 H St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20062; tel. (202) 463-5482.

Firms seeking to do business in this market are encouraged to contact the Department of Commerce's Eastern Europe Business Information Center (EEBIC) for basic information on doing business in Czechoslovakia. EEBIC is located in Room H6043, 14th and Constitution Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20230; tel. (202) 377-2645. Additional assistance can be obtained from Commerce's Czechoslovakia Desk, Room H3415, Washington, D.C. 20230; tel. (202) 377-4915. Visitors to Prague should also contact the Commercial Section, American Embassy Prague, Trziste 15, Prague 1; tel. (42-2) 536-641, fax (42-2) 532-450, telex 121 196 AMEMC. The Embassy's mailing address is U.S. Embassy, APO N.Y. 09213-5630. The Embassy and the Department of Commerce organize a number of trade promotion events each year, including a U.S. exhibit at the annual International Engineering Fair in Brno in September.

garia is also seeking fast food restaurants and consultative services.

For more information, contact the Eastern Europe Business Information Center at (202) 377-2645.

## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

### U.S. Commercial Relations Are Clearly on the Upswing

By Shelley Galbraith

The bilateral extension of most favored nation (MFN) trade status, implementation of favorable U.S. government programs, and a more liberal economic environment in Czechoslovakia are creating an expanded and favorable climate for U.S. businesses interested in this market. In addition, passage of major economic reforms in the past year means that Czechoslovakia is well on the way to creating a free market based on private enterprise. While Czechoslovakia has a long economic recovery ahead, the future and prospects for expanding trade remain bright.

U.S. exports 1990—\$89 million  
U.S. imports 1990—\$87 million

Even though the Czechoslovak economy remains relatively stable with a manageable foreign debt, economic growth is expected to decline over the next few years. The economy must adjust to years of excessive consumption of raw materials and energy, slow technological development, extreme environmental problems, and the breakdown of old trading patterns with the Soviet Union and other East European countries. As the country embarks on its ambitious economic reform program, inflation is expected to rise to 25 to 30 percent in 1991, while unemployment may reach 5 percent.

The need to shift trade from East to West will require major industrial adjustments. Czechoslovak companies must now compete with Western firms, a daunting prospect given the current quality of most products. Also, requirements to purchase oil with hard currency from the Soviet Union and other sources is a major drain on financial reserves, especially in view of the current unreliability of Soviet and Middle Eastern suppliers.

A series of reforms is radically changing the commercial landscape for both domestic and foreign businesses. The

state monopoly on foreign trade was abolished—any registered company may engage in foreign trade activities. Privatization of small firms began in January, with successful auctions of small shops and businesses.

Large enterprises will be privatized beginning in April 1991. Under the privatization law, foreign investors will have an opportunity to invest in Czechoslovak firms. At the heart of privatization is restitution—the government's returning businesses confiscated between 1948 and 1990 to their rightful private owners or their resident heirs.

The crown was made internally convertible and devalued on Jan. 1, 1991, making Western or "hard" currency available to purchase foreign products. In addition, updated investment laws have simplified setting up new ventures and provide for repatriation of profits through dividends. These major changes will be supported by new tax, customs, investment, and other laws and regulations, as well as a new commercial code.

While currency reserves in Czechoslovakia are currently tight, American products are in strong demand, including computers and software; pollution control technologies; telecommunications equipment; food processing and packaging machinery and equipment; engineering, management consulting, banking and financial services; and medical equipment. The Czechoslovak government also supports foreign direct investment in a wide range of industrial and service sectors.

American businesses will note numerous recent improvements in the bilateral business environment. The United States implemented a bilateral trade agreement with Czechoslovakia in November 1990, extending MFN. A bilateral investment treaty will be signed later this year. In addition, U.S. government programs such as the Export-Import Bank, the Overseas Private Investment Corporation, and the Trade and Development Program are active in Czechoslovakia. A U.S.-Czechoslovak Enterprise Fund to assist in the development of the Czechoslovak private sector has been established.

A number of trade promotion events sponsored by the Department of Commerce also occur each year. In 1991, events will feature computers, medical equipment, environmental technologies, consumer goods, and other products.

For further information, contact the Eastern Europe Business Information Center at (202) 377-2645.

## HUNGARY

### Note for U.S. Exporters: 'All Systems are Go'

By Russell Johnson

Prospects for increased U.S. exports in 1991 appear bright, despite widespread expectations that the Hungarian recession will continue through the end of this year. U.S. sales to Hungary should grow beyond the \$157 million registered in 1990 as the Hungarian government implements market-based economic reforms, particularly to demonopolize foreign trade, privatize state-owned firms, and attract foreign investment. Development projects in Hungary funded by the World Bank and the new European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD) will also be an important source of new business opportunities, and U.S. government agencies such as the U.S. Export-Import Bank and the Overseas Private Investment Corporation will continue to support American trade and investment in Hungary.

U.S. exports 1990—\$157 million  
U.S. imports 1990—\$349 million

Despite the poor performance of the Hungarian economy, U.S. exports to Hungary in 1990 increased by 29 percent over 1989 levels. Sharply increased U.S. feedgrain sales to Hungary also performed well, growing 5 percent.

The outlook for increased sales of U.S. manufactured goods to Hungary will improve further in 1991. The Hungarian government's recent decision to abolish import licensing requirements for most products makes the Hungarian currency virtually convertible for import transactions. The best prospects for 1991 will include computers and peripherals (sales of which nearly tripled in 1990), food processing and packaging machinery, telecommunications equipment, construction equipment, medical equipment, pollution control technology, and consumer goods.

Already, a banner year for U.S. exports to Hungary seems assured for 1991. In February, Boeing Commercial Airplanes signed a Letter of Intent to sell two 767-200ER aircraft to the Hungarian airline Malev. This \$130 million transaction, once completed, would nearly double the current value of U.S. exports.

The Hungarian economy slid deeper into recession in 1990. Economic transition measures, high world energy prices,

## Research Memorandum

United States Information Agency  
Washington, D.C. 20547

Office of Research



May 7, 1991

### Despite Differences, Czechs and Slovaks Favor Single State

*This is the fifth in a series of reports based on a recent USIA-commissioned survey in Czechoslovakia.<sup>1</sup> A representative nationwide sample of 1,632 adults, 18 and older, responded to face-to-face interviews between March 26 and April 9, 1991. The Association for Independent Social Analysis, a reputable firm in Prague, conducted the study for USIA.*

#### Key Findings:

- Both Czechs (92%) and Slovaks (77%) overwhelmingly reject the idea of two separate states. Instead, most Czechs (85%) and Slovaks (75%) believe the separatist issue is "high-stakes politics" and is not in the interest of the people.
- A majority of Czechs (61%) and Slovaks (64%) say either that relations between the two republics are good or that all disputed questions will be solved judiciously. Only one in ten Czechs (11%) and Slovaks (9%) believes the situation is very serious and presents a grave crisis for the whole country.
- Nevertheless, substantive differences of opinion exist between Czechs and Slovaks. Czechs are much more likely than Slovaks to favor radical economic reform, think foreign investment is good for the development of the economy, support privatization of state-owned businesses, and want to work for a private business. By contrast, a larger percentage of Slovaks than Czechs support gradual economic reform, think foreign investment will make Czechoslovakia dependent on foreign capital, favor preserving a moderate degree of state-ownership of business, and want to work for a state-owned business.
- On political issues, Slovaks are less satisfied than Czechs with the progress that has been made toward becoming a democracy and are less confident in the federal government.
- With the exception of Dubcek, no political leader wins a favorable assessment by the majority of both Czechs and Slovaks. This finding suggests that it will be difficult for any one leader to bridge the gap between the two publics.

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<sup>1</sup>USIA reports: *U.S. and President Bush Receive High Marks from Czechoslovaks*, April 22, 1991, Report Number M-59-91; *Czechoslovaks Keep Watch on East and West*, April 24, 1991, Report Number M-60-91; *Czechoslovaks Question Pace of Economic Reforms*, May 1, 1991, Report M-64-91; *Political Opinion Gap Widens Between Czechs and Slovaks*, May 1, 1991, Report M-65-91.

### **Havel Calls For Referendum on Slovak Independence**

In a move apparently calculated to derail the growing radicalization of separatist movements in Slovakia, President Vaclav Havel called in early March for a referendum on Slovak independence. An independent Slovakia, according to Havel, would lead to "a chaotic disintegration" of the country and he called upon the "less vocal" but "levelheaded and forward-thinking majority" to support "a viable, real and functioning federation."<sup>2</sup>

For more than a year Czech and Slovak political leaders have wrangled over a variety of political and economic issues. The first major fray came over the name of the country. Slovaks resented the secondary status accorded by the name "Czechoslovakia" and negotiated a new name, "The Czech and Slovak Federal Republic." In October the passage of a law allowing official use of minority languages in the Slovak Republic generated significant opposition from Slovak nationalists who wanted only Slovak as the official language. The adoption of a constitutional law in December 1990 which clarified the power-sharing agreement between the federation and the republics seemed to placate at least temporarily many Slovak politicians. But in early March 1991, the Public Against Violence (PAV), one of the leading political movements in Slovakia and the Civic Forum's coalition partner in the federal government, split largely over nationalist issues. The original group favors addressing Slovak concerns within the federalist framework, while the new group (Public Against Violence – For a Democratic Slovakia) favors addressing Slovak national concerns first. This new group was formed by (now former) Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar and Slovak Minister of International Relations, Milan Knazko.<sup>3</sup>

### **Czechs and Slovaks Resoundingly Reject Two Separate States**

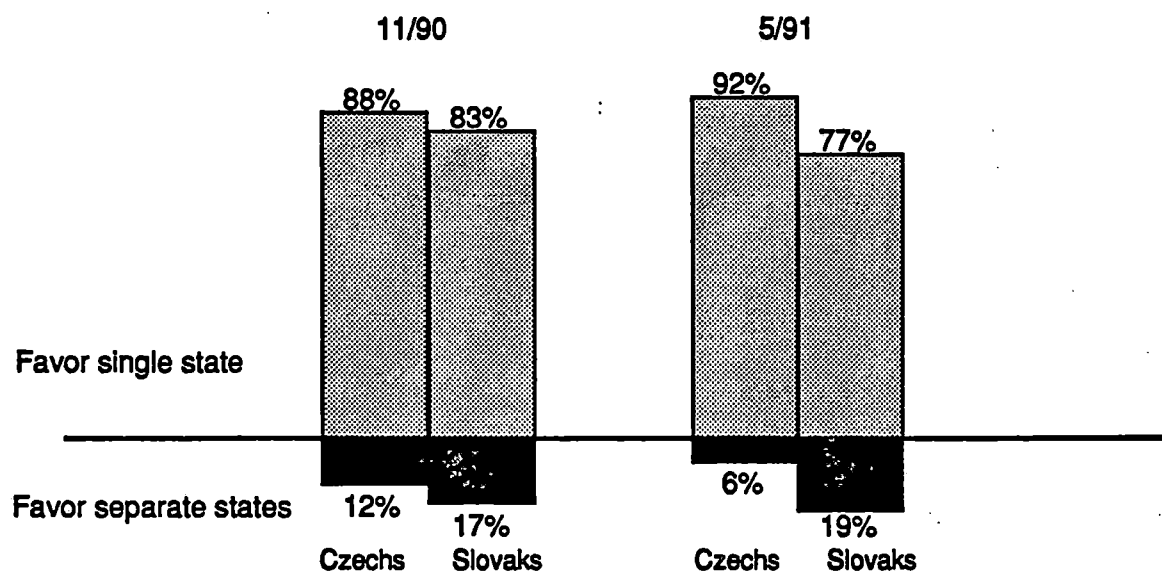
There would be little doubt about a decision on separatist issues if the referendum on Slovak independence had been held at the time of this survey – both Czechs (92%) and Slovaks (77%) overwhelmingly reject the idea of two separate states (Table 1, Figure 1). Opinions on this issue have changed only slightly over the past six months.

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<sup>2</sup>FBIS Trends, 20 March 1991, pp 23-24.

<sup>3</sup>Meciar and seven of his ministers were dismissed by parliamentary leaders on April 23. Jan Carnogursky, leader of the Christian Democratic Movement, was named Slovakia's new prime minister.

**Figure 1. Czech and Slovak Attitudes Toward Separate States**



### **Most Think Efforts to Split State Do Not Serve People's Interest**

Most Czechs (85%) and Slovaks (75%) continue to believe the separatist issue is "high-stakes politics" and not in the interest of the people (Table 2). The percentage of Czechs and Slovaks who hold this opinion has increased over the last six months, indicating that while the debate might be getting more heated among political leaders, the vast majority of the public see it as nothing more than "politics."

The small group of Slovaks advocating a separate state are more likely than those opposing the formation of separate states both to lack confidence that the government represents their interests and to voice an unfavorable opinion of Havel. These Slovaks tend to live in large urban cities, and are also more likely to express pessimism about their standard of living five years hence, oppose radical economic reform, equate private property with social injustice, voice pessimism about the future of Czechoslovak youth, and oppose foreign investment on the grounds it breeds dependency. These Slovaks apparently believe they have little future in the current federal system and probably believe opportunities for a more prosperous future would improve in a separate Slovak state.

### **A Majority Believes All Disputed Questions Will be Solved Judiciously**

When asked specifically about relations between the two republics, a majority of Czechs (61%) and Slovaks (64%) say either that relations are good or that all disputed

questions will be solved judiciously. One in four Czechs (27%) and Slovaks (27%) describes relations as rather bad, while one in ten Czechs (11%) and Slovaks (9%) believes the situation is very serious and presents a grave crisis for the whole country (Table 3). There has been no change in the public's perception of the relations between the two republics in the last six months.

### **Czechs and Slovaks Split on Economic Reform Measures**

Although the public steadfastly rejects the notion of two separate states, and a majority believe all disputes can be settled judiciously, substantive differences of opinion exist between Czechs and Slovaks, especially over economic and political issues.

According to Slovakia's former Prime Minister, Meciar, one of the reasons Slovakia is pressing for greater autonomy is the "unsuitability" of the federal government's economic reform program for Slovakia. Slovaks already think Czechs are economically better off. Over nine in ten Slovaks (95%) believe the economic situation is better in the Czech lands than in Slovakia (Table 4). This perception likely accounts for some of the tension between the two groups.

Overall Czechs and Slovaks diverge on these key economic issues:<sup>4</sup>

- Czechs favor radical (50%) over gradual (41%) reform, whereas Slovaks solidly favor gradual (60%) over radical (19%) reform. Furthermore, 12 percent of the Slovaks believe no further economic reform is needed, while only 5 percent of the Czechs share this opinion.
- On the specific issue of price increases (prices on many goods doubled in January), a solid majority of Slovaks (77%) think the government should not have allowed prices to increase as sharply as they did because of the hardship price increases entail. Only one in five (20%) Slovaks believes that, although the liberalization of prices is a hardship, it is an essential condition of economic improvement. By contrast, a slightly larger percentage of Czechs (51%) accept the necessity of price increases than think prices should not have been allowed to increase so sharply (46%).
- Slovaks (52%) are slightly more likely than Czechs (44%) to think foreign investment will make them dependent on foreign capital and that, consequently, foreigners should not be allowed to own a majority share in a business.

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<sup>4</sup>For a more in-depth discussion of economic issues see USIA report: *Czechoslovaks Question Pace of Economic Reforms*, May 1, 1991, Report Number M-64-91.

- Slovaks are more likely than Czechs to say they would strike or demonstrate if social services were markedly reduced, the price of essentials doubled from today's prices, their standard of living declined drastically or if they or someone in their family faced a prolonged period of unemployment.
- Slovaks (36%) are twice as likely as Czechs (17%) to favor preserving a moderate degree of state-ownership of businesses.
- Slovaks (40%) are also twice as likely as Czechs (20%) to express strong belief that the state should take more responsibility to ensure that everyone is provided for.
- Slovaks (39%) are more likely than Czechs (28%) to prefer to work for a state-owned business.

### **Slovaks More Dissatisfied than Czechs With Political Developments**

In addition to differences on key economic issues, Czechs and Slovaks also diverge on these key political issues:<sup>5</sup>

- Slovaks (30%) are less satisfied than Czechs (52%) with the progress that has been made toward becoming a democracy. Although a majority of both Czechs and Slovaks do not think they have a "say in what the government does," more Slovaks (87%) than Czechs (78%) voice this feeling.
- Slovaks (39%) are considerably less confident in the federal government than are Czechs (77%). Moreover, Slovaks (48%) are much more likely than Czechs (26%) to believe that over the last year the government has been paying less attention to the interests of the citizens.
- Opinion also diverges over the relative strength of the federal and republican governments. Of specific interest is the relative economic strength of each. Not surprisingly, a broad majority of Czechs (79%) but only half of the Slovaks (51%) favor an economically strong federal government that would help the republics if they need it.
- Asked about expectations for young people, Slovaks (41%) express much less optimism for the future of young people than do Czechs (60%).
- Czechs and Slovaks also differ greatly in their assessment of political leaders. Ninety percent of the Czechs rate Havel favorably, but only 46 percent of the

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<sup>5</sup>For a more in-depth discussion of political issues see USIA report: *Political Opinion Gap Widens Between Czechs and Slovaks*, May 1, 1991, Report Number M-65-91.

Slovaks concur. Meciar garners the favor of 94 percent of the Slovaks, but only 28 percent of the Czechs. The only leader that wins a favorable assessment of a majority of both Czechs (59%) and Slovaks (86%) is Alexander Dubcek. This finding would suggest that it will be difficult for any one leader to easily bridge the gap between the two publics.

Whether it is true or not, many Slovaks believe that Czechs are doing better economically than they are, and that Czechs have more economic opportunities than Slovaks do. Furthermore, a larger percentage of Slovaks than Czechs are dissatisfied with the government's economic and political reform programs. The combination of these two factors likely contributes to the perception of many Slovaks that the government is not paying as much attention as it should to the interest of its citizens. As long as these perceptions remain, Slovak nationalists might be able to persuade many to resist what some think is already too fast a pace of economic and political reform. While this is unlikely to reverse the course of the reform, it could considerably retard the process toward becoming a free market economy.

Prepared by: Mary McIntosh (619-4490)  
Approved by: Stephen M. Shaffer  
Acting Director, Office of Research

M-69-91

### **How the Poll was Conducted**

This survey is based on face-to-face interviews with a representative nationwide sample of 1,632 residents of Czechoslovakia aged 18 and older (1051 from the Czech Republic and 581 from the Slovak Republic). Interviewing was conducted between March 26 and April 9, 1991.

USIA commissioned the Association for Independent Social Analysis (AISA) in Prague, Czechoslovakia to conduct the survey. AISA was formed after the revolution by a group of independent sociologists from the Academy of Science. The goal of AISA is to provide a forum for the "voice of the people" through regularly conducted public opinion polls.

Nineteen times out of 20, results from samples of this size will differ by no more than about 3 percentage points in either direction from what would be found if it were possible to interview every adult in Czechoslovakia. The potential margin of sampling error is larger for smaller groups (4 percent for Czechs, 6 percent for Slovaks). In addition to sampling error, the practical difficulties of conducting a survey of public opinion may introduce other sources of error into the results.

Additional information about the methodology employed may be obtained from the analyst.

Table 1: Opinions on Forming Two Separate States

Question: If you consider all the circumstances, are you in favor of two separate states being formed instead of the present single one?

|            | 11/90                   |                         | 4/91                    |                         |
|------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|
|            | <u>Czechs</u><br>(1691) | <u>Slovaks</u><br>(814) | <u>Czechs</u><br>(1051) | <u>Slovaks</u><br>(581) |
| Yes        | 5%                      | 7%                      | 2%                      | 8%                      |
| Rather so  | 7                       | 9                       | 4                       | 11                      |
| Rather not | 23                      | 24                      | 17                      | 29                      |
| No         | 65                      | 60                      | 75                      | 48                      |
| Don't know | $\frac{=}{100\%}$       | $\frac{=}{100\%}$       | $\frac{2}{100\%}$       | $\frac{5}{101\%}$       |

Table 2: Opinion of Efforts to Split the State

Question: I shall again read to you several statements and ask you to tell me to what extent you agree with them.

*Efforts to split the state are an affair of politicians who play high stakes, and they do not reflect the interests of the ordinary people.*

|                     | 11/90                   |                         | 4/91                    |                         |
|---------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|
|                     | <u>Czechs</u><br>(1691) | <u>Slovaks</u><br>(814) | <u>Czechs</u><br>(1051) | <u>Slovaks</u><br>(581) |
| Definitely agree    | 41%                     | 37%                     | 50%                     | 39%                     |
| Rather agree        | 32                      | 33                      | 35                      | 36                      |
| Rather disagree     | 18                      | 19                      | 8                       | 15                      |
| Definitely disagree | 8                       | 10                      | 3                       | 4                       |
| Don't know          | $\frac{=}{99\%}$        | $\frac{=}{99\%}$        | $\frac{5}{101\%}$       | $\frac{5}{99\%}$        |

**Table 3. Relations Between the Two Republics**

**Question:** What, in your opinion, are the relations between the individual nations and ethnic groups in our country today? Choose only one of the offered answers.

| Sample size:   | 11/90<br>2526           |                         | 4/91<br>1632            |                         |
|--|-------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|
|  | <u>Czechs</u><br>(1691) | <u>Slovaks</u><br>(814) | <u>Czechs</u><br>(1051) | <u>Slovaks</u><br>(581) |
| They are essentially good; all we need is just a little more tolerance and respect.                                      | 13%                     | 18%                     | 8%                      | 14%                     |
| They are not exactly good, but I believe that all disputed questions will be solved judiciously.                         | 48                      | 48                      | 53                      | 50                      |
| They are rather bad, they complicate the situation in our country, and this will not change easily.                      | 29                      | 20                      | 27                      | 27                      |
| The situation is very serious, and the nationalistic disputes threaten to result in a grave crisis of the whole country. | <u>10</u><br>100%       | <u>14</u><br>100%       | <u>11</u><br>99%        | <u>9</u><br>100%        |

Table 4. Economic Issues

Question: I shall again read to you several statements and ask you to tell me to what extent you agree with them.

*The economic situation is better in the Czech Republic than in the Slovak Republic.*

|                     | 4/91                    |                         |
|---------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|
|                     | <u>Czechs</u><br>(1051) | <u>Slovaks</u><br>(581) |
| Definitely agree    | 17%                     | 72%                     |
| Rather agree        | 34                      | 23                      |
| Rather disagree     | 22                      | 2                       |
| Definitely disagree | 8                       | 1                       |
| Don't know          | <u>18</u>               | <u>3</u>                |
|                     | 99%                     | 101%                    |

Nov. 17 / Administration of George Bush, 1990

**Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater  
on the President's Meetings With  
National Leaders in Prague,  
Czechoslovakia**

*November 17, 1990*

President Bush and President Havel met at 10 o'clock this morning at Hradcany Castle in the first meeting of the visit. President Havel welcomed President Bush on this historic occasion, the first-year anniversary of the revolution. The two leaders discussed the economic development of Czechoslovakia, including the need to get U.S. investment. President Bush said the United States is concerned about the international oil situation. President Bush said there is a disruption in supply, but it is the speculation about the Persian Gulf that has driven up prices. President Havel said their economy depends on an uninterrupted flow of oil from the Soviet Union, and that has been a problem in the current situation.

The two leaders discussed the CSCE [Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe] and the prospects for locating a new Secretariat in Prague. Both leaders stressed the interest in seeing a successful CSCE meeting, particularly on issues of arms control and human rights.

*Federal Leaders*

President Bush met at approximately 10:40 with Federal leaders to discuss economic conditions. The President said the talks with the IMF [International Monetary Fund] and World Bank are progressing well. They also discussed oil supplies and their impact on this country. They emphasized the important role of private investment in improving the economy of Czechoslovakia.

*Czech Leaders*

President Bush met with Czech leaders at approximately 11 a.m. They emphasized that they wanted to help themselves economically as much as they can. One of the leaders quoted Mark Twain by saying "a helping hand is usually found at the end of your arm." President Bush spoke of the strength of the U.S. system in which 50

States have strong views, but cooperate comfortably with the Federal Government. President Bush also spoke of the need for stability in Czechoslovakia as they deal with private investors from the United States. President Bush also raised the matter of the environment, saying that pollution is a high cost that we must be concerned about.

*Slovak Leaders*

President Bush met at approximately 11:30 with Slovak leaders. He wished them success and emphasized the need for stability. The Slovak leaders commented on the United States as a melting pot that has accepted nationalities from all over the world. They pointed out they are working hard to get private investment and asked if more of their people could come to the United States for training in various production skills.

President Bush said "our vision is a Europe whole and free." President Bush remarked on the warm welcome of the crowds that lined the streets on the way into Prague from the airport.

*Dubček*

At approximately 12:15 President Bush called on Alexander Dubček, President of the Federal Assembly, and greeted him warmly, acknowledging his historic role in the move towards freedom in Czechoslovakia. President Dubček recalled his visit to the United States and said that President Bush's visit constitutes a most prominent day for U.S.-Czechoslovak relations. President Bush and President Dubček discussed the role of the Federal Assembly and its important role in the building of democracy. President Bush concluded the meeting by signing a large, brown leather guest book, giving the signing pen to President Dubček. President Bush signed: "With great happiness and warm best wishes, George Bush, November 17, 1990."

*Note: In the morning, President Bush arrived at Ruzyně Airport, where he was accorded a formal welcome with full military honors.*

**Remarks to  
Prague, Cze  
November 1**

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**Remarks to the Federal Assembly in  
Prague, Czechoslovakia  
November 17, 1990**

President Havel, thank you, sir, for greet-  
ing us with such warmth today. And to  
Chairman Dubček, thank you, sir, for that  
really warm and generous introduction.  
May I salute the Prime Ministers of the  
Czech and Slovak Republics; the Members  
of the Assembly; and most of all, the people  
of Czechoslovakia. It is an honor for me, the  
first American President ever to visit your  
country, to bring you the greetings of the  
American people on this, the first anniver-  
sary of Czechoslovakia's return to freedom.

One year ago today, in the streets and  
squares of this city, the people of Prague  
gathered, first by twos and threes, and then  
by thousands—in the night air, an autumn  
chill; in their minds, memories of a spring  
20 years past. The Velvet Revolution had  
begun.

That revolution succeeded without a  
single shot. Your weapons proved far supe-  
rior to any in the state's arsenal. In the face  
of force, you deployed the power of princi-  
ple. Against a wall of lies, you advanced the  
truth. Out of a thousand acts of courage,  
Czech and Slovak, emerged a single voice.  
Its message: The time had come to bring  
freedom home to Czechoslovakia.

Your revolution was also a renewal: a re-  
newal of the deeply held principles that  
bind my country, the United States of  
America, to yours; principles enshrined in  
your Declaration of Independence, issued  
in the United States in 1918 by Tomáš Ma-  
saryk, your first President, and Milan Sta-  
fanik, proud Slovak patriot; principles in-  
spired by the ringing words of our own  
Thomas Jefferson more than two centuries  
ago.

In my homeland, those principles were  
put into practice when we adopted our  
Constitution and its Bill of Rights. And last  
night, I carried copies of those documents  
as we flew from Washington to Prague,  
copies that I guess were passed out to you  
as you came in today. And during this his-  
toric time, as you consider the adoption of  
your own federal system and bill of rights, I  
offer them to you in friendship, for the  
common principles and common bonds our  
peoples have long shared.

Generations of Americans, Czechs, and  
Slovaks sustained these common bonds. In  
the battle to defeat Nazi tyranny, America  
stood with the courageous Czech and  
Slovak partisans fighting for freedom.  
Through the long dark decades after 1948,  
we, like you, refused to accept Europe's di-  
vision. Through Radio Free Europe and the  
Voice of America, we held aloft the ideal of  
truth, and we spoke a common language of  
hope.

At long last, the grip of the dictators  
weakened; Czechoslovakia seized its chance  
to rise up, to reclaim your rights as a free  
people and as a sovereign nation.

Today, as fellow citizens of free govern-  
ments, we share the fruits of our common  
resolve. Europe, East and West, stands at  
the threshold of a new era: an era of peace,  
prosperity, and security unparalleled in the  
long history of this continent. Today Eu-  
rope's long division is ending. Today, once  
more, Czechoslovakia is free.

Czechoslovakia's revolution is over, but  
its renaissance has just begun. Your work  
and ours is far from complete. Your nation,  
like your neighbors to the north and south,  
faces the unprecedented task of building a  
stable, democratic rule and a prosperous  
market economy on the ruins of totalitari-  
anism. I am here today to say that we will  
not fail you in this decisive moment. Amer-  
ica will stand with you to that end.

America stands ready to help Czechoslo-  
vakia realize the progress and prosperity  
now within reach. Today our two countries  
will conclude agreements giving Czechoslo-  
vakia the fullest access to American mar-  
kets, American investment, and American  
technology. To help unleash the creativity  
and drive of the Czechs and Slovak people,  
I will urge our Congress to authorize a \$60-  
million Czechoslovak-American Enterprise  
Fund. In addition, to help build your pri-  
vate sector, the United States will extend  
prompt economic assistance from the \$370  
million now committed to central and east-  
ern Europe for the coming year.

We also welcome the active involvement  
of the American private sector. I am  
pleased to see that yesterday your govern-  
ment entered into a promising, multimil-  
lion-dollar joint venture with Bell Atlantic  
and U.S. West to modernize your country's

communications network. I am sure this will be the first of many large-scale investments in the future of a free Czechoslovakia.

In response to this region's severe energy problems, we expect the IMF [International Monetary Fund]—at our initiative—to lend up to \$5 billion in 1991 to central and eastern Europe, and the World Bank will commit an additional \$9 billion over the next 3 years.

In addition to these economic initiatives, we seek to renew the free and open exchange denied our peoples for so many years. I am pleased to announce the re-opening of the American consulate in Bratislava in the Republic of Slovakia and, just yesterday, the selection of a site for our new cultural center in Prague. Our newly established International Media Fund promises to contribute expertise and encouragement to your nation's free and independent media. And I am gratified that your government and my country's Institute for East-West Security Studies will soon open a European Studies Center in Stirin, an important partnership of the intellect between European and American scholars.

And let me say once again: Prague should be the home to the permanent Secretariat of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. In Paris, I am confident that I will find unanimous support for this initiative. It is right that this city, once on the fault line of cold war and conflict, now at the heart of the new and united Europe, play a central role as the CSCE seeks to expand the frontiers of freedom in Europe.

At the Paris summit of the CSCE, the nations of North America and Europe will sign historic documents: a treaty to provide deep reductions in conventional armed forces in Europe, a CSCE summit declaration charting the future role of CSCE in ending Europe's division. The Atlantic alliance, the foundation of European stability, has pledged itself to the same goal.

Working together, we can fulfill the promise of a Europe that reaches its democratic destiny, a Europe that is truly whole and free. But this continent's reconciliation is only part of the larger vision for our world, a vision which I ask you to share.

Let me draw on the life and writings of the gentleman that is sitting over my right

shoulder, President Havel—let me draw on those just to make my point. Several years ago, Mr. Havel wrote about the Western visitors who came to see your so-called dissidents, asking how they could help your cause. He wondered about that question, wondered why visitors from the West couldn't see that your cause was their cause, too. Mr. Havel wrote, and I quote: "Are not my dim prospects or my hopes his dim prospects and hopes as well? Is not the destruction of humans in Prague a destruction of all humans? Is not indifference to what is happening here a preparation for the same kind of misery elsewhere?"

Dissident Havel—now President Havel—spoke then of a shared destiny, spoke out of a sure sense that the fate of all mankind is linked. Czechs and Slovaks understand this vision and the challenge. For half a century, your struggle for freedom was cut short not by one but by two of the cruelest tyrannies history has ever known. You know what it means to live under regimes whose vision of world order holds no place for freedom. As heirs of Jan Hus, whose statue stands just a few blocks from us, as countrymen of Comenius, the son of Moravia, whose name graces your great University of Bratislava, you have always looked to the far horizon to take your bearings from principles that are universal. As small nations, whose very existence demands constant vigilance, you have always understood that your future depends not only on your own heroic actions here but on the broader principles that govern the greater world in which you live. We must recognize that no people, no continent, can stand alone, secure unto itself. Our fates, our futures are intertwined.

That, you see, is why Europe's celebration of freedom brings with it a new responsibility. Now that democracy has proven its power, Europe has both the opportunity and the challenge to join us in leadership, to work with us in common cause towards this new commonwealth of freedom.

This commonwealth rests on shared principles, upon four cornerstones that constitute our common values: an unshakable belief in the dignity and rights of man and the conviction that just government derives its power from the people, the belief that

men and women to enjoy the rule of law and nations.

The United States democracies of the world fully into the moral community free ideals. V. Soviet Union forms, as difficult. They will find come them an commit themselves of freedom.

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men and women everywhere must be free to enjoy the fruits of their labor and that the rule of law must govern the conduct of nations.

The United States welcomes the new democracies of central and eastern Europe fully into the commonwealth of freedom, a moral community united in its dedication to free ideals. We wish to encourage the Soviet Union to go forward with their reforms, as difficult as the course may seem. They will find our community ready to welcome them and to help them as they, too, commit themselves to this commonwealth of freedom.

Every new nation that embraces these common values, every new nation that joins the ranks of this commonwealth of freedom, advances us one step closer to a new world order, a world in which the use of force gives way to a shared respect for the rule of law. This new world will be incomplete without a vision that extends beyond the boundaries of Europe alone. Now that unity is within reach in Europe is no time for our vision of change to stop at the edge of this continent.

The principles guiding our two nations, the principles at work in our two revolutions, are not Czech or Slovak or American alone. These principles are universal, rooted in the love of liberty and the rights of man.

Now, after four decades of conflict and cold war, we are entering an era of great promise; and yet our freedom, the freedom of people everywhere, remains under threat from regimes for whom the rights of man and rule of law mean nothing. And that is why our response to the challenge in the Persian Gulf is critical. The current crisis there is a warning to America as well as to Europe that we cannot turn inward, somehow isolate ourselves from global challenges. Iraq's brutal aggression against Kuwait is a rude reminder that none of us can remain secure when aggression remains unchecked.

I have this feeling in my heart that no peoples understand better what is at stake in the Gulf than Czechs and Slovaks. You know from your own bitter experience that the world cannot turn a blind eye to aggression. You know the futility and vain hope that aggressors can be appeased. You know

the tragic consequences when nations confronted with aggression choose to tell themselves it is no concern of theirs, just a "quarrel in a faraway country between a people of whom we know nothing."

We Americans, too, have learned. We know the costs, to ourselves and to the whole of Europe, of our isolationism after the First World War. We know that America must resist the temptation to consider our work complete. We must remain committed to the cause of freedom in the world.

And more and more, the Soviet Union is demonstrating its commitment to act as a constructive force for international stability. More and more, the United Nations is functioning as its creators intended it: free from the ideological confrontation that frustrated collective action, rendered impotent the peacekeeping function of that body.

From this first crisis of the post-Cold War era comes an historic opportunity: the opportunity to draw upon the great and growing strength of the commonwealth of freedom and forge for all nations a new world order far more stable and secure than any we have known.

Today I am very proud to join Czechoslovakia as it celebrates a year in freedom. I salute you for your courage and your vision, for all that you have endured, and for all you are destined to achieve. And I challenge you, as you take your rightful place in the center of Europe, to look beyond the confines of this continent to join with your neighbors in Europe and in North America to build a true commonwealth of freedom so that the peace and prosperity you seek—the peace and prosperity we shall share—will be the peace and prosperity of all mankind.

Once again, thank you for this warm welcome, and may God bless the people of Czechoslovakia.

*Note: The President spoke at 12:36 p.m. in the Federal Assembly Hall. In his remarks, he referred to Alexander Dubček, Chairman of the Federal Assembly.*

Nov. 17 / Administration of George Bush, 1990

**Remarks and a Question-and-Answer Session With Reporters Following Discussions With President Václav Havel in Prague, Czechoslovakia November 17, 1990**

*President Havel.* Dear friends, let me welcome you to this brief meeting with our honored guest, President Bush, and myself. We are ready to answer your questions. But before doing so, perhaps I should briefly explain what President Bush and I have been discussing.

We have touched up on a number of different matters, but we focused primarily on the following subjects. We have presented our information on the present situation in Czechoslovakia, and possibilities of possible assistance or cooperation on the part of the United States have been discussed. Secondly, we have dwelled upon the future of Europe in the light of the forthcoming CSCE [Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe] summit in Paris and upon the future of the Helsinki process. And on that score, we have found that our views there are very close to each other, if not even identical. And sadly, we have talked at some length about the situation in the Persian Gulf.

You can ask us questions that shall be answered alternately by President Bush and myself, with me being the one to answer the first question.

**U.S. Assistance for Czechoslovakia**

*Q.* President Havel, are you satisfied with the assistance you're getting? You seem to not be saying that your views are identical on that subject with the President.

*President Havel.* President Bush shows a lot of understanding for our problems, and he has already pledged certain forms of assistance in the statement he delivered in the Federal Assembly, which you have suddenly had.

*Q.* President Bush, even though you did outline some assistance today in your speech, proportionately it's fairly miniscule compared to what Czechoslovakia needs. Are you prepared to consider further direct U.S. assistance?

*President Bush.* Well, I think we've spelled out what we can do in terms of direct assistance right now. The thing that

is of most import to Czechoslovakia is increased support from the IMF [International Monetary Fund] and the World Bank. And I made clear to President Havel that we will be very supportive in that connection.

In addition, the thing that would be of most benefit to Czechoslovakia and to the United States would be increased investment and increased private-sector help. And that we've discussed; and then that, I think we both agree, would be the best answer—certainly long-range answer—for the vitality and growth of Czechoslovakia.

*President Havel.* I think we should give an opportunity, also, to the Czechoslovak media.

*Q.* Mr. President Bush, have you spoken to Mr. Havel about American assistance in the science and technology fields and especially in education of the people? Would you be more concrete?

*President Bush.* We didn't discuss S&T as much. We did talk about educational exchanges, but we did not dwell on the science and technology. Certainly, I would say we would be ready to cooperate in every way in that field, however.

**Soviet Union and Eastern Europe**

*Q.* President Havel, can I ask you about the situation in the Soviet Union, as you watch it—the tensions that we see that Mr. Gorbachev is facing? What concerns do you have about the breakup of the Soviet Union and how that would affect central European countries?

*President Havel.* The fact that the Soviet Union is currently undergoing the most sweeping, the most far-reaching changes in its entire history is more than evident, but it is not yet clear what the future arrangement of the Soviet Union will be. But it is our firm belief that the changes may be accomplished in a rapid and peaceful way without any bloodshed and that they may give the individual Republics and the peoples of the Soviet Union the measure of autonomy which they desire.

*Q.* President Bush, what's your opinion on the plan of economic help to U.S.S.R. through eastern Europe which was proposed by Minister Dienstbier [Foreign Minister of Czechoslovakia] in his speech at

Harvard University was this topic in Czechoslovakia.

*President Bush.* The first part.

We didn't discuss I am convinced I tried to say this session—has an want to see Czech Hungary off in Thus, we did arrangements. It the Czechoslovak itself—that son. CSCE process of Europe and kria in the de Europe.

**Persian Gulf Crisis**

*Q.* President Havel, in Parliament, you said stand better the waiti situation similar happen What attitude have no oil here.

*President Bush.* because one thing that what Saddam Iraq] has done astating to the Europe, say not West and ever This naked aggression clearly had an mies of every : disproportional assigned to ene it is not simply countries in th by Saddam Hu that means in t every country : Eastern Europe

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Harvard University earlier this year? And was this topic on the program of your talks in Czechoslovakia?

**President Bush.** I'm sorry, I didn't hear the first part.

We didn't discuss that in great detail, but I am convinced that the United States—and I tried to say this in our speech to the joint session—has an enormous stake. We do not want to see Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Hungary off in some kind of no man's land. Thus, we did discuss future security arrangements. It is my view—and I would let the Czechoslovakian Government speak for itself—that some more active role in the CSCE process will contribute to the stability of Europe and fully include Czechoslovakia in the decisions that lie ahead for Europe.

#### Persian Gulf Crisis

**Q.** President Bush, in your speech in Parliament, you said we Czechoslovaks understand better than any other nation the Kuwaiti situation. Suppose that something similar happens in our part of the world. What attitude U.S. would adopt since we have no oil here?

**President Bush.** I'm glad you raised that, because one thing that is very clear to me is that what Saddam Hussein [President of Iraq] has done in taking over Kuwait is devastating to the economies of eastern Europe, say nothing of the economies of the West and every other part of the world. This naked aggression against Kuwait has clearly had an adverse effect on the economies of every single country because of the disproportionate amount of the GNP that is assigned to energy. So, I am very clear that it is not simply the United States and other countries in the West that are getting hurt by Saddam Hussein's aggression and what that means in terms of higher oil prices but every country as well. Clearly, this is true in Eastern Europe.

Your question, other than that, is too hypothetical for me to say what we might do under some hypothetical situation. But I can guarantee you, we are going to continue to stand against this aggression and do our level-best to see that the United Nations resolutions are fully implemented—hopefully, in a peaceful manner. But Saddam Hussein has got to withdraw from Kuwait with-

out condition, and the legitimate leaders have to be restored, and the hostages—and Czechoslovakia has some, and so does the United States—must be freed. This inhumane treatment of hostages is unacceptable. And then there must be a stable order in the Gulf.

So, these objectives will be fulfilled. And my little few hours I've had here on this visit convinced me that it's everybody that's being hurt by this aggression.

**Q.** President Havel, do you agree with President Bush's views on the Gulf, and do you believe the United States is acting responsibly in the Gulf?

**President Havel.** Czechoslovakia has made it very clear on a number of occasions that it is necessary to resist evil, that it is necessary to resist aggression, because our own history has taught us ample lessons about the consequences of appeasement.

Dear friends, unless you want the winds to carry us away, you have to accept the situation that there is room for one more question only. [Laughter]

**Q.** President Havel, do you fear that the Gulf situation is taking too much money away from the kind of problems that it could solve in Eastern Europe?

**President Bush.** —talking about oil prices?

**President Havel.** It is my opinion that all the resources that are expended on resisting aggression anywhere in the world finally turned to the good of all humankind.

**President Bush.** Thank you very much. You heard our host.

**President Havel.** Thank you all for your attention.

**Q.** President Bush, there is some feeling that you are too much in a hurry. What do you think of a moratorium that's being called for, in terms of hostilities in the Gulf, by Mubarak [President of Egypt] and other leaders?

**President Bush.** Mr. Mubarak and I see eye to eye on this situation in the Gulf.

*Note: President Havel spoke at 2:48 p.m. in the Music Room at Hradcany Castle, his residence and the seat of the national government. Following the question-and-answer session, President Bush met with Cardinal Tomasek at the Archbishop's*

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*Palace. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.*

**Remarks in Prague, Czechoslovakia, at a Ceremony Commemorating the End of Communist Rule**  
*November 17, 1990*

Thank you, Mr. President, and thank you, my Czech and Slovak friends. It is a tremendous honor to me to be the first sitting American President to visit this proud and beautiful country and to be able to join you on the first anniversary of the extraordinary Velvet Revolution. What a powerfully moving sight it is.

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 17th, and yet it is Prague Spring.

Your Declaration of Independence proclaims: "The forces of darkness have served the victory of light. The longed-for age of humanity is dawning." Today the freedom-loving people of the world can bear witness that this age of humanity has now finally and truly dawned on this splendid nation.

Seven decades ago, an unprecedented partnership began between two Presidents: the philosopher, Tomáš Masaryk, and the idealistic scholar, Woodrow Wilson. It was a partnership as well among Czechs and Slovaks to join together in federation. And, yes, it was a long, hard road from their work on your Declaration of Independence to this magnificent celebration today. I am proud to walk these last steps with you as one shared journey ends and another begins.

Our countries share a history. We share a vision. And we share a friendship, a friendship Masaryk described to Czech-American soldiers 70 years ago. He said: "Do not forget that the same ideals, the same principles ever unite us. Do not forget us as we shall never forget you." That is why I'm here today. We have not forgotten.

The world will never forget what happened here in this square where the history of freedom was written—the days of anguish, the days of hope. So many times, you

came here bearing candles against the dark night, answering the call of Comenius to follow "the way of light." These brave flames came to symbolize your fiercely burning national pride.

A year ago, the world saw you face down totalitarianism. We saw the peaceful crowds swell day by day in numbers and in resolve. We saw the few candles grow into a blaze. We saw this square become a beacon of hope for an entire nation as it gave birth to your new era of freedom.

This victory owes its heart to two great heroes. Alexander Dubček—22 years ago, he led this nation in its first sweet taste of liberty. His are the will and compassion that are the living Czechoslovakia. And then President Havel, a man of wisdom, a man of tremendous moral courage. In the dark years, on one side stood the state; on the other side, Havel. On one side, tyranny; on the other, this man of vision and truth. Among the first was Havel, and now there are millions.

Today a Europe whole and free is within our reach. We've seen a new world of freedom born amid shouts of joy; born full of hope, barreling with confidence toward a new century; a new world born of a revolution that linked this square with others—Gdansk, Budapest, Berlin—a revolution that joined together people fueled by courage and by humanity's essential quest for freedom.

For four decades, our two nations waited across the divide between East and West, two peoples united in spirit, in vision, and yet separated by conflict. Today the United States and Czechoslovakia stand together, united once more in our devotion to the democratic ideal.

Now, with the division of Europe ending and democracy ascending in the East, the challenge is to move forward. In Czechoslovakia: from revolution to renaissance, across this continent toward a new Europe in which each nation and every culture can flourish and breathe free. On both sides of the Atlantic: toward a commonwealth based on our shared principles and our hopes for the whole world, a commonwealth inspired by the words of your great Comenius written three centuries ago: "Let us have but one end in view: the welfare of humanity."

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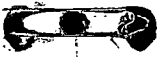
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A thousand miles to the south, this new commonwealth of freedom now faces a terrible test. Czechoslovakia was one of the first nations to condemn the outrage in the Persian Gulf, one of the first to measure the magnitude of the wrong committed in the name of territorial ambition. It is no coincidence that appeasement's lonely victim half a century ago should be among the first to understand that there is right and there is wrong, there is good and there is evil, and there are sacrifices worth making.

There is no question about what binds our nations, and so many others, in common cause. There is no question that ours is a just cause and that good will prevail. The darkness in the desert sky cannot stand against the way of light. I salute your courageous President when he joins us in saying that Saddam Hussein's [President of Iraq] aggression must not be rewarded.

Earlier today I told your Parliament, we know this is a difficult time for you, but also a time of extraordinary optimism. As you undertake political and economic reform, know one thing: America will not fail you in this decisive moment. America will stand with you. We will continue along the road mapped out by our Presidents more than 70 years ago, a road whose goal was described by Woodrow Wilson: "to bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself at last free."

For the past 70 years, your Declaration of Independence has been preserved and cherished in our Library of Congress. I say, it is time for Masaryk's words to come home. And as humanity and liberty return to Czechoslovakia, so, too, will this treasured document.

On behalf of the people of the United States, I am proud to be able to tell the people of Czechoslovakia: 1989 was the year that freedom came home to Czechoslovakia; 1990 will be the year your Declaration of Independence came home to the golden city of Prague. May it be for future generations a reminder of the ties that bind our nations and the principles that bind all humanity.

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

our nation's deepest dedication to freedom—dedication like your own. Inscribed on this bell are the words: "Proclaim liberty throughout all the land." We want to help you proclaim your new liberty throughout all this proud and beautiful land, and so today we give to you our last replica of the Liberty Bell. You know, one of our patriotic songs proclaims, "Sweet land of liberty—from every mountainside, let freedom ring."

And so, when bells ring in Wenceslas Square or in Bratislava or anywhere in this glorious country, think of this bell and know that all bells are tolling for your precious liberty, now and forever. And so, now I am proud to ring this bell three times. Once for your courage, once for your freedom, and once for your children.

*[At this point, the President rang the bell.]*

May God bless Czechoslovakia. Thank you all very much.

*Note: The President spoke at 4:13 p.m. in Wenceslas Square. Prior to his remarks, he participated in a wreath-laying ceremony at the St. Wenceslas Memorial. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.*

**Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on the Czechoslovakia-United States Trade Agreement**  
*November 17, 1990*

The United States and Czechoslovakia today exchanged diplomatic notes bringing into force the trade agreement signed by the two Governments last April. The agreement extends most-favored-nation (MFN) tariff treatment to Czechoslovak exports to the United States and U.S. exports to Czechoslovakia. President Bush expressed his hope that the mutual extension of MFN tariff treatment will "provide the impetus for greatly expanded trade between our two countries and the first step toward a normalization of our bilateral trade relations." The exchange follows approval of the agreement on November 16, 1990, by the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly. The

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U.S. Congress approved the extension of MFN on October 23.

The agreement, along with its side letters on trade and financial matters, intellectual property, and tourism, contains important guarantees for American businesses, including the right to nondiscrimination in renting office space, paying for local goods, and establishing bank accounts. Through this agreement, the Czechoslovak Government has also committed to upgrade substantially its protection of intellectual property rights, bringing its intellectual property regime to a level on a par with that of other industrialized nations.

The implementation of this agreement coincides with the next phase of Czechoslovakia's concerted efforts at market reform and trade liberalization. The Government of Czechoslovakia has announced plans to activate a number of important reform measures in January 1991, including price liberalization through the delinking of retail and wholesale prices, internal currency convertibility, and the privatization of large state enterprises through the establishment of joint ventures with foreign entities.

President Bush praised Czechoslovakia's reform efforts as "impressive initiatives, heralding a new age in Czechoslovakia's relations with the international trading system." The President also expressed his hope that Czechoslovakia's reforms would continue to move the country towards full trade liberalization.

Combined with the current and planned reforms in Czechoslovakia, the extension of MFN should result in the threefold increase in bilateral trade over the next few years, setting the stage for a strong trade relationship between our two countries.

### Radio Address to the People of Czechoslovakia November 17, 1990

Indeed, it is an honor for me to be here on the first anniversary of your Velvet Revolution. And I'm doubly honored to be the first American President ever to visit Czechoslovakia. And, President Havel, I

thank you for inviting me to visit your country. Barbara and I are delighted to be here, and I'm flattered that you invited me to join you in this weekly radio talk.

I spent a marvelous and moving day here in Prague. I met the new leaders of Czechoslovakia, both Federal and Republic. And I spoke before your Federal Assembly, that hall that has now sprung to life in building your new democracy. And on Wenceslas Square, I joined you in celebrating the first anniversary of your Velvet Revolution. And it's really been among the most thrilling days of my life.

The ties between our two countries are unique, going way back to the creation of the Czechoslovak state. And Americans feel a special attachment to your Czech and Slovak federation.

Our peoples were cut off from each other for most of the Communist period, and we've now begun making up for what we missed through those two generations. And I regret that I was unable to visit Slovakia during this brief visit, so let me extend a special word or greeting to the people of Slovakia and say how delighted I am that the United States will soon reopen its consulate there in Bratislava.

And let me say to all the citizens of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic: We rejoice with you in your liberty, and we pledge that we will not fail you in this decisive moment of your history.

President Havel, once again, sir, my thanks to you for allowing me to join you on the airwaves of free Czechoslovakia. God bless you all.

*Note: The address was recorded at 6:40 p.m. on November 17 at Hradcany Castle in Prague, Czechoslovakia, and was broadcast as a part of President Havel's weekly radio program at 2 p.m. on November 18. Following the recording session, President Bush attended a reception at the castle hosted by President Havel. Later, President Bush went to the U.S. Ambassador's residence, where he stayed overnight. A tape was not available for verification of the content of the address.*

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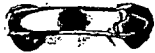
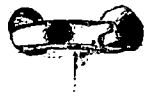
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### Exchange With Reporters Aboard Air Force One

November 18, 1990

#### Chancellor Helmut Kohl of Germany

*The President.* —here's why. I want to save it all for Germany or France or Saudi Arabia.

*Q.* Why?

*The President.* Why? That's what I asked—

*Q.* You called Kohl this morning? What was that about?

*The President.* Called him?

*Q.* In the last few days?

*The President.* No.

*Q.* Yesterday?

*The President.* No.

*Q.* What about GATT [General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade]? Yesterday I was asking Marlin about GATT and about whether or not you were going to bring that up today.

*Mr. Fitzwater.* I think it's been a couple weeks since you called Chancellor Kohl.

*The President.* Yes. I haven't talked to him today. Mark that: Did not call Kohl.

#### Soviet Union/Persian Gulf Crisis

*Q.* What do you think about the changes in the Soviet Union?

*The President.* Very interesting. I'll have a chance to talk to Mr. Gorbachev about all of that.

#### President Vaclav Havel of Czechoslovakia

But this visit was very moving and very emotional and very good. And I thought what Havel said yesterday should be well noted around the world, not just on his aspirations for his own country but what he said as it related to aggression in the Middle East, because this country has learned what it means to be taken over. And all during dinner and afterward, talking to the people, the patriots there, why, it just redoubles my conviction that aggression can't stand. And I think he answered that question very directly to one of you all yesterday which was very, very forceful.

*Q.* Everybody thinks you're going to war—

*The President.* The United Nations—

*Q.* —in late January.

*The President.* —resolutions will prevail. I'm convinced of it.

*Q.* So what about Bennett [former Director of National Drug Control Policy]—

*The President.* And I was very pleased with the support yesterday that I saw in that—I think it was your poll, wasn't it? ABC? Its strong support for what we're doing—very strong. You can write the story one way; but when you analyze the results of the poll, why, it was very, very positive. I think some were frustrated we haven't moved sooner, and some are frustrated we may be moving too fast. But if we add it all up, there is strong support for what the United States is doing at home, and I think there's strong support for what we're doing around the world. I'm sure of it in Czechoslovakia. I can guarantee you that.

*Q.* Do you consider that a green light?

*The President.* I consider it a solid front.

*Q.* A what?

*The President.* A solid front. Because I think this: What we learn here today is just one more affirmation that the United Nations is correct in its resolutions.

*Q.* Are you planning a TV speech when you get back to the States?

*The President.* Haven't planned it, but there may well be one.

*Q.* How close are you to getting enough votes in the U.N. to go for a—

*The President.* We're not discussing that now. We're just doing a little consultation.

#### William J. Bennett

*Q.* Did you really pick Bennett to head the—

*The President.* We're not discussing that now.

*Q.* —Republican National Committee?

*The President.* I don't know—a lot happens when I leave. We've got to wait and do a little—[laughter]—

*Q.* This happened without your knowledge?

*The President.* Yes. Isn't that amazing?

*Q.* Shocking.

#### Arms Reduction Agreements and the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe

*Q.* Are you intending for the Gulf to make everybody forget about CSCE?

Nov. 18 / Administration of George Bush, 1990

**Q.** Don't you think that's the effect of what you're doing on this—

**The President.** I don't know. I hope you write the importance of this arms control agreement. I will say it's important. It seems to have been overshadowed by what's happening in the Gulf, but it is a significant milestone.

**Q.** How about START [strategic arms reduction talks]?

**The President.** And you've got to put CSCE in a broad context. I mean, when I was talking to the Czechs yesterday about not having them and the other Eastern European countries in some no man's land, that leads one to the importance of CSCE for the ongoing consideration of European interest with them as a part of it. So, that's—

**Q.** What about START?

**Q.** How about the expansion of NATO?

**The President.** They are observers in NATO, but I think for the broader participation, the CSCE will have some applications.

**Q.** How closely are you tracking how much material the Russians are moving east of the Urals?

**The President.** I can't answer that. I've not been briefed on how much they're moving east of the Urals.

**Q.** So, it doesn't concern you?

**The President.** I have not followed recently. I'm sure that if it were a real concern, I'd know about it.

**Q.** Are you going to go to Moscow to sign the START agreement in January?

**The President.** When the START agreement is ready to sign, I'll go to Moscow and sign it.

**Q.** When do you think it will be ready?

**The President.** I can't help you with that, but maybe I'll be able to help you with that question after I see Mr. Gorbachev.

#### **Agricultural Subsidies**

**Q.** How much of your discussions with Kohl are going to relate to the Gulf as compared to CSCE, and what's the agenda look like?

**The President.** I don't know. Of course, there's also the trade area with Kohl that

we've got to talk about. So, I don't know how it will break out. But I have such a warm, pleasant relationship with him that I've always been able to talk very frankly, and I don't feel inhibited or restricted by any talking points or allocation of his time on a subject.

**Q.** Is he the main stumbling block on the subsidy—

**The President.** No.

**Q.** You think you'll get better results out of him after his elections? Is that why you're going to Brussels on GATT?

**The President.** I don't know. I think that he basically is with us in terms of freer trade. I mean, there's no question in my mind about that. But whether the election is an inhibiting factor, I'd have to make that determination after I've talked to him.

**Q.** You still plan to go to Brussels, though?

**The President.** When?

**Q.** I'm sorry, we still will attend the Brussels GATT meeting; we're not going to pull out on that?

**The President.** Well, let's wait until we finish the discussions over here and then see what we get.

#### **Visit With U.S. Troops in Saudi Arabia**

**Q.** Why did you ask the Members of Congress along for the Saudi Arabia stop?

**The President.** Well, I just think it's a good thing to have the leadership with you on a trip of this nature. They're very emotionally involved. And I think it's most appropriate that they come. And they all seemed to accept with alacrity, so I guess they have no reservations at all.

**Q.** Why not some of the critics which you wouldn't include among the leaders that you've invited? They've been the most support, I think. [Senator] Moynihan or—

**The President.** Well, I deal with the leadership. I can't deal with every Member of Congress. You've got 435 in the House, remember, Ann [Ann Compton, ABC News], and you've got 100 in the Senate. So, plenty of Congressmen go over there on their own, but the President should invite the leaders.

**Q.** Is there [Gephardt] Arabia?

**The President.** I have two from Senate. But it's appropriate if you discuss that if clearly Gephardt. Thank you questions.

**Q.** Will we afternoon?

**The President.**

**Q.** No?

**The President.** Sure. You know [Helen Thomas] who said we're

**Q.** Never. I

**The President.**

*Note: The ex President was Czechoslovakia. Marlin Fitzwater, the President. President met Embassy communique departure ceremony at Ruzhyne Air, for verification change.*

**Remarks to the German Bundestag, November 18**

Thank you, highlighted to be the beautiful your great Chairman the first American new Germany. that just a we Mikhail Gorbachev saw your man with you in unity.

When we will still lived in tw

**Q.** Is there some reason why [Representative] Gephardt is not on the list for Saudi Arabia?

**The President.** Well, only the fact that we have two from the House and two from the Senate. But it would have been the most appropriate if—in fact, there was some discussion that if the Speaker couldn't go, then clearly Gephardt would have been—

Thank you all. See, I've exhausted your questions.

**Q.** Will we get another shot at you this afternoon?

**The President.** I doubt that.

**Q.** No?

**The President.** We don't want overexposure. You know, once—I think it was Helen [Helen Thomas, United Press International] who said we're having too many—

**Q.** Never. I never said that in my life.

**The President.** You sure?

*Note: The exchange occurred while the President was en route from Prague, Czechoslovakia, to Ludwigshafen, Germany. Marlin Fitzwater is Press Secretary to the President. Earlier in the morning, the President met with members of the U.S. Embassy community and participated in a departure ceremony with national leaders at Ruzyně Airport. A tape was not available for verification of the content of the exchange.*

**Remarks to the Residents of Speyer, Germany  
November 18, 1990**

Thank you, Chancellor Kohl. And I'm delighted to be back in the Rhine country, in the beautiful village of Speyer, to be with your great Chancellor and, most of all, to be the first American President to visit the new Germany. It is also a sign of the times that just a week ago the Soviet President, Mikhail Gorbachev, walked your streets, saw your majestic cathedral, and joined with you in the celebration of German unity.

When we were here last year, Germans still lived in two societies: one free and one

oppressed; one alive, the other frozen in tyranny; two very different governments, but one people, one Germany.

In May of 1989, I talked to the citizens of Mainz; and on that day, we spoke not only of our mutual defense but of our shared values, not just of the matters of the mind but of the deeper aspirations of the heart. And we heard the call for a common European home, but insisted on another home: one in which all within would be free to move from room to room, free to enjoy their right of self-determination.

I will never forget November 1989, when word came from Berlin: The wall has been breached. And soon the world was transfixed by startling images, scenes of celebration and triumph as thousands of Germans joined hands across a mass of concrete that had divided your nation for far too long. That was an exciting moment, and I'm delighted today to celebrate that moment in the home area of the first Chancellor of this new Germany, Chancellor Helmut Kohl, the man who united Germany.

I'm also here because the unification of Germany is not just cause for celebration by one people; it's a cause for celebration for all who love freedom. And let me just tell you: No people on Earth are more thrilled by your achievement than your friends in America.

I see the rains are coming. [Laughter] So, I will conclude, mercifully, by saying thank you to all the citizens of this marvelous part of Germany. Thank you for this warm welcome for Barbara and me and, I say symbolically, for the United States of America. And thank you, Chancellor, for your words about standing together in the face of tyranny, standing together to see that aggression will not pay in this world. God bless the people of a united Germany. Thank you. God bless each and every one of you. Thank you for this warm hospitality. Good luck.

*Note: The President spoke at 12:50 p.m. in the town square. Prior to his remarks, he attended an organ recital at Speyer Cathedral. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.*

WASHINGTON, DC,  
February 20, 1990.

HON. THOMAS S. FOLEY,  
The Speaker, House of Representatives,  
Washington, DC.

DEAR MR. SPEAKER: Pursuant to the permission granted in Clause 5 of Rule III of the Rules of the U.S. House of Representatives, I have the honor to transmit a sealed envelope received from the White House at 2:47 p.m. on Tuesday, February 20, 1990 said to contain a message from the President waiving the application of certain subsections of the Trade Act of 1974 with regard to Czechoslovakia.

With great respect, I am,  
Sincerely yours,

DONNALD K. ANDERSON,  
Clerk, House of Representatives.

**WAIVER OF CERTAIN TRADE PROVISIONS WITH RESPECT TO CZECHOSLOVAKIA—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES (H. DOC. NO. 101-151)**

The SPEAKER pro tempore laid before the House the following message from the President of the United States; which was read and, together with the accompanying papers, without objection, referred to the Committee on Ways and Means and ordered to be printed:

(For message, see proceedings of the Senate of Tuesday, February 20, 1990, at page S1252.)

**RECESS**

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to the order of the House of Wednesday, February 7, 1990, the House will stand in recess subject to the call of the Chair.

Accordingly (at 10 o'clock and 8 minutes a.m.), the House stood in recess subject to the call of the Chair.

**JOINT MEETING OF THE HOUSE AND SENATE TO HEAR AN ADDRESS BY HIS EXCELLENCY VACLAV HAVEL, PRESIDENT OF THE CZECHOSLOVAK SOCIALIST REPUBLIC**

The SPEAKER of the House presided.

The Doorkeeper, the Honorable James T. Molloy, announced the Vice President and Members of the U.S. Senate who entered the Hall of the House of Representatives, the Vice President taking the chair at the right of the Speaker, and the Members of the Senate the seats reserved for them.

The SPEAKER. The Chair appoints as members of the committee on the part of the House to escort His Excellency Vaclav Havel into the Chamber:

The gentleman from Missouri [Mr. GEPHARDT];

The gentleman from Florida [Mr. FASCELL];

The gentleman from Michigan [Mr. BONIOR];

The gentleman from Maryland [Mr. HOYER];

The gentleman from New York [Mr. MRAZEK];

The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MICHEL];

The gentleman from Georgia [Mr. GINGRICH];

The gentleman from Michigan [Mr. BROOMFIELD];

The gentleman from California [Mr. LEWIS];

The gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. EDWARDS]; and

The gentleman from Rhode Island [Ms. SCHNEIDER].

The VICE PRESIDENT. The President of the Senate, at the direction of that body, appoints the following Senators, as members of the committee on the part of the Senate to escort His Excellency Vaclav Havel into the Chamber:

The Senator from Maine [Mr. MITCHELL];

The Senator from California [Mr. CRANSTON];

The Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. PELL];

The Senator from South Carolina [Mr. HOLLINGS];

The Senator from Delaware [Mr. BIDEN];

The Senator from Arkansas [Mr. BUMPERS];

The Senator from Michigan [Mr. LEVIN];

The Senator from Illinois [Mr. SIMON];

The Senator from Kansas [Mr. DOLE];

The Senator from Wyoming [Mr. SIMPSON];

The Senator from Mississippi [Mr. COCHRAN];

The Senator from South Carolina [Mr. THURMOND];

The Senator from Indiana [Mr. LUGAR];

The Senator from Minnesota [Mr. BOSCHWITZ]; and

The Senator from South Dakota [Mr. PRESSLER].

The Doorkeeper announced the ambassadors, ministers, and charges d'affaires of foreign governments.

The ambassadors, ministers, and charges d'affaires of foreign governments entered the Hall of the House of Representatives and took the seats reserved for them.

The Doorkeeper announced the Cabinet of the President of the United States.

The members of the Cabinet of the President of the United States entered the Hall of the House of Representatives and took the seats reserved for them in front of the Speaker's rostrum.

At 11 o'clock and 8 minutes a.m., the Doorkeeper announced the President of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.

The President of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, escorted by the committee of Senators and Representatives, entered the Hall of the House of Representatives, and stood at the Clerk's desk.

[Applause, the Members rising.]

The SPEAKER. Members of the Congress, it is my great privilege and I deem it a high honor and personal pleasure to present to you His Excellency Vaclav Havel, President of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.

[Applause, the Members rising.]

**ADDRESS BY HIS EXCELLENCY VACLAV HAVEL, PRESIDENT OF THE CZECHOSLOVAK SOCIALIST REPUBLIC**

(The following address was delivered in Czech, with a simultaneous translation in English.)

President HAVEL. Dear 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.

*CHRONOLOGY*  
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 Kocab told me that I would probably be proposed as a Presidential 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 assembly, 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

HAVEL: LAST ARREST OCT. 27, 1989  
 NOMINATION DEC. 10, 1989  
 19 days  
 UNAN. ELECTION DEC. 29, 1989

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 had 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—supported 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 core-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 have 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 Branik 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.

[Applause, the Members rising.]

At 12 o'clock and 14 minutes p.m. the President of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, accompanied by the committee of escort, retired from the Hall of the House of Representatives.

The Doorkeeper escorted the invited guests from the Chamber in the following order.

The members of the President's Cabinet.

The Ambassadors, Ministers, and chargés d'affaires of foreign governments.

#### JOINT MEETING DISSOLVED

The SPEAKER. The purpose of the joint meeting having been completed, the Chair declares the joint meeting of the two Houses now dissolved.

Accordingly, at 12 o'clock and 18 minutes p.m., the joint meeting of the two Houses was dissolved.

The Members of the Senate retired to their Chamber.

#### ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER

The SPEAKER. The House will continue in recess until the hour of 1 p.m.

#### AFTER RECESS

The recess having expired, the House was called to order by the Speaker pro tempore [Mr. MAZZOLI] at 1 o'clock and 3 minutes p.m.

#### PRINTING OF PROCEEDINGS HAD DURING RECESS

Mr. NAGLE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the proceedings had during the recess be printed in the Record.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Iowa?

There was no objection.

#### NEW WAVE OF FREEDOM PATERNED AFTER FOUNDING FATHERS

(Mr. HOYER asked and was given permission to address the House for 1

minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Speaker, freedom's bell rang today on the floor of this House. If we might refer to Vaclav Havel as the Thomas Jefferson of Czechoslovakia, we would be correct. This poet-playright-philosopher President of Czechoslovakia spoke of the values of free peoples.

He spoke of the values that our American forefathers spread before the world and before our own country. President Havel thanked us all for the young men, the young women, and the mothers and fathers who made sacrifices to preserve and protect freedom.

He talked about Woodrow Wilson, that President who during the first World War led America to make the world safe for democracy. Perhaps he failed in the effort to make it safe for democracy, but President Wilson did in fact spread the idea of democracy that Jefferson had so eloquently articulated.

And it was President Truman who, after the Second World War, said that we will stand and defend freedom, that we will not allow the Iron Curtain to be spread across Europe.

It was that courage and that leadership from Jefferson, Wilson, and Truman that has stood democracy and freedom in good stead and led to President Havel's speech today.

John Kennedy went to Berlin and he said, "Ich bin ein Berliner" and identified every American with freedom and democracy and the human values of which President Havel spoke today.

#### THE INSPIRATION OF PRESIDENT HAVEL'S WORDS

(Mr. CONTE asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, today, we were privileged in this exalted hall to listen to one of the great moral leaders of our time, Vaclav Havel, the quiet playwright, the citizen leader, the President of Czechoslovakia.

His message was inspired as he described for us these "extraordinary times . . . which leave us no time even to be astonished."

The sweet sounds of his mother tongue were sweet sounds indeed. Not only did he lift our collective spirits on what public service should be all about, he reached an even higher plane, in my opinion.

In all of those sweet sounds, there was not one request for money for his own nation. It is like a revolution within the revolution.

Mr. Speaker, in my 32 years in the House of Representatives, I have heard many addresses before joint sessions. But I have never heard a more inspiring and powerful one than we heard today. I almost felt as if I was in the presence of our own Founding Fa-

▶ THE LEGACY OF THE THOMAS AFFAIR ◀

# U.S. NEWS

& WORLD REPORT

OCTOBER 28, 1991

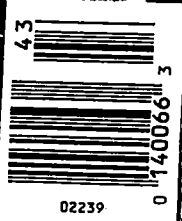
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TOUGH  
COMPANIES FOR  
TOUGH TIMES

GOOD DRUGS:  
BEWARE OF BAD  
SIDE EFFECTS

# THE GREAT GOLDEN SCANDAL

A BILLION-DOLLAR  
GIVEAWAY IS RAVAGING  
THE AMERICAN WEST



special interest groups. The PSL farmers' party, once allied with the Communists, could win big in rural Poland, where 40 percent of votes are and where opposition to Solidarity is strongest. Because they are well organized and mouth sympathetic slogans, the Social Democrats, successors to the Communists, may win as much as 10 percent of the vote.

President Walesa's calls for strong central authority, meanwhile, haven't boosted his popularity. One longtime ally, Krzysztof Wyszowski, recently warned of a threat of dictatorship under Walesa. Wyszowski charges that during the Soviet coup, Walesa and his inner circle laid contingency plans that bypassed constitutional bodies. Though dismissed as "electoral intrigue" by government spokesmen, such charges only deepen the public's cynicism.

**Losing faith.** The blueprint for transforming a rickety socialist economy into a strong capitalist one is still taking shape. Faced with a 30 percent drop in industrial sales, state-owned industries are on the verge of bankruptcy. "What has happened," explains Jacek Siwicki, a deputy minister at the Privatization Ministry, "is that people have stopped buying a lot of substandard goods and turned to better-quality imports."

But Siwicki says he no longer fully believes that the "invisible hand" of the market will guide Poland to prosperity. A case in point was the Starachowice truck factory in southern Poland, he says. Last summer, thousands of workers occupied the near-bankrupt plant demanding to be paid back wages and asking for government guarantees that the plant be saved. Siwicki decided to head a group that fashioned a rescue program. "We have to manage change," he explains.

Siwicki's conversion is part of a wider trend that could presage more interventionist government policies after the election. Andrzej Werblan, a former Politburo member, points out that not a single large factory has been closed in Poland, even though many are virtually without cash flow. "People still believe the government can be pushed into bailing out the large factories, and they are right," says Werblan.

Now economic decisions have become political ones. That helps explain the government's decision to bail out the giant Ursus tractor plant near Warsaw. "There was much platonic love for the market in postcommunist Europe," Privatization Minister Janusz Lewandowski told the London *Guardian*. "But people don't want the real disciplines and real verdicts of the market."

WORLD REPORT

# Fear of flying in Czechoslovakia

The velvet revolution is facing its toughest tests

In the current production of "The Odyssey" by Laterna Magika, Prague's famed theater of illusionary light and human movement, a ship carrying Ulysses and his crew floats across the stage against a backdrop of idyllic blue seas. Suddenly, the storms of reality and fate send it crashing to the boards.



THE NEW EUROPE

Two years after playwright-President Vaclav Havel's "velvet revolution" freed Czechoslovakia from communism and sent its hopes soaring, Havel and his 15 million people are bickering about how to keep their ship from foundering. "We're caught in a neurotic, vicious cycle," says Miroslav Macek, the vice chairman of the new Civic Democratic Party, during a brief break in an angry debate in the Federal Assembly over everything from how to rid the nation of Communist bureaucrats to laws facilitating desperately needed foreign investment.

Economic worries have triggered old

resentments that now threaten to unravel the fragile confederation of Czechs and Slovaks. The two were uneasily bound together in the wake of World War I, a move that caused British statesman David Lloyd George to say that "Czechoslovakia isn't a country; it's a sausage."

So far, neither the sausage nor the bubble of enthusiasm for change has burst. "Of course it's not easy," says Hana Reznickova, a 36-year-old mother of two. "Everything is more expensive; more uncertain. But look around you—do you see anyone who isn't happy?"

In Prague, smiling people sport what Prague student Katerina Stejskalova calls "new, happy clothing." Private shops now sell everything from Japanese video cameras to German refrigerators. Although inflation has leveled off, the cost of living has risen nearly 160 percent in the last year, average wages remain just a little more than \$100 a month and

HUNGARY'S PRESIDENT SPEAKS

## The society is drifting apart

Hungarian President Arpad Gombi spent five years in jail after his country's 1956 revolution was crushed by Soviet tanks and 30 years taking out a living translating such American authors as Hemingway, Doctorow, and even George Bush. He discussed his country's passage from communism to democracy with Marianne Szerezy-Maszak.

Political change. We thought it would be a very, very hard task to topple communism and that the transition period would be very, very easy and pleasant. But we were wrong. Communism toppled by itself and annihilated itself quite easily and



BY CHRISTOPHER BOBINSKI IN WARSAW



**Havel.** The Czechoslovak president has traded his Renault for BMWs but remains popular.

few Czechoslovaks can afford local consumer goods, let alone imported ones. To the outrage of many, a new class of got-rich-quick Czechoslovaks—some former Communist apparatchiks, others fronting for foreign entrepreneurs and speculators—have been the first winners in federal auctions privatizing small businesses. Unhappy that many former Comm-

unists still wield power, as they do elsewhere in Eastern Europe, parliament wants to bar ex-Communists from state jobs for five years. But in response to this process of *lustrace* (purification), some old apparatchiks are converting their old political clout into economic power by starting private businesses. Frustration and fear are worst in the

country's grossly overindustrialized and oversubsidized rural areas. Farmers in Bohemia—still strapped by cumbersome Marxist marketing systems and angered that some imported produce is cheaper than the food they grow—have begun blocking highways with their aging tractors. In the grim industrial towns, tens of thousands of factory workers look ahead to a winter of unemployment.

**Collapsing.** The Poldi steelworks at the bleak town of Kladno, once among the nation's most formidable industrial complexes, already is in dire straits. Orders from the Soviet Union and other East-bloc customers have shrunk by 75 percent and could vanish altogether. Four thousand of the plant's 18,000 workers have been laid off. But Poldi remains exorbitantly overstaffed, and potential French and American investors say they won't touch the company unless thousands more are fired. Recently, the Czechoslovak national gas company threatened to cut off the power unless Poldi paid its \$5 million back bill. "Everything's collapsing," frets Lukas Jindrich, a 50-year-old Poldi engineer as he pulls his blue jacket tighter against the autumn winds.

"It's part of the unavoidable cost of converting to a free-market economy," says Miroslav Zamecnik, Havel's economic adviser, who says "we desperately need Western investment and technical assistance to learn to properly produce

the transition period is terribly difficult. It is sometimes hard to distinguish between the communist and the post-communist periods. Sometimes the mentality of the communists surfaces in the anticommunists, too. [It is] authoritarian on one side and obedient on the other. After 40 years of being ordered around it is inevitable that everyone has the tendency to give orders and to obey orders.

**Building a market economy.** We don't have any model for privatization, so the first step has been an absolutely spontaneous privatization. This basically changed only the superficial aspects of the enterprise. We have no idea of what the real price or the real value of our factories and our companies is, so we have no way to determine the fair market price of anything.

The problem is that social priorities and economic priorities are in con-

flikt with each other. We have to somehow create a social network to defend the people, but if we want to be successful in giving complete priority to the economy then it is impossible to create such a network. We have no money for it. The political efforts are all focused on handling the economic questions, but the society is drifting, drifting step by step further and further apart.

**The younger generation.** Our young people are a time bomb that is ticking. Until recently, many of the young men went into the Army when they were 19. Today, the size of the Army has decreased by about 50 percent. There are no jobs. The housing problem they face is absolutely hopeless. Youngsters who thought that they could go into a factory after they acquired a skill at the age of 60 or 70, discover that the workplace is closed to them. Many of the trade schools these

youngsters attended depended on the factories that now are bankrupt. So today there is a large age group that has no hope and no vision of the future.

**Outside assistance.** We don't really have the right to complain. We are trying to stand on three legs: the European Community, the Pacific Rim and the U.S. Politically we have received very much help from Germany. About 60 percent of all the private investment is coming from the United States, as well as lots of advice. We have received serious monetary help in the form of credits from Japan.

**Culture.** There is a very deep overproduction crisis because our most important market was the Soviet Union, and now it is closed to us because they can't pay. So we have to go back to the Stone Age and barter. I give you a jar and you give me three arrowheads.

## WORLD REPORT

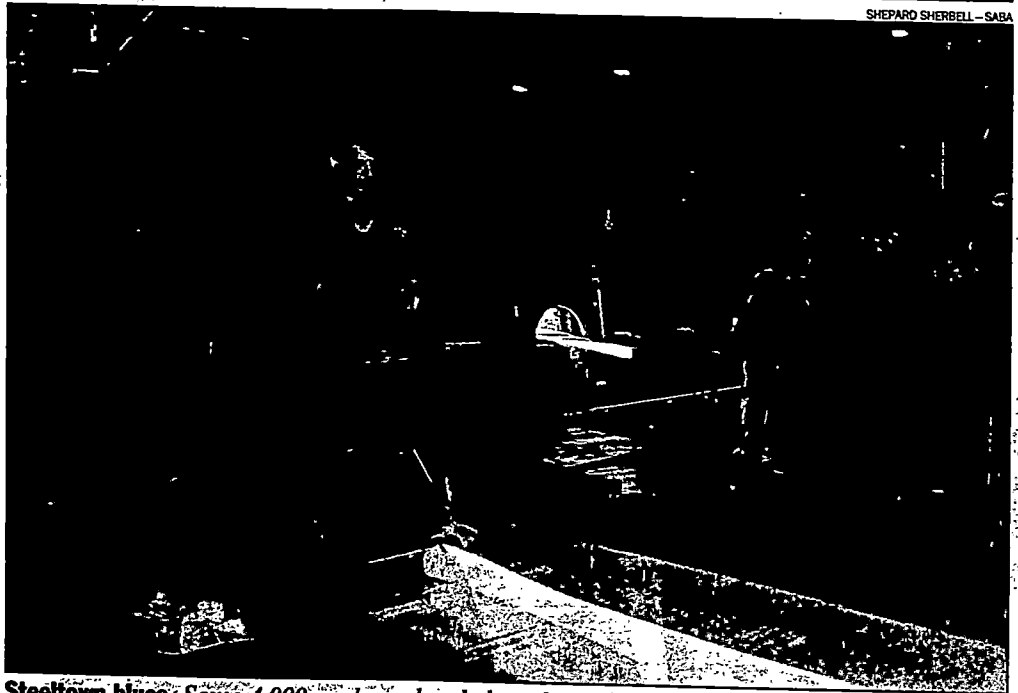
and market our products, develop new profitable ones and overcome the shocks of change." Havel will make the same pitch this week when he visits Washington.

The revolution has exacted social as well as economic costs. Tourists are flocking to Prague, but some of the city's historic corners have been trashed with fast-food shops and currency exchange booths. Enterprising Czechs have filled their medieval town squares with stands selling everything from Bohemian crystal to American popcorn to Soviet Army garb left behind when Moscow withdrew its 73,500 troops in 1990.

The crime rate, though still lower than Germany's, has more than doubled in two years. Wenceslas Square, where Czechs shouted down their Communist bosses in November 1989, has become a nightly market for teenage prostitutes and a haven for nimble pickpockets. Czech TV, once a humdrum Communist propaganda mill, has become a lively forum of open debate and Western programming. One result: Attendance at Prague's theaters, once the guardians of free expression, has fallen off so dramatically that four have been forced to close.

Havel's vision of a nation renewed by democracy, tolerance and reform is facing its toughest test in Slovakia, the country's eastern republic. Dependent on subsidized agricultural cooperatives and unprofitable, polluting industries, Slovakia's 5.4 million people have been hardest hit by free-market reforms. The unemployment rate is 9.5 percent, compared with the Czechs' 6.2 percent.

**Secession?** Slovakia's nationalist fires are being stoked more by resentment of Czechs than by Slovak pride. "We see no reason why 5 million Slovaks cannot sit as a nation in international bodies and not be represented by Czechs," says Vladimir Meciar, the former Slovak premier. Meciar's chief rival, Jan Carnogursky, head of Slovakia's Christian Democratic Movement and current premier of the regional government, sees Slovakia be-



**Steeltown blues.** Some 4,000 workers already have been laid off from the Poldi steelworks.

coming an "independent subject" in Europe with only loose ties to the Czechs.

But Slovakia's autonomists are short on concrete plans for how they'd manage on their own. Much of their vague sense of nationalism harks back to the World War II-era "independent" Slova-

kia—an ignoble Nazi puppet state that shipped tens of thousands of its Jewish citizens to German death camps.

Not all Slovaks have fallen for the neonationalist pitch. "We are about two generations less developed than the Czechs," admits Jana Krejckova, an English teacher in Bratislava. "But the solution is to work harder, not to slow down reform. We don't have time for all this nationalist nonsense!" Banking on what he believes is a silent majority in Slovakia, Havel—who believes more symbolic autonomy for the Slovaks will save the federation—now proposes a referendum on the republic's future.

Havel himself still forgoes the elegant presidential castle for his own simply furnished apartment overlooking the Moldau. But the jeans and sweater he once wore when receiving state visitors have given way to tailored suits, and his Renault "limousine" has been replaced by a fleet of BMWs that ferry the president and his minions. Still, recent polls give him an 83 percent approval rating among Czechs and 58 percent in Slovakia.

But even Havel, who may be preparing to seek another presidential term in 1992, can run out of time. On a hill overlooking Prague, in the same spot where a gargantuan statue of Joseph Stalin once stood, Czechoslovakia's new leaders have placed a whimsical kinetic sculpture—a giant, brightly painted metronome. Its beat is steady, but it may be a touch slow.

### DEMOCRACY IN BULGARIA

## An uphill battle

In Bulgaria, elections this month ended 47 years of communist control, but the vote raised more questions than it answered.

The Union of Democratic Forces, an umbrella movement like Solidarity in Poland and Civic Forum in Czechoslovakia, won 34 percent of the vote and now controls nearly half the seats in parliament. But in order to govern, the UDF must hold its own 12 parties and four main factions together, compromise with a party representing Bulgaria's million-strong Turkish minority, outmaneuver a Socialist (formerly Communist) Party that won a third of the vote, and control the communist-dominated bureaucracy, Army and police force. At best it will have to water down its plans for sweeping reform. At worst it could split apart even before taking office.

Severe inflation, falling output, a \$12 billion foreign debt and growing food and fuel shortages do not favor either stability or gradualism. Despite the elections, democracy is still fighting an uphill battle in Bulgaria.

BY RICHARD Z. CHESNOFF IN PRAGUE  
AND PETER S. GREEN IN BRATISLAVA