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**Record Group/Collection:** George H.W. Bush Presidential Records  
**Collection/Office of Origin:** Speechwriting, White House Office of  
**Series:** Speech File Draft Files  
**Subseries:** Chron File, 1989-1993

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**OA/ID Number:** 13520  
**Folder ID Number:** 13520-011

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**Folder Title:**  
Departure of President Vaclav Havel of Czechoslovakia 2/20/90 [OA 4728]

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

February 20, 1990

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT  
AND PRESIDENT HAVEL OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA  
UPON DEPARTURE

February 20, 1990

The Diplomatic Entrance

1:35 P.M. EST

THE PRESIDENT: Well, welcome to everybody. And it's been my great pleasure to welcome to the White House a man of tremendous moral courage, one of the heroes of the Revolution of '89 the President of Czechoslovakia Vaclav Havel.

Mr. President, your life has been one of miraculous transformations from the world of drama to the world of dissent; from the life of the artist to the life of the activist. And, of course, in the space of just one short year the most miraculous journey of all -- from prison to the presidency. And, of course, it's possible to measure profound change in more personal terms. For years, as a dissident subject to arrest and imprisonment at any time, you can never go out without your toothbrush in your pocket. But now, as President, you can never go out without one of these neckties.

And many years ago you made a choice. You chose to live your life in keeping with your conscience, not for others but for yourself. But others drew strength from the life you lead, and your life was a tribute to the difference one man can make, powerful proof of the democratic idea. On the one side stood the state with its prisons and secret police; and on the other, Vaclav Havel, one man alone but with the strength of his convictions. Always free with the freedom that comes from living in truth. First one man and now millions.

President Havel never stopped believing in what he called this unbelievable thought that any one of us can shake the Earth. Shake the Earth, Mr. President, and part the Iron Curtain. Shake the Earth and knock down the Berlin Wall. Shake the Earth and set in motion a process of change from Budapest to Bucharest, from Warsaw to Wenceslas Square.

And that was the Revolution of '89, and our task now in the 1990s is to move forward, from revolution to renaissance, towards a new Europe in which each nation and every culture can flourish and breathe free. A Europe whole and free.

President Havel, Czechoslovakia has turned to you to lead the way. And is it not fitting for a nation that each day writes a new page in its history, to have elected a playwright as its President?

And I am pleased that we've had this opportunity to meet, to speak together about the changes that are taking place from Prague to Moscow, and about Czechoslovakia's place in the heartland of the new Europe now emerging.

We know there is no room for illusions. Difficult work lies ahead. The damage of four decades of fear and repression cannot be repaired in a day. But we know something more. We know that the people of Czechoslovakia have waited long enough and they know it's

MORE

time to move forward to freedom.

Czechoslovakia and Europe are at the threshold of a new era. And I know I can speak for all Western leaders when I say that the Atlantic Alliance will continue to play a vital role in assuring stability and security in Europe at this great and historic moment. And America will continue to play its part, including a strong military presence for our security and for Europe's.

Mr. President, you've not asked for American aid -- economic aid -- and you made it clear that democratic Czechoslovakia wants the opportunity to do business on an equal footing. And in that regard, I am pleased to announce that I signed today letters notifying our Congress that I am waiving the Jackson-Vanik Amendment for Czechoslovakia.

Today our trade representatives began negotiating a trade agreement. Pending passage by your Parliament of new liberal emigration legislation, these measures will permit us to extend the Most Favored Nation status to Czechoslovakia without the requirement of an annual waiver, granting your country the most liberal access to the American market possible under United States law.

Mr. President, you've also explained the enormous tasks that you face in rebuilding a democracy on the ruins of the one-party state that you inherited. And you've identified several areas where help is needed and we are ready to respond.

Let me just mention two specifics. First, in response to your request, I am asking Peace Corps Director Paul Coverdell to take the initial steps to bring the Peace Corps to Czechoslovakia by this fall. And second, I am delighted that we will soon reopen our Consulate in Bratislava, as well as new cultural centers there and in Prague.

Mr. President, I assure you the United States will be part of your nation's democratic rebirth. Everything I've seen this past year tells me that Czechoslovakia can meet the challenges ahead. And as you've said in your first address as President on New Year's Day, so many times we've heard politics defined as the art of the possible; and this year has taught us something new, something more -- it taught us, as you put it, that politics can be the art of the impossible.

Mr. President, before you leave us today, I would like to present you with a lithograph of your illustrious predecessor, Czechoslovakia's first President and author of your nation's Declaration of Independence, Thomas Masaryk. This portrait was done in Prague Castle and kept by President Masaryk until his death, when he gave it to his successor at Charles University's Department of Philosophy, President Jan Kozak.

In 1939, at the time of the Nazi invasion, Professor Kozak had two hours to pack his belongings and to flee Czechoslovakia. Among the items he took with him, this portrait of his friend. Professor Kozak settled in Ohio at Oberlin College and so did this portrait, until today. And now, with freedom returning to Czechoslovakia, so, too, should this portrait of President Masaryk, Czechoslovakia's first President and champion of freedom.

Once again, Mr. President, it has been my privilege to welcome you to Washington and to the White House. And God bless you and may God bless the people of Czechoslovakia. We are pleased to have you here. (Applause.)

PRESIDENT HAVEL: Mr. President, I am very moved by your speech. I thank you very much for this drawing. I promise you it will be very soon back in our castle. We had with Mr. Bush very important negotiations. We had very warm, very open, very friendly discussions. I am very glad that I had the opportunity to be here to

MORE

explain what happened in Czechoslovakia, to explain our viewpoint, our policy. And thank you very much that we could be here. Thank you for the invitation. And, of course, I invite you to us in Prague in Czechoslovakia. And you will see this nice drawing in my office on Prague Castle.

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you, sir. Godspeed. (Applause.)

END

1:45 P.M. EST

**DEPARTURE STATEMENT / PRESIDENT VACLAV HAVEL  
THE SOUTH LAWN / FEBRUARY 20, 1990 / 1:15 PM**

**WELCOME, ALL OF YOU. IT HAS BEEN MY GREAT PLEASURE  
TO WELCOME TO THE WHITE HOUSE A MAN OF TREMENDOUS MORAL  
COURAGE -- ONE OF THE HEROES OF THE REVOLUTION OF '89.  
PRESIDENT OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA -- VACLAV HAVEL. //**

**MR. PRESIDENT, YOUR LIFE HAS BEEN ONE OF MIRACULOUS  
TRANSFORMATIONS. FROM THE WORLD OF DRAMA, TO THE WORLD  
OF THE DISSIDENT.**

**- 2 -**

**FROM THE LIFE OF THE ARTIST TO THE LIFE OF THE  
ACTIVIST. AND OF COURSE -- IN THE SPACE OF ONE SHORT  
YEAR -- THE MOST MIRACULOUS JOURNEY OF ALL, FROM PRISON  
// TO THE PRESIDENCY. //**

**[[OF COURSE, IT IS POSSIBLE TO MEASURE PROFOUND  
CHANGE IN MORE PERSONAL TERMS.**

- 3 -

FOR YEARS, AS A DISSIDENT -- SUBJECT TO ARREST AND IMPRISONMENT AT ANY TIME -- YOU COULD NEVER GO OUT WITHOUT YOUR TOOTHBRUSH IN YOUR POCKET. NOW, AS PRESIDENT, YOU CAN NEVER GO OUT WITHOUT A NECKTIE.

//]]

MANY YEARS AGO, YOU MADE A CHOICE. YOU CHOSE TO LIVE YOUR LIFE IN KEEPING WITH YOUR CONSCIENCE. // NOT FOR OTHERS, BUT FOR YOURSELF -- BUT OTHERS DREW STRENGTH FROM THE LIFE YOU LED.

- 4 -

YOUR LIFE WAS A TRIBUTE TO THE DIFFERENCE ONE MAN CAN MAKE. POWERFUL PROOF OF THE DEMOCRATIC IDEA. // ON THE ONE SIDE STOOD THE STATE, WITH ITS PRISONS AND SECRET POLICE. ON THE OTHER, VACLAV HAVEL: ONE MAN -- ALONE -- BUT WITH THE STRENGTH OF HIS CONVICTIONS. ALWAYS FREE -- WITH THE FREEDOM THAT COMES FROM "LIVING IN TRUTH." FIRST, ONE MAN. AND NOW -- MILLIONS. //

VACLAV HAVEL NEVER STOPPED BELIEVING IN WHAT HE CALLED THIS "UNBELIEVABLE THOUGHT:" "THAT ANY ONE OF US CAN SHAKE THE EARTH." // SHAKE THE EARTH, MR. PRESIDENT, AND PART THE IRON CURTAIN. SHAKE THE EARTH -- AND KNOCK DOWN THE BERLIN WALL. SHAKE THE EARTH -- AND SET IN MOTION A PROCESS OF CHANGE FROM BUDAPEST TO BUCHAREST. FROM WARSAW TO WENCESLAS SQUARE. //

THAT WAS THE REVOLUTION OF '89. OUR TASK NOW IN THE 1990S IS TO MOVE FORWARD -- FROM REVOLUTION TO RENAISSANCE. TOWARDS A NEW EUROPE -- IN WHICH EACH NATION AND EVERY CULTURE CAN FLOURISH AND BREATHE FREE -- A EUROPE WHOLE AND FREE. ///

PRESIDENT HAVEL, CZECHOSLOVAKIA HAS TURNED TO YOU TO LEAD THE WAY. AND IS IT NOT FITTING: FOR A NATION THAT EACH DAY WRITES A NEW PAGE IN ITS HISTORY -- TO HAVE ELECTED A PLAYWRIGHT AS ITS PRESIDENT? //

I AM PLEASED THAT WE HAVE HAD THIS OPPORTUNITY TO MEET. TO SPEAK TOGETHER ABOUT THE CHANGES TAKING PLACE FROM PRAGUE TO MOSCOW -- AND ABOUT CZECHOSLOVAKIA'S PLACE IN THE HEARTLAND OF THE NEW EUROPE NOW EMERGING.

WE KNOW THERE IS NO ROOM FOR ILLUSIONS. DIFFICULT WORK LIES AHEAD. THE DAMAGE OF FOUR DECADES OF FEAR AND REPRESSION CANNOT BE REPAIRED IN A DAY.

BUT WE KNOW SOMETHING MORE: WE KNOW THAT THE PEOPLE OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA HAVE WAITED LONG ENOUGH. THEY KNOW IT'S TIME TO MOVE FORWARD, TO FREEDOM. //

CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND EUROPE ARE AT THE THRESHOLD OF A NEW ERA. I KNOW I CAN SPEAK FOR ALL WESTERN LEADERS WHEN I SAY THAT THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE WILL CONTINUE TO PLAY A VITAL ROLE IN ASSURING STABILITY AND SECURITY IN EUROPE AT THIS GREAT AND HISTORIC MOMENT.

AND AMERICA WILL CONTINUE TO PLAY ITS PART, INCLUDING A STRONG MILITARY PRESENCE -- FOR OUR SECURITY AND FOR EUROPE'S.

MR. PRESIDENT, YOU HAVE NOT ASKED FOR AMERICAN ECONOMIC AID. YOU HAVE MADE IT CLEAR THAT DEMOCRATIC CZECHOSLOVAKIA WANTS THE OPPORTUNITY TO DO BUSINESS ON AN EQUAL FOOTING. IN THAT REGARD, I AM PLEASED TO ANNOUNCE THAT I [[SIGNED TODAY]] LETTERS NOTIFYING OUR CONGRESS THAT I AM WAIVING THE JACKSON-VANIK AMENDMENT FOR CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

TODAY OUR TRADE REPRESENTATIVES BEGAN NEGOTIATING A TRADE AGREEMENT. PENDING PASSAGE BY YOUR PARLIAMENT OF NEW, LIBERAL EMIGRATION LEGISLATION, THESE MEASURES WILL PERMIT US TO EXTEND MOST FAVORED NATION STATUS TO CZECHOSLOVAKIA WITHOUT THE REQUIREMENT OF AN ANNUAL WAIVER -- GRANTING YOUR COUNTRY THE MOST LIBERAL ACCESS TO THE AMERICAN MARKET POSSIBLE UNDER U.S. LAW.

MR. PRESIDENT, YOU HAVE ALSO EXPLAINED THE ENORMOUS TASKS YOU FACE IN REBUILDING A DEMOCRACY ON THE RUINS OF THE ONE-PARTY STATE YOU INHERITED. YOU HAVE IDENTIFIED SEVERAL AREAS WHERE HELP IS NEEDED. WE ARE READY TO RESPOND.

LET ME JUST MENTION TWO SPECIFICS. FIRST, IN RESPONSE TO YOUR REQUEST, I AM ASKING PEACE CORPS DIRECTOR PAUL COVERDELL TO TAKE THE INITIAL STEPS TO BRING THE PEACE CORPS TO CZECHOSLOVAKIA BY THIS FALL.

SECOND, I AM DELIGHTED THAT WE WILL SOON REOPEN OUR CONSULATE IN BRATISLAVA, AS WELL AS NEW CULTURAL CENTERS THERE AND IN PRAGUE.

MR. PRESIDENT, I ASSURE YOU: THE UNITED STATES WILL BE PART OF YOUR NATION'S DEMOCRATIC REBIRTH. EVERYTHING I'VE SEEN THIS PAST YEAR TELLS ME THAT CZECHOSLOVAKIA CAN MEET THE CHALLENGES AHEAD. AS YOU SAID IN YOUR FIRST ADDRESS AS PRESIDENT ON NEW YEAR'S DAY -- SO MANY TIMES WE'VE HEARD POLITICS DEFINED AS THE ART OF THE POSSIBLE.

**THIS PAST YEAR HAS TAUGHT US SOMETHING NEW -- SOMETHING MORE. IT TAUGHT US -- AS YOU PUT IT -- THAT POLITICS CAN BE THE ART OF THE IMPOSSIBLE. ///**

**MR. PRESIDENT, BEFORE YOU LEAVE TODAY, I WOULD LIKE TO PRESENT YOU WITH THIS LITHOGRAPH OF YOUR ILLUSTRIOUS PREDECESSOR, CZECHOSLOVAKIA'S FIRST PRESIDENT, AND AUTHOR OF YOUR NATION'S DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE -- TOMAS MASARYK [MAS-AH-RICK].**

**THIS PORTRAIT WAS DONE IN PRAGUE CASTLE, AND KEPT BY PRESIDENT MASARYK UNTIL HIS DEATH -- WHEN HE GAVE IT TO HIS SUCCESSOR AT CHARLES UNIVERSITY'S DEPARTMENT OF PHILOSOPHY, PROFESSOR JAN KOZAK [KO-ZAK].**

**IN 1939 -- AT THE TIME OF THE NAZI INVASION -- PROFESSOR KOZAK HAD TWO HOURS TO PACK HIS BELONGINGS AND FLEE CZECHOSLOVAKIA. AMONG THE ITEMS HE TOOK WITH HIM -- THIS PORTRAIT OF HIS FRIEND.**

PROFESSOR KOZAK SETTLED IN OHIO, AT OBERLIN COLLEGE. SO DID THE PORTRAIT -- UNTIL TODAY.

NOW, WITH FREEDOM RETURNING TO CZECHOSLOVAKIA -- SO TOO SHOULD THIS PORTRAIT OF PRESIDENT MASARYK -- CZECHOSLOVAKIA'S FIRST PRESIDENT AND CHAMPION OF FREEDOM. ///

ONCE AGAIN, PRESIDENT HAVEL, IT HAS BEEN MY PRIVILEGE TO WELCOME YOU TO WASHINGTON, AND TO THE WHITE HOUSE. GOD BLESS YOU, GOD BLESS THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA -- AND MAY GOD BLESS THE PEOPLE OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

# # #

- 13 -

THIS PAST YEAR HAS TAUGHT US SOMETHING NEW -- SOMETHING MORE. IT TAUGHT US -- AS YOU PUT IT -- THAT POLITICS CAN BE THE ART OF THE IMPOSSIBLE.

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# # #

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This portrait was done in Prague Castle, and kept by President Masaryk until his death -- when he gave it to his successor at Charles University's Department of Philosophy, Professor Jan Kozak [KO-zak].

In 1939 -- at the time of the Nazi invasion -- Professor Kozak had two hours to pack his belongings and flee Czechoslovakia. Among the items he took with him -- this portrait of his friend.

Professor Kozak settled in Ohio, at Oberlin College. So did the portrait -- until today.

Now, with freedom returning to Czechoslovakia -- so too should this portrait of President Masaryk, Czechoslovakia's first president -- and **champion of freedom.**

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 14, 1990

MEMORANDUM FOR CHRISS WINSTON

FROM:

JIM PINKERTON *J.P.*

SUBJECT:

Draft Departure Statement For President  
Havel

A fine draft. The use of Havel's characteristic phrase "living in truth," is a deft touch. But the President's characteristic phrase, "New Breeze" is missing. By correcting this one omission, and perhaps adding the companion phrase: "We know what works. Freedom works," the draft will be made more consistent with the President's past language.

###

*P.S. I also liked  
to "Revolution  
to  
Renaissance"*

*line.*

80 FEB 15 4 9: 38

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 14, 1990

MEMORANDUM FOR CHRISS WINSTON

FROM: STEPHEN G. RADEMAKER *SR*  
ASSOCIATE COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Presidential Remarks; Departure Statement for  
President Havel of Czechoslovakia

Pursuant to James Cicconi's request, Counsel's Office has reviewed the above-referenced matter. We note that second sentence of the fourth paragraph on page 2 could be interpreted as an endorsement of President Havel as the best choice to lead Czechoslovakia. While this may well be the case, we question whether it is advisable for the President to make statements that could be used for partisan political ends within Czechoslovakia. The sentence could be reformulated to make the same point without the implied endorsement, as follows:

And is it not fitting: for a nation that each day writes a new page in its history -- to have elected a playwright as its President.

Apart from this comment, Counsel's Office has no objection to the remarks as drafted.

cc: James W. Cicconi

90 FEB 14 P5:47

Havel departure statement

INSERT, PAGE THREE:

NSC  
change

Czechoslovakia and Europe are at the threshold of a new era. I know I can speak for all Western leaders when I say that the Atlantic Alliance will continue to play a vital role in assuring stability and security in Europe at this great and historic moment. ~~As we have learned through two European wars in this century, a strong American military presence in Europe is indispensable for our security and for Europe's.~~

America will continue to play its part, include a strong military presence

Mr. President, you have not asked for American economic aid. You have made it clear that democratic Czechoslovakia wants the opportunity to do business on an equal footing. In that regard, I am pleased to announce that I [[signed today]] letters notifying our Congress that I am waiving the Jackson-Vanik Amendment for Czechoslovakia. Today our trade representatives began negotiating a trade agreement. Pending passage by your parliament of new, liberal emigration legislation, these measures will permit us to extend Most Favored Nation status to Czechoslovakia without the requirement of an annual waiver -- granting your country the most liberal access to the American market possible under U.S. law.

Mr. President, you have also explained the enormous tasks you face in rebuilding a democracy on the ruins of the one-party state you inherited. You have identified several areas where help is needed. ~~We are responding in all these areas.~~

Let me just mention two specifics. First, in response to your request, I am asking Peace Corps Director Paul Coverdell to go to Prague soon to lay the groundwork for a program of English language and other training. We expect to have volunteers in Czechoslovakia in the fall. Second, I am delighted that we will soon reopen our Consulate in Bratislava, allowing us to renew and strengthen our ties with Slovakia. ~~And we will open new cultural centers in both Prague and Bratislava. In these and other areas, I assure you the United States will be part of your democratic rebirth.~~

McG  
change

to take the initial steps to bring the Peace Corps to Czechoslovakia by this fall.

as well as new cultural centers there & in Prague.

## WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 02/13/90 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: NOON 02/15/90

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: DEPARTURE STATE FOR PRESIDENT HAVEL/  
(02/13 5:30 p.m. draft) CZECHOSLOVAKIA

	ACTION FYI			ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	NEWMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<del>SCOWCROFT</del>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BATES	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMAYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<u>ROGERS</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
CICCONI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<u>PINKERTON</u>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>WINSTON</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HAGIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

**REMARKS:**

Please provide any comments/recommendations directly to Chriss Winston by Noon on Thursday, 02/15, with a copy to my office. Thanks.

**RESPONSE:**

February 15, 1990

NSC concurs with the changes indicated.

*Brent Scowcroft*  
Brent Scowcroft

90 FEB 15 4:55 PM

cc: James Cicconi

**James W. Cicconi**  
Assistant to the President  
and Deputy to the Chief of Staff  
Ext. 2702

1990 FEB 13 PM 5:41

McGroarty/Dooley  
February 13, 1990  
5:30 pm  
[HAVEL]

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: DEPARTURE STATEMENT FOR WORKING VISIT OF  
PRESIDENT VACLAV HAVEL OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA  
THE SOUTH LAWN  
FEBRUARY 20, 1990  
11:00 AM

Welcome, all of you. It has been my great pleasure to  
welcome to the White House a man of tremendous moral courage --  
one of the heroes of the Revolution of '89. President of  
Czechoslovakia -- Vaclav Havel. //

✓  
Mr. President, your life has been one of miraculous  
transformations. From the world of drama, to <sup>the</sup> world of the  
dissident. From the life of the artist to the life of the  
activist. And of course -- in the space of one short year -- the  
most miraculous journey of all, from prison // to the Presidency.  
//

[[Of course, it is possible to measure profound change in  
more personal terms. For years, as a dissident -- subject to  
arrest and imprisonment at any time -- you could never go out  
without your toothbrush in your pocket. Now, as President, you  
can never go out without a necktie. //]]

✓  
Many years ago, you made a choice. You chose to live your  
life in keeping with your conscience. // ~~Not for others, but~~  
~~for yourself -- but~~ <sup>And</sup> others drew strength from the life you led.

Your life was a tribute to the difference **one man** can make. Proof of the power of the **democratic idea**. // On the one side stood the State, with its prisons and secret police. On the other, Vaclav Havel: one man. **Always powerful** -- with the power that belongs to every individual who dares to speak out. **Always free** -- with the freedom that comes from "living in truth." **First, one man. And now -- millions.** //

Vaclav Havel never stopped believing in what he called this "unbelievable thought:" "that any one of us can shake the Earth." // Shake the Earth, Mr. President, and part the Iron Curtain. Shake the Earth, ~~-- and knock down the Berlin Wall.]~~ *Return democracy to Czechoslovakia*  
*make a new Europe -- a Europe whole and free*

*set off*  
*from -- to*  
*Prague ....*  
That was the Revolution of '89. Our task now in the 1990s is to move forward -- from Revolution to Renaissance. Towards a new Europe -- in which each nation and every culture can flourish and breathe free. *-- a Europe whole and free.* III

President Havel, Czechoslovakia has turned to you to lead the way. And what better choice: for a nation that each day writes a new page in its history -- to elect a playwright as its President. //

I am pleased that we have had this opportunity to meet. To speak together about the changes taking place from Prague to Moscow -- and about Czechoslovakia's place in the heartland of the new Europe now emerging.

We know there is no room for illusions. Difficult work lies ahead. The damage of four decades of fear and repression cannot be repaired in a day. But we know something more: we know that

the people of Czechoslovakia have waited long enough. They know it's time to move forward, to freedom. //

~~Time to hold free elections -- to build the institutions of free government, in Czechoslovakia -- and across Eastern Europe. Time to begin reducing the level of arms -- strategic, chemical and conventional -- that threaten Europe and the world. ] Time to move toward the day when peace, freedom and prosperity unite all of Europe, East and West.~~

And Mr. President, rest assured: the United States will do its part to work with your nation towards the birth of this new Europe.

Mr. President, everything I've seen this past year tells me that we can meet <sup>e</sup> ~~this~~ challenge. <sup>s ahead.</sup> As you said in your first address as President on New Year's Day -- so many times we've heard politics defined as the **art of the possible**. This past year has taught us something new -- something more. It taught us -- as you put it -- that politics can be the **art of the impossible**.

Once again, President Havel, it has been my privilege to welcome you to Washington, and to the White House. God bless you, God bless the United States of America -- and may God bless the Republic of Czechoslovakia.

# # #

INSERT

SUBJECT:

Havel departure statement

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Czechoslovakia and Europe are at the threshold of a new era. I know I can speak for all Western leaders when I say that the Atlantic Alliance will continue to play a vital role in assuring stability and security in Europe at this great and historic moment. ~~As we have learned through two European wars in this century, a strong American military presence in Europe is indispensable for our security and for Europe's.~~

*America will continue to play its part, including a strong military presence*

Mr. President, you have not asked for American economic aid. You have made it clear that democratic Czechoslovakia wants the opportunity to do business on an equal footing. In that regard, I am pleased to announce that I [[signed today]] letters notifying our Congress that I am waiving the Jackson-Vanik Amendment for Czechoslovakia. Today our trade representatives began negotiating a trade agreement. Pending passage by your parliament of new, liberal emigration legislation, these measures will permit us to extend Most Favored Nation status to Czechoslovakia without the requirement of an annual waiver -- granting your country the most liberal access to the American market possible under U.S. law.

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*America will continue to play its part, including a strong military presence in Europe*

Mr. President, you have not asked for American economic aid. You have made it clear that democratic Czechoslovakia wants the opportunity to do business on an equal footing. In that regard, I am pleased to announce that I [[signed today]] letters notifying our Congress that I am waiving the Jackson-Vanik Amendment for Czechoslovakia. Today our trade representatives began negotiating a trade agreement. Pending passage by your parliament of new, liberal emigration legislation, these measures will permit us to extend Most Favored Nation status to Czechoslovakia without the requirement of an annual waiver -- granting your country the most liberal access to the American market possible under U.S. law.

Mr. President, you have also explained the enormous tasks you face in rebuilding a democracy on the ruins of the one-party state you inherited. You have identified several areas where help is needed. We are responding in all these areas.

Let me just mention two specifics. First, in response to your request, I am asking Peace Corps Director Paul Coverdell to go to Prague soon to lay the groundwork for a program of English language and other training. We expect to have volunteers in Czechoslovakia in the fall. Second, I am delighted that we will soon reopen our Consulate in Bratislava, allowing us to renew and strengthen our ties with Slovakia. And we will open new cultural centers in both Prague and Bratislava. In these and other areas, the United States will be part of your democratic rebirth.

Peggy's

McGroarty/Dooley  
February 13, 1990  
5:30 pm  
[HAVEL]

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: DEPARTURE STATEMENT FOR WORKING VISIT OF  
PRESIDENT VACLAV HAVEL OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA  
THE SOUTH LAWN  
FEBRUARY 20, 1990  
~~11:00 AM~~ 1:15 PM

Welcome, all of you. It has been my great pleasure to  
welcome to the White House a man of tremendous moral courage --  
one of the heroes of the Revolution of '89. President of  
Czechoslovakia -- Vaclav Havel. //

Mr. President, your life has been one of miraculous  
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Vaclav Havel never stopped believing in what he called this "unbelievable thought:" "that any one of us can shake the Earth." // Shake the Earth, Mr. President, and part the Iron Curtain. Shake the Earth -- and knock down the Berlin Wall.

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President Havel, Czechoslovakia has turned to you to lead the way. And what better choice: for a nation that each day writes a new page in its history -- to elect a playwright as its President. //

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*Shake the Earth --  
AND SET OFF  
A PROCESS OF  
CHANGE*

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Time to hold free elections -- to build the institutions of free government, in Czechoslovakia -- and across Eastern Europe. Time to begin reducing the level of arms -- strategic, chemical and conventional -- that threaten Europe and the world. Time to move toward the day when peace, freedom and prosperity unite all of Europe, East and West.

And Mr. President, rest assured: the United States will do its part to work with your nation towards the birth of this new Europe.

Mr. President, everything I've seen this past year tells me that we can meet this challenge. As you said in your first address as President on New Year's Day -- so many times we've heard politics defined as the art of the possible. This past year has taught us something new -- something more. It taught us -- as you put it -- that politics can be the art of the impossible.

Once again, President Havel, it has been my privilege to welcome you to Washington, and to the White House. God bless you, God bless the United States of America -- and may God bless the Republic of Czechoslovakia.

# # #

All reconciliation A's

Highlighted

McGroarty/Dooley  
February 16, 1990  
9:00 am  
[HAVEL]

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: DEPARTURE STATEMENT FOR WORKING VISIT OF  
PRESIDENT VACLAV HAVEL OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA  
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# # #

# WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 02/13/90

ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: NOON 02/15/90

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: DEPARTURE STATE FOR PRESIDENT HAVEL/  
(02/13 5:30 p.m. draft) CZECHOSLOVAKIA

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE <i>N/C</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	NEWMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER <i>N/C</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH <i>N/C</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BATES	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMAYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	ROGERS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
CICCONI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	PINKERTON <i>X</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST ✓	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	WINSTON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
GRAY ✓	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HAGIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

**REMARKS:**

Please provide any comments/recommendations directly to Chriss Winston by Noon on Thursday, 02/15, with a copy to my office. Thanks.

**RESPONSE:**

**MASTER** - MINUS NSC

90 FEB 14 4:36

James W. Cicconi  
 Assistant to the President  
 and Deputy to the Chief of Staff  
 Ext. 2702

1990 FEB 13 PM 5:41

McGroarty/Dooley  
February 13, 1990  
5:30 pm  
[HAVEL]

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: DEPARTURE STATEMENT FOR WORKING VISIT OF  
PRESIDENT VACLAV HAVEL OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA  
THE SOUTH LAWN  
FEBRUARY 20, 1990  
11:00 AM

Welcome, all of you. It has been my great pleasure to  
welcome to the White House a man of tremendous moral courage --  
one of the heroes of the Revolution of '89. President of  
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Mr. President, your life has been one of miraculous  
transformations. From the world of drama, <sup>the</sup> to world of the  
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 → *Powerful proof*  
~~Proof of the power~~ of the **democratic idea**. // On the one side  
 stood the State, with its prisons and secret police. On the  
 → other, Vaclav Havel: one man *-- alone -- but with the strength*  
~~Always powerful~~ *of his convictions.* ~~with the power~~  
~~that belongs to every individual who dares to speak out.~~ Always  
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 III

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Once again, President Havel, it has been my privilege to welcome you to Washington, and to the White House. God bless you, God bless the United States of America -- and may God bless the Republic of Czechoslovakia.

# # #

# WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 02/16/90 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: ----

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: DEPARTURE STATEMENT FOR PRESIDENT HAVEL  
(02/16 9:00 a.m. draft)

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	NEWMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
BATES	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMAYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	ROGERS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
CICCONI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	PINKERTON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	WINSTON	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HAGIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:  
  
The attached has been forwarded to the President.

RESPONSE:

90 FEB 16 P5:50

James W. Cicconi  
Assistant to the President  
and Deputy to the Chief of Staff  
Ext. 2702

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

1990 FEB 16 11:10:02

February 15, 1990

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT  
THROUGH: DAVID DEMAREST  
FROM: DAN MCGROARTY  
SUBJECT: DEPARTURE STATEMENT FOR PRESIDENT HAVEL'S VISIT

I. SUMMARY

On Tuesday, February 20, at 1:15 p.m., you and President Havel will participate in a departure ceremony, following a morning meeting and a working lunch.

II. DISCUSSION

These remarks draw on the remarkable developments in Czechoslovakia and in Vaclav Havel's life over the past months.

During the years that Havel was being persecuted by the government, he eventually learned not to leave his house without a toothbrush, because he never knew when the authorities would come to pick him up. Now that he is president, this well-known casual dresser has to learn to get used to wearing a necktie. (p. 1)

"Living in truth" (p. 2) is the name of a collection of essays written by Havel.

# # #

McGroarty/Dooley  
February 16, 1990  
9:00 am  
[HAVEL]

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: DEPARTURE STATEMENT FOR WORKING VISIT OF  
PRESIDENT VACLAV HAVEL OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA  
THE SOUTH LAWN  
FEBRUARY 20, 1990  
1:15 PM

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DATE: 02/13/90 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: NOON 02/15/90

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: DEPARTURE STATE FOR PRESIDENT HAVEL/  
(02/13 5:30 p.m. draft) CZECHOSLOVAKIA

	ACTION FYI			ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	NEWMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BATES	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMAYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	ROGERS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
CICCONI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	PINKERTON	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	WINSTON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HAGIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

**REMARKS:**

Please provide any comments/recommendations directly to Chriss Winston by Noon on Thursday, 02/15, with a copy to my office. Thanks.

**RESPONSE:**

*OK*  
*S.R.*

90 FEB 14 11:59 AM

James W. Cicconi  
Assistant to the President  
and Deputy to the Chief of Staff  
Ext. 2702

1990 FEB 13 PM 5:41

McGroarty/Dooley  
February 13, 1990  
5:30 pm  
[HAVEL]

**PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: DEPARTURE STATEMENT FOR WORKING VISIT OF  
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Mr. President, everything I've seen this past year tells me that we can meet this challenge. As you said in your first address as President on New Year's Day -- so many times we've heard politics defined as the **art of the possible**. This past year has taught us something new -- something more. It taught us -- as you put it -- that politics can be the art of the impossible.

Once again, President Havel, it has been my privilege to welcome you to Washington, and to the White House. God bless you, God bless the United States of America -- and may God bless the Republic of Czechoslovakia.

# # #

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

February 14, 1990

MEMORANDUM FOR CHRISS WINSTON

FROM: ROGER B. PORTER *RBP*

SUBJECT: Presidential Remarks: Departure State for  
President Havel / Czechoslovakia

We have no comments or recommendations from a policy standpoint on the draft remarks.

90 FEB 15 4:30

# WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 02/13/90

ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: NOON 02/15/90

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: DEPARTURE STATE FOR PRESIDENT HAVEL/  
(02/13 5:30 p.m. draft) CZECHOSLOVAKIA

	ACTION FYI			ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	NEWMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BATES	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMAYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	ROGERS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
CICCONI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	PINKERTON	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	WINSTON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HAGIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

**REMARKS:**

Please provide any comments/recommendations directly to Chriss Winston by Noon on Thursday, 02/15, with a copy to my office. Thanks.

**RESPONSE:**

James W. Cicconi  
Assistant to the President  
and Deputy to the Chief of Staff  
Ext. 2702

1990 FEB 13 PM 5:41

McGroarty/Dooley  
February 13, 1990  
5:30 pm  
[HAVEL]

**PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: DEPARTURE STATEMENT FOR WORKING VISIT OF  
PRESIDENT VACLAV HAVEL OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA  
THE SOUTH LAWN  
FEBRUARY 20, 1990  
11:00 AM**

Welcome, all of you. It has been my great pleasure to welcome to the White House a man of tremendous moral courage -- one of the heroes of the Revolution of '89. President of Czechoslovakia -- Vaclav Havel. //

Mr. President, your life has been one of miraculous transformations. From the world of drama, to world of the dissident. From the life of the artist to the life of the activist. And of course -- in the space of one short year -- the most miraculous journey of all, from prison // to the Presidency. //

[[Of course, it is possible to measure profound change in more personal terms. For years, as a dissident -- subject to arrest and imprisonment at any time -- you could never go out without your toothbrush in your pocket. Now, as President, you can never go out without a necktie. //]]

Many years ago, you made a choice. You chose to live your life in keeping with your conscience. // Not for others, but for yourself -- but others drew strength from the life you led.

Your life was a tribute to the difference **one man** can make. Proof of the power of the **democratic idea**. // On the one side stood the State, with its prisons and secret police. On the other, Vaclav Havel: one man. **Always powerful** -- with the power that belongs to every individual who dares to speak out. **Always free** -- with the freedom that comes from "living in truth." **First, one man. And now -- millions.** //

Vaclav Havel never stopped believing in what he called this "unbelievable thought:" "that any one of us can shake the Earth." // Shake the Earth, Mr. President, and part the Iron Curtain. Shake the Earth -- and knock down the Berlin Wall.

That was the Revolution of '89. Our task now in the 1990s is to move forward -- from Revolution to Renaissance. Towards a new Europe -- in which each nation and every culture can flourish and breathe free. ///

President Havel, Czechoslovakia has turned to you to lead the way. And what better choice: for a nation that each day writes a new page in its history -- to elect a playwright as its President. //

I am pleased that we have had this opportunity to meet. To speak together about the changes taking place from Prague to Moscow -- and about Czechoslovakia's place in the heartland of the new Europe now emerging.

We know there is no room for illusions. Difficult work lies ahead. The damage of four decades of fear and repression cannot be repaired in a day. But we know something more: we know that

the people of Czechoslovakia have waited long enough. They know it's time to move forward, to freedom. //

Time to hold free elections -- to build the institutions of free government, in Czechoslovakia -- and across Eastern Europe. Time to begin reducing the level of arms -- strategic, chemical and conventional -- that threaten Europe and the world. Time to move toward the day when peace, freedom and prosperity unite all of Europe, East and West.

And Mr. President, rest assured: the United States will do its part to work with your nation towards the birth of this new Europe.

Mr. President, everything I've seen this past year tells me that we can meet this challenge. As you said in your first address as President on New Year's Day -- so many times we've heard politics defined as the art of the possible. This past year has taught us something new -- something more. It taught us -- as you put it -- that politics can be the art of the impossible.

Once again, President Havel, it has been my privilege to welcome you to Washington, and to the White House. God bless you, God bless the United States of America -- and may God bless the Republic of Czechoslovakia.

# # #

# WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 02/13/90 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: NOON 02/15/90

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: DEPARTURE STATE FOR PRESIDENT HAVEL/  
(02/13 5:30 p.m. draft) CZECHOSLOVAKIA

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	NEWMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BATES	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMAYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	ROGERS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
CICCONI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	PINKERTON	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	WINSTON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HAGIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

**REMARKS:**

Please provide any comments/recommendations directly to Chriss Winston by Noon on Thursday, 02/15, with a copy to my office. Thanks.

**RESPONSE:**

*N/C 2/14/90*

**James W. Cicconi**  
 Assistant to the President  
 and Deputy to the Chief of Staff  
 Ext. 2702

# WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 02/13/90 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: NOON 02/15/90

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	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
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SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	NEWMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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DARMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BATES	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMEYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<u>ROGERS</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
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FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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**REMARKS:**

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**RESPONSE:**

*All comments*  
*[Signature]*

90 FEB 15 11:22

**James W. Cicconi**  
Assistant to the President  
and Deputy to the Chief of Staff  
Ext. 2702

1990 FEB 13 PM 5:41

McGroarty/Dooley  
February 13, 1990  
5:30 pm  
[HAVEL]

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PRESIDENT VACLAV HAVEL OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA  
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[[Of course, it is possible to measure profound change in more personal terms. For years, as a dissident -- subject to arrest and imprisonment at any time -- you could never go out without your toothbrush in your pocket. Now, as President, you can never go out without a necktie. //]]

Many years ago, you made a choice. You chose to live your life in keeping with your conscience. // Not for others, but for yourself -- but others drew strength from the life you led.

Your life was a tribute to the difference **one man** can make.  
*Powerful proof*  
~~Proof of the power of the democratic idea.~~ // On the one side  
 stood the State, with its prisons and secret police. *always*  
 On the other, Vaclav Havel: *-- alone -- but with the strength of his conviction*  
 one man. ~~Always powerful~~ -- with the power  
~~that belongs to every individual who dares to speak out.~~ **Always**  
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# # #

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

February 20, 1990

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT  
AND PRESIDENT HAVEL OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA  
UPON DEPARTURE

February 20, 1990

The Diplomatic Entrance

1:35 P.M. EST

THE PRESIDENT: Well, welcome to everybody. And it's been my great pleasure to welcome to the White House a man of tremendous moral courage, one of the heroes of the Revolution of '89 the President of Czechoslovakia Vaclav Havel.

Mr. President, your life has been one of miraculous transformations from the world of drama to the world of dissent; from the life of the artist to the life of the activist. And, of course, in the space of just one short year the most miraculous journey of all -- from prison to the presidency. And, of course, it's possible to measure profound change in more personal terms. For years, as a dissident subject to arrest and imprisonment at any time, you can never go out without your toothbrush in your pocket. But now, as President, you can never go out without one of these neckties.

And many years ago you made a choice. You chose to live your life in keeping with your conscience, not for others but for yourself. But others drew strength from the life you lead, and your life was a tribute to the difference one man can make, powerful proof of the democratic idea. On the one side stood the state with its prisons and secret police; and on the other, Vaclav Havel, one man alone but with the strength of his convictions. Always free with the freedom that comes from living in truth. First one man and now millions.

President Havel never stopped believing in what he called this unbelievable thought that any one of us can shake the Earth. Shake the Earth, Mr. President, and part the Iron Curtain. Shake the Earth and knock down the Berlin Wall. Shake the Earth and set in motion a process of change from Budapest to Bucharest, from Warsaw to Wenceslas Square.

And that was the Revolution of '89, and our task now in the 1990s is to move forward, from revolution to renaissance, towards a new Europe in which each nation and every culture can flourish and breathe free. A Europe whole and free.

President Havel, Czechoslovakia has turned to you to lead the way. And is it not fitting for a nation that each day writes a new page in its history, to have elected a playwright as its President?

And I am pleased that we've had this opportunity to meet, to speak together about the changes that are taking place from Prague to Moscow, and about Czechoslovakia's place in the heartland of the new Europe now emerging.

We know there is no room for illusions. Difficult work lies ahead. The damage of four decades of fear and repression cannot be repaired in a day. But we know something more. We know that the people of Czechoslovakia have waited long enough and they know it's

MORE

time to move forward to freedom.

Czechoslovakia and Europe are at the threshold of a new era. And I know I can speak for all Western leaders when I say that the Atlantic Alliance will continue to play a vital role in assuring stability and security in Europe at this great and historic moment. And America will continue to play its part, including a strong military presence for our security and for Europe's.

Mr. President, you've not asked for American aid -- economic aid -- and you made it clear that democratic Czechoslovakia wants the opportunity to do business on an equal footing. And in that regard, I am pleased to announce that I signed today letters notifying our Congress that I am waiving the Jackson-Vanik Amendment for Czechoslovakia.

Today our trade representatives began negotiating a trade agreement. Pending passage by your Parliament of new liberal emigration legislation, these measures will permit us to extend the Most Favored Nation status to Czechoslovakia without the requirement of an annual waiver, granting your country the most liberal access to the American market possible under United States law.

Mr. President, you've also explained the enormous tasks that you face in rebuilding a democracy on the ruins of the one-party state that you inherited. And you've identified several areas where help is needed and we are ready to respond.

Let me just mention two specifics. First, in response to your request, I am asking Peace Corps Director Paul Coverdell to take the initial steps to bring the Peace Corps to Czechoslovakia by this fall. And second, I am delighted that we will soon reopen our Consulate in Bratislava, as well as new cultural centers there and in Prague.

Mr. President, I assure you the United States will be part of your nation's democratic rebirth. Everything I've seen this past year tells me that Czechoslovakia can meet the challenges ahead. And as you've said in your first address as President on New Year's Day, so many times we've heard politics defined as the art of the possible; and this year has taught us something new, something more -- it taught us, as you put it, that politics can be the art of the impossible.

Mr. President, before you leave us today, I would like to present you with a lithograph of your illustrious predecessor, Czechoslovakia's first President and author of your nation's Declaration of Independence, Thomas Masaryk. This portrait was done in Prague Castle and kept by President Masaryk until his death, when he gave it to his successor at Charles University's Department of Philosophy, President Jan Kozak.

In 1939, at the time of the Nazi invasion, Professor Kozak had two hours to pack his belongings and to flee Czechoslovakia. Among the items he took with him, this portrait of his friend. Professor Kozak settled in Ohio at Oberlin College and so did this portrait, until today. And now, with freedom returning to Czechoslovakia, so, too, should this portrait of President Masaryk, Czechoslovakia's first President and champion of freedom.

Once again, Mr. President, it has been my privilege to welcome you to Washington and to the White House. And God bless you and may God bless the people of Czechoslovakia. We are pleased to have you here. (Applause.)

PRESIDENT HAVEL: Mr. President, I am very moved by your speech. I thank you very much for this drawing. I promise you it will be very soon back in our castle. We had with Mr. Bush very important negotiations. We had very warm, very open, very friendly discussions. I am very glad that I had the opportunity to be here to

explain what happened in Czechoslovakia, to explain our viewpoint, our policy. And thank you very much that we could be here. Thank you for the invitation. And, of course, I invite you to us in Prague in Czechoslovakia. And you will see this nice drawing in my office on Prague Castle.

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you, sir. Godspeed. (Applause.)

END

1:45 P.M. EST