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OA/ID Number: 13548
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Folder Title:
Wenceslas Square Speech 1 1/17/90 [OA 6027]

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 14, 1990

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: CHRISS WINSTON *CW*
FROM: BETH HINCHLIFFE *BH*
SUBJECT: SPEECH IN WENCESLAS SQUARE

I. SUMMARY

On Saturday, November 17, 1990 -- the first anniversary of the start of Czechoslovakia's "Velvet Revolution" -- you will be addressing a gathering in Prague's Wenceslas Square. Since the anniversary is so momentous, and since this is the site of the revolution's beginnings, and the heart of the city, the crowd could reach 100,000-200,000 people. Both Dubcek and Havel will be there.

II. DISCUSSION

Since you will have previously outlined policy initiatives in your address to the Czechoslovakian Federal Assembly, this anniversary celebration will give you the opportunity to talk directly to the people of Czechoslovakia. The atmosphere in the square is expected to be emotionally charged, and could be quite dramatic.

In consideration of that, the attached remarks (10 minutes) focus on the special relationship between the United States and Czechoslovakia. In addition, they pay tribute to the pride and determination of the Czech and Slovak peoples, and to the independence they have won.

Then the remarks discuss the New World of freedom and your call for a global partnership of nations. They conclude with your announcement of two gifts. First: that the United States will be returning to the people of Czechoslovakia their Declaration of Independence. Second: your presentation of a replica of our Liberty Bell.

(Hinchliffe/Grossman)
November 15, 1990 5 p.m.
CZECH.SQ

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

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

What a powerfully moving sight. There are no leaves on the trees -- and yet it is Prague spring. \\ There are no flowers in bloom -- and yet it is Prague spring. \\ The calendar says Nov. 17 -- and yet it is Prague spring. \\\

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

I'm here on a pilgrimage. One that began seven decades ago with an unprecedented partnership between two presidents: \\ the philosopher who liberated Czechoslovakia politically and intellectually, Tomas Masaryk -- and the idealistic scholar who led the United States through World War I -- Woodrow Wilson. It was a long, hard road from their work on your Declaration of Independence to this 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. We share a dream. A dream that burns bright in the torch held by our Statue of Liberty. A dream reflected in the soft shadows cast by

candles in this square. And we share 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 am here today. We have not forgotten. \\\

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

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

I just came here from your great St. Vitus Cathedral. When I see this extraordinary mosaic of melted wax in front of me -- I find myself thinking of what happens at the Cathedral's Easter midnight service. The priest brings a candle from the altar into the unbroken darkness. Then he passes the flame to each worshipper's own individual candle. Soon the church is ablaze with flickering lights that shine together heralding the resurrection. You -- the proud Czech and Slovak people -- you are that candle. And your dreams are the candlelight the dispels the darkness. \\\

For nothing could stop a dream "whose time has come." A year ago, the world saw you face down totalitarianism. We saw

the peaceful crowd swell day by day in numbers and in resolve. We saw the few candles grow into a blaze. We saw this square become a beacon of hope for an entire nation. We listened as the words of your leader became what Kafka called, "the axe for the frozen sea" inside you. As this square gave birth to your era of freedom, we rejoiced as if the victory were our own. \\

A victory that owes its heart to two heroes who honor us by their presence. Alexander Dubcek. Twenty-two 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 President Havel. My friend. A man of warmth, compassion, wisdom, and tremendous moral courage. In the dark years, on one side stood the state. On the other -- Havel. \\ On one side, the trappings of tyranny. On the other -- this man of vision. \\ On one side, a cold jail. On the other -- this man who even in prison was free -- with the freedom that comes from living in truth. \\ Among the first was this man. Now there are millions.

For yours was the light that led us out of the chill winter of the Cold War's darkness and sorrow -- to the brink of a Europe healed and whole. A Europe intrepid and free. We have seen a New World of freedom born amid shouts of joy and triumph. Born full of hope, barreling with confidence toward a new century. A New World born of a revolution that linked this square with others like Budapest's Kossuth [KO-shoot] Square, and the Gdansk Shipyards in Poland. A revolution that joined together people fueled by bravery, defiance, and humanity's essential quest for freedom.

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

Today, 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 the emergence of democracy 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 of freedom based on our shared principles -- and inspired by words which are as true today as they were when your great Comenius [koh-MAIN-ee-us] wrote them three centuries ago: "Let us have but one end in view, the welfare of humanity." \\\

A thousand miles to the south, this new commonwealth of freedom faces its first 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 there is no question that good will prevail. The

darkness in the desert sky cannot stand against the way of light.

Earlier, 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, we know you'll draw on your moral strengths; your traditions; your courage; your indomitable spirit. \\ And know one more thing. America will not fail you in this decisive moment. America will stand with you.\\

I look forward to working with President Havel, and with all Czechs and Slovaks, as we're finally able to 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 -- shared by Masaryk and Wilson -- has been preserved and cherished in our Library of Congress. I say: It is time for Masaryk's words to come home. \\ As humanity, liberty and independence 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 that, before St. Nicholas' moonlight procession on the Charles Bridge welcomes the Christmas season: your original Declaration of Independence will have returned home \\ May it be for future generations a reminder of the ties that bind our nations -- and the principles that bind all humanity.\\

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

years symbolized our nation's deepest dedication to freedom.

Dedication like your own.

Inscribed on it 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. 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, think of this Bell, and know that all bells are tolling for your precious liberty -- now and forever.

God Bless Czechoslovakia!

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

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

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

What a powerfully moving sight. There are no leaves on the trees -- and yet it is Prague spring. There are no flowers in bloom -- and yet it is Prague spring. The calendar says November 17 -- and that's proof that it is Prague spring.

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

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

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

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

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

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

For nothing could stop a dream "whose time has come." As I stand here in this sacred spot I am taken back a year to the 50th anniversary of November 17. I can almost see the thousands of people in the cold -- facing police on a night of fury unleashed

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

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

We rejoiced that our Czech and Slovak brothers and sisters had, at long last, the most essential freedom of all. The freedom to dream. You inherited a legacy rich in vision. A legacy you ennobled by your own gentle revolution. A legacy embodied by two legendary heroes who honor us by their presence.

Alexander Dubcek -- 22 years ago he led this nation in its first sweet taste of liberty. Through the dark years he inspired its spiritual and moral resistance. His is the will of steel and the heart of love that are the living Czechoslovakia.

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

prison was free -- with the freedom that comes from living in truth. On this side was this man. Now there are millions.

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

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

The world marvels with you at the start of this New World -- a wonderfully optimistic phrase coined first by your own brilliant composer, Dvorak. We have seen this New World born amid shouts of joy and triumph. Born full of hope, barreling with confidence toward a new century. In Poland it took about 10 years. In Hungary, 10 months. East Germany, 10 weeks. Here: 10 days. Ten days that shook your world. And ours.

A New World born of a revolution that linked this town square with others like Budapest's Kossuth Square, and xxx Square in Gdansk. A revolution that linked people fueled by bravery, defiance, and by humanity's essential quest for freedom.

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

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

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

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

We know that Czechoslovakia was one of the first nations to endorse sanctions. We know how hard this has hit your economy. And we want you to know how your example inspires the rest of the world. You show that aggression against another member of the international community -- be it next door or across the world -- is everyone's business. When I thought back to this square a year ago, I recalled the image of many of you pulling on a rope. Today, all nations must pull together on the rope of survival.

Earlier, I told your Parliament we know this is a difficult time. As you undertake political and economic reform, we know

you will draw on your strong industrial tradition -- your courage -- your strength -- and your indomitable spirit. But I want you to know one more thing. You can also always draw on us.

For our countries share a past. We share a vision. We share a dream. A dream that became the torch held by our Statue of Liberty. A dream that is reflected in the soft shadows of candles in this square. And above all, we share friendship. A friendship described by Masaryk to American soldiers here 70 years ago. He said: "Do not forget that the same ideals, the same principles ever unite us. Do not forget us, as we shall never forget you."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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"Old Glory" snapping in the breeze, we think of you. Whenever we hear the words of "The Star-Spangled Banner," we think of you. Whenever we enjoy the boundless opportunities of a free country, we think of you. \\\ Year after year, on this special day, no doubt each of you has given thanks for your country. This year, your country gives thanks for you. \\\

And so I would ask at this moment -- of all who are here, of all who can hear my voice, of all faiths and all walks of life -- today is Thanksgiving -- and please join with us now as we bow our heads in a brief moment of silent prayer. \\\

[[PAUSE]]

This has been an unforgettable visit. Not an hour will pass that you will not be on my mind. And just remember, you may be out of America's sight, but you will never be out of America's heart. And so we leave you -- with a lump in our throats -- and a prayer on our lips. God bless you and watch over you. And God bless the United States of America.

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To send to
Chriss
Winston

Document No. 190233SS

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

90 OCT 14 All: 59

DATE: 11/13/90 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 11/14/90 3:00 PM

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: WENCESLAUS SQUARE, PRAGUE

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REMARKS:

Please forward any comments directly to Chriss Winston, Rm. 122, x2930, no later than 3:00 PM, Wednesday, November 14. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

Chriss
I like alot.

Susan Porter Rose
11/14/90
11:15am

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

90 NOV 13 PM 1:54

(Hinchliffe/Grossman)
November 12, 1990 2 p.m.
PRAGUE

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

And the world will never forget what happened here. Wenceslas Square still reverberates with all the emotions your nation has felt for generations. The days of anguish. The days of hope. For so many years you came here bearing candles against the dark night, answering Comenius' call to follow "the way of light." Those brave flames came to symbolize your fiercely burning national pride. When I finally arrived in this square today, the first thing I looked for was the candle wax. Mounds of it, from the thousands of candles left here over the years.

Then I saw that church, Mary of the Snow, overlooking the square. And I thought of what happens at its Easter midnight service. The priest brings a candle from the altar into the unbroken darkness. Then he passes the flame to each worshipper's own individual candle. Soon the church is ablaze with flickering lights that shine together to defeat the dark and to herald the resurrection. You -- the proud Czech and Slovak people -- you are that candle. The light of your vision has redeemed you from darkness. And that light is now spreading through the world.

For nothing could stop a dream "whose time has come." A year ago the world saw you face barbaric totalitarianism. We saw the miraculously peaceful crowd swell day by day in numbers and in

resolve. We saw the few candles grow into a blaze. We saw this square burst into life with the explosion of dreams too long deferred. We listened as the words of your leader became "the axe for the frozen sea inside you." As this square gave birth to your "era of freedom," we rejoiced as if it the victory were our own.

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

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

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

Yours was the light that led us out of the chill winter of the Cold War's darkness and sorrow - and to the brink of a Europe healed and whole. A Europe intrepid and free. We have seen a New World of freedom born amid shouts of joy and triumph. Born full of hope, barreling with confidence toward a new century. In Pol-

and it took 10 years. In Hungary, 10 months. East Germany, 10 weeks. Here, 10 days. Ten days that shook your world. And ours.

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

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

And now you are at the threshold of a new era. But you do not stand there alone. For four decades, our two nations stood across the divide between East and West. Two peoples united in spirit -- cut off by conflict. Today we stand together, united once more in our devotion to the democratic ideal. Now, with the division of Europe ending, and the emergence of democracy in the east, the challenge is to move forward. In Czechoslovakia: from revolution to renaissance. Across this continent: toward a new Europe, in which each nation and every culture can flourish and breathe free. On both sides of the ocean: toward a new Atlantic partnership based on our shared heritage and common values.

A partnership inspired by words which are as true today as they were when your great Comenius wrote them 3 centuries ago: "Let us have but one end in view, the welfare of humanity." If there is one thought I want you to take from this historic afternoon, it is that we must look beyond our own borders, to true global partnership. The situation in the Gulf teaches us

this harsh lesson. We know that Czechoslovakia was one of the first nations to endorse sanctions. We know how hard this has hit your economy. And we want you to know how your example inspires the rest of the world. You show that aggression against another member of the international community -- be it next door or across the world -- is everyone's business. You show that all peoples must defend the oppressed as they throw off the yoke of tyranny which no man has the right to impose on another.

Earlier, I told your Parliament we know this is a difficult time. As you undertake political and economic reform, we know you will draw on your strong industrial tradition -- your courage -- your strength -- and your indomitable spirit. But I want you to know one more thing. You also have our pledge of friendship.

I look forward to working with Václav Havel, and all of you, as we are finally able to continue along the road mapped out by our presidents more than 70 years ago. A road whose destination was described by Woodrow Wilson as: "A universal dominion of right by ... free peoples (to) bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself at last free."

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

President Havel, on behalf of the people of the United States of America, I have a very special gift for the people of Czechos-

lovakia. I am honored to announce that we will return to you your original Declaration of Independence. May it be for future generations a reminder of the ties that bind our nations -- and the principles that bind all humanity. God Bless Czechoslovakia!

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90 OCT 14 10:28 **WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM**

DATE: 11/13/90 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 11/14/90 3:00 PM

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: WENCESLAUS SQUARE, PRAGUE

| | ACTION FYI | | | ACTION FYI | |
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| VICE PRESIDENT | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | MCCLURE | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
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| GRAY | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <u>PORTER ROSE</u> | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
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| HOLIDAY | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <u> </u> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

REMARKS:

Please forward any comments directly to Chriss Winston, Rm. 122, x2930, no later than 3:00 PM, Wednesday, November 14. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

See comments
JS

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

90 NOV 13 PM 1:54

(Hinchliffe/Grossman)
November 12, 1990 2 p.m.
PRAGUE

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

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

What a powerfully moving sight. There are no leaves on the trees -- and yet it is Prague spring. There are no flowers in bloom -- and yet it is Prague spring. The calendar says November 17 -- and yet it is Prague spring. As ~~your legendary Tomas Masaryk wrote in your Declaration of Independence:~~ "The forces of darkness have served the victory of light. The longed-for age of humanity is dawning." ^{Only words when written 70 years ago. But today} ^{can bear witness!} ~~^ Together, the freedom-loving people of the world say to you: we rejoice that this age of humanity has now finally -- and truly -- dawned for this splendid nation.~~

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

For our countries share ^{history:} ~~a past.~~ We share a vision. We share a dream. A dream that ^{burns bright in} ~~became~~ the torch held by our Statue of Liberty. A dream that is reflected in the soft shadows cast by

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

That is why I am here today. We ^{have not forgotten.} will never forget you.

And the world will never forget what happened here. Wenceslas Square still ^{echos} reverberates with ~~all~~ the emotions your nation has felt for generations. The days of anguish. The days of hope. For so many years you came here bearing candles against the dark night, answering Comenius' call to follow "the way of light." Those brave flames came to symbolize your fiercely burning national pride. When I finally arrived in this square today, the first thing I looked for was the candle wax. Mounds of it, from the thousands of candles left here over the years.

Then I saw that church, Mary of the Snow, overlooking the square. And I thought of what happens at its Easter midnight service. The priest brings a candle from the altar into the unbroken darkness. Then he passes the flame to each worshipper's own individual candle. Soon the church is ablaze with flickering lights that shine together ~~to defeat the dark and to herald~~ ^{us} the resurrection. You -- the proud Czech and Slovak people -- you ^{you're the candle light that shatters the darkness} are that candle. ~~The light of your vision has redeemed you from darkness. And that light is now spreading through the world.~~

For nothing could stop a dream "whose time has come." A year ago the world saw you face ^{down} barbaric totalitarianism. We saw the ~~miraculously~~ peaceful crowd swell day by day in numbers and in

resolve. We saw the few candles grow into a blaze. We saw this square ^{become the beacon of hope for an entire nation.} ~~burst into life with the explosion of dreams too long deferred.~~ We listened as the words of your leader became "the axe for the frozen sea inside you." As this square gave birth to your "era of freedom," we rejoiced as if it the victory were our own.

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

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

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

~~Yours was the light that led us out of the chill winter of the Cold War's darkness and sorrow - and to the brink of a Europe healed and whole.~~ ^{A new Czechoslovakia.} ^A ^{new} Europe-intrepid and free. ^{And} We have seen a New World of freedom born amid shouts of joy and triumph. Born full of hope, barreling with confidence toward a new century. In Pol-

and it took 10 years. In Hungary, 10 months. East Germany, 10 weeks. Here, 10 days. Ten days that shook your world. And ours.

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

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

And now you are at the threshold of a new era. But you do not stand there alone. For four decades, our two nations stood across the divide between East and West. Two peoples united in spirit -- cut off by conflict. Today we stand together, united once more in our devotion to the democratic ideal. Now, with the division of Europe ending, and the emergence of democracy in the east, the challenge is to move forward. In Czechoslovakia: from revolution to renaissance. Across this continent: toward a new Europe, in which each nation and every culture can flourish and breathe free. On both sides of the ocean: toward a new Atlantic partnership based on our shared heritage and common values.

A partnership inspired by words which are as true today as they were when your great Comenius wrote them 3 centuries ago: "Let us have but one end in view, the welfare of humanity." If there is one thought I want you to take from this historic afternoon, it is that we must look beyond our own borders, to true global partnership. ~~The situation in the Gulf teaches us~~

¶ A thousand miles to the south, this ^{infant} ~~infant~~ partnership faces its first test. A test harsh with sacrifice. A test hard on the people of Czechoslovakia.

lovakia. I am honored to announce that we will return to you your original Declaration of Independence. May it be for future generations a reminder of the ties that bind our nations -- and the principles that bind all humanity. God Bless Czechoslovakia!

#

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

90 OCT 14 4 59: 46

DATE: 11/13/90 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 11/14/90 3:00 PM

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: WENCESLAUS SQUARE, PRAGUE

| | 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 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 checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | ROGIC | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| CARD | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | UNTERMAYER | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| CICCONI | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | ROGERS | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input checked="" 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"/> | PINKERTON | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| GRAY | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | PORTER ROSE | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| HAGIN | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| HOLIDAY | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

REMARKS:

Please forward any comments directly to Chriss Winston, Rm. 122, x2930, no later than 3:00 PM, Wednesday, November 14. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

As I understand, we do not have
 Declaration to present.
 Also — we need some line
 in Czech, for POTUS to
 deliver, a la "Ich bin Berliner"
 Further, David and I
 discussed Liberty Bell
 concept.

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

(S.R.)

90 NOV 13 PM 1:54

(Hinchliffe/Grossman)
November 12, 1990 2 p.m.
PRAGUE

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

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

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Then I saw that church, Mary of the Snow, overlooking the square. And I thought of what happens at its Easter midnight service. The priest brings a candle from the altar into the unbroken darkness. Then he passes the flame to each worshipper's own individual candle. *And* Soon the church is ablaze with flickering lights that shine together to defeat the dark and to herald the resurrection. You -- the proud Czech and Slovak people -- you are that candle. The light of your vision has redeemed you from darkness. And that light is now spreading through the world.

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

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A partnership inspired by words which are as true today as they were when your great Comenius wrote them 3 centuries ago: "Let us have but one end in view, the welfare of humanity." If there is one thought I want you to take from this historic afternoon, it is that we must look beyond our own borders, to true global partnership. The situation in the Gulf teaches us

this harsh lesson. We know that Czechoslovakia was one of the first nations to endorse sanctions. We know how hard this has hit your economy. And we want you to know how your example inspires the rest of the world. You show that aggression against another member of the international community -- be it next door or across the world -- is everyone's business. You show that all peoples must defend the oppressed as they throw off the yoke of tyranny which no man has the right to impose on another.

Earlier, I told your Parliament we know this is a difficult time. As you undertake political and economic reform, we know you will draw on your strong industrial tradition -- your courage -- your strength -- and your indomitable spirit. But I want you to know one more thing. You also have our pledge of friendship.

I look forward to working with Václav Havel, and all of you, as we are finally able to continue along the road mapped out by our presidents more than 70 years ago. A road whose destination was described by Woodrow Wilson as: "A universal dominion of right by ... free peoples (to) bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself at last free."

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

President Havel, on behalf of the people of the United States of America, I have a very special gift for the people of Czechos-

lovakia. I am honored to announce that we will return to you your original Declaration of Independence. May it be for future generations a reminder of the ties that bind our nations -- and the principles that bind all humanity. God Bless Czechoslovakia!

#

Document No. 190233SS

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 11/13/90

ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 11/14/90 3:00 PM

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: WENCESLAUS SQUARE, PRAGUE

| | ACTION FYI | | | ACTION FYI | |
|----------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| VICE PRESIDENT | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | MCCLURE | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| SUNUNU | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input 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 checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | ROGICH | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| CARD | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | UNTERMAYER | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| CICCONI | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <u>ROGERS</u> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
| DEMAREST | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <u>WINSTON</u> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
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| HOLIDAY | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <u> </u> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

REMARKS:

Please forward any comments directly to Chriss Winston, Rm. 122, x2930, no later than 3:00 PM, Wednesday, November 14. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

No Comment 11/14/90
25:57 11 OCT 14 P 3:57

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

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

90 OCT 14 P 3: 13

DATE: 11/13/90 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 11/14/90 3:00 PM

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: WENCESLAUS SQUARE, PRAGUE

| | ACTION FYI | | | ACTION FYI | |
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| VICE PRESIDENT | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | MCCLURE | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| SUNUNU | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | NEWMAN | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
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REMARKS:

Please forward any comments directly to **Chriss Winston**, Rm. 122, x2930, no later than 3:00 PM, Wednesday, November 14. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

NO COMMENTS. THANKS.

HOLLY WILLIAMSON *HW*
11-14-90

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

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

30 OCT 14 P2:59

DATE: 11/13/90 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 11/14/90 3:00 PM

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: WENCESLAUS SQUARE, PRAGUE

| | 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 type="checkbox"/> | NEWMAN | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
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| CARD | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | UNTERMAYER | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
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| GRAY | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <u>PORTER ROSE</u> | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
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| HOLIDAY | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <u> </u> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

REMARKS:

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RESPONSE: *No comment*

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

90 NOV 13 PM 1:54

(Hinchliffe/Grossman)
November 12, 1990 2 p.m.
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And now you are at the threshold of a new era. But you do not stand there alone. For four decades, our two nations stood across the divide between East and West. Two peoples united in spirit -- cut off by conflict. Today we stand together, united once more in our devotion to the democratic ideal. Now, with the division of Europe ending, and the emergence of democracy in the east, the challenge is to move forward. In Czechoslovakia: from revolution to renaissance. Across this continent: toward a new Europe, in which each nation and every culture can flourish and breathe free. On both sides of the ocean: toward a new Atlantic partnership based on our shared heritage and common values.

A partnership inspired by words which are as true today as they were when your great Comenius wrote them 3 centuries ago: "Let us have but one end in view, the welfare of humanity." If there is one thought I want you to take from this historic afternoon, it is that we must look beyond our own borders, to true global partnership. The situation in the Gulf teaches us

this harsh lesson. We know that Czechoslovakia was one of the first nations to endorse sanctions. We know how hard this has hit your economy. And we want you to know how your example inspires the rest of the world. You show that aggression against another member of the international community -- be it next door or across the world -- is everyone's business. You show that all peoples must defend the oppressed as they throw off the yoke of tyranny which no man has the right to impose on another.

Earlier, I told your Parliament we know this is a difficult time. As you undertake political and economic reform, we know you will draw on your strong industrial tradition -- your courage -- your strength -- and your indomitable spirit. But I want you to know one more thing. You also have our pledge of friendship.

I look forward to working with Václav Havel, and all of you, as we are finally able to continue along the road mapped out by our presidents more than 70 years ago. A road whose destination was described by Woodrow Wilson as: "A universal dominion of right by ... free peoples (to) bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself at last free."

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

President Havel, on behalf of the people of the United States of America, I have a very special gift for the people of Czechos-

lovakia. I am honored to announce that we will return to you your original Declaration of Independence. May it be for future generations a reminder of the ties that bind our nations -- and the principles that bind all humanity. God Bless Czechoslovakia!

#

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

90 OCT 13 P3:24

DATE: 11/13/90 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 11/14/90 3:00 PM

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: WENCESLAUS SQUARE, PRAGUE

| | 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 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 <i>n/c</i> | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | ROGICH | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| CARD | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | UNTERMAYER | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| CICCONI | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | ROGERS | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input checked="" 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"/> | PINKERTON | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| GRAY | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | PORTER ROSE | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| HAGIN | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| HOLIDAY <i>n/c</i> | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

REMARKS:

Please forward any comments directly to Chriss Winston, Rm. 122, x2930, no later than 3:00 PM, Wednesday, November 14. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

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

90 NOV 13 PM 1:54

(Hinchliffe/Grossman)
November 12, 1990 2 p.m.
PRAGUE

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

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

What a powerfully moving sight. There are no leaves on the trees -- and yet it is Prague spring. There are no flowers in bloom -- and yet it is Prague spring. The calendar says November 17 -- and yet it is Prague spring. ~~As your legendary Tomas Masaryk wrote in your Declaration of Independence:~~ "The forces of darkness have served the victory of light. The longed-for age of humanity is dawning." ^{only words written 70 yrs ago. But today can bear witness:} Together, the freedom-loving people of the world ~~say to you:~~ we rejoice that this age of humanity has now finally -- and truly -- dawned for this splendid nation.

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

For our countries share ^{history.} a ~~past.~~ We share a vision. We share a dream. A dream that ^{burns bright is} ~~became~~ the torch held by our Statue of Liberty. A dream that is reflected in the soft shadows cast by

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

That is why I am here today. We will never forget you. ^{have not forgotten}

And the world will never forget what happened here. Wenceslas Square still ^{echos} reverberates with ~~all~~ the emotions your nation has felt for generations. The days of anguish. The days of hope. ^{So many times} ~~For so many years~~ you came here bearing candles against the dark night, answering Comenius' call to follow "the way of light."

Those brave flames came to symbolize your fiercely burning national pride. When I finally arrived in this square today, the first thing I looked for was the candle wax. Mounds of it, from the thousands of candles left here over ^{time} ~~the years~~.

Then I saw that church, ^{Our Lady on the Snow, not far from} ~~Mary of the Snow,~~ overlooking the square. And I thought of what happens at its Easter midnight service. The priest brings a candle from the altar into the unbroken darkness. Then he passes the flame to each worshipper's own individual candle. Soon the church is ablaze with flickering lights that shine together ~~to defeat the dark and to herald~~ ^{ing} the resurrection. You -- the proud Czech and Slovak people -- you are that candle. ^{Your dreams the candlelight that shatters the} ~~The light of your vision has redeemed you from~~ ^{ing} ~~darkness.~~ ^{ness.} And that light is now spreading through the world.

For nothing could stop a dream "whose time has come." A year ago the world saw you face ^{down} ~~barbaric~~ totalitarianism. We saw the ~~miraculously~~ peaceful crowd swell day by day in numbers and in

resolve. We saw the few candles grow into a blaze. We saw this ^{become the beacon of hope for an entire nation.} square burst into life with the explosion of dreams too long deferred. We listened as the words of your leader became "the axe for the frozen sea inside you." ^{US} As this square gave birth to your "era of freedom," we rejoiced as if it the victory were our own.

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

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

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

~~Yours was the light that led us~~ ^{out} out of the chill winter of the Cold War's darkness and sorrow - and to the brink of a Europe healed and whole. ^{A new Czechoslovakia.} ^{new} Europe intrepid and free. ^{And} ~~we have seen~~ a New World of freedom born amid shouts of joy and triumph. Born full of hope, barreling with confidence toward a new century. In Pol-

and it took 10 years. In Hungary, 10 months. East Germany, 10 weeks. Here, 10 days. Ten days that shook your world. And ours.

A New World born of a revolution that linked this ^{square} place with places like Budapest's Kossuth ^[COE-shoot] Square, and the Gdansk Shipyards in Poland. A revolution ~~that joined together people~~ fueled by bravery, defiance, and by humanity's essential quest for freedom.

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

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A partnership inspired by words which are as true today as they were when your great Comenius wrote them 3 centuries ago: "Let us have but one end in view, the welfare of humanity." If there is one thought I want you to take from this historic afternoon, it is that we must look beyond our own borders, to true global partnership. ~~The situation in the Gulf teaches us~~

A thousand miles to the South, this infant partnership faces its first test. A test harsh with sacrifice. A test hard on people of Czechoslovakia.

~~this harsh lesson.~~ We know that Czechoslovakia was one of the first nations to endorse sanctions. We know how hard this has hit your economy. And we want you to know how your example inspires the rest of the world. You show that aggression against another member of the international community -- be it next door or across the world -- is everyone's business. You show that all peoples must defend the oppressed as they throw off the yoke of tyranny which no man has the right to impose on another.

Earlier, I told your Parliament we know this is a difficult time. ^{But it is also a time of extraordinary opportunity and} As you undertake political and economic reform, we know ^{many strengths:} ~~optimism~~ you will draw on your ~~strong~~ industrial tradition -- your courage -- ~~your strength~~ -- and your indomitable spirit. But I want you to know one more thing. You also have our pledge of friendship.

I look forward to ~~working with~~ ^{walking that road} Vaclev Havel, and all of you, ~~as we~~ are finally able to continue along the road mapped out by our presidents more than 70 years ago. A road whose destination was described by Woodrow Wilson as: "A universal dominion of right by ... free peoples (to) bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself at last free."

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

President Havel, on behalf of the people of the United States of America, I have a very special gift for the people of Czechos-

lovakia. I am honored to announce that we will return to you your original Declaration of Independence. May it be for future generations a reminder of the ties that bind our nations -- and the principles that bind all humanity. God Bless Czechoslovakia!

#

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 11/13/90 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 11/14/90 3:00 PM

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: WENCESLAUS SQUARE, PRAGUE

| | 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 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 checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | ROGICH | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| CARD | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | UNTERMAYER | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| CICCONI | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | ROGERS | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input checked="" 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"/> | PINKERTON | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| GRAY | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | PORTER ROSE | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| HAGIN | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| HOLIDAY | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

REMARKS:

Please forward any comments directly to Chriss Winston, Rm. 122, x2930, no later than 3:00 PM, Wednesday, November 14. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

This speech is not as good as the Federal assembly speech. The two speeches need to be repetative in several places in order to emphasize our key pts. We should quote Havel he has written some great rhetoric. The first 4 pages of this speech don't say anything. This speech will bomb

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

90 NOV 13 PM 1:54

(Hinchliffe/Grossman)
November 12, 1990 2 p.m.
PRAGUE

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

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

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

Is this better? ↓ have never forgotten you?

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

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

And the world will never forget what happened here. Wenceslas Square still reverberates with all the emotions your nation has felt for generations. The days of anguish. The days of hope. For so many years you came here bearing candles against the dark night, answering Comenius' call to follow "the way of light." Those brave flames came to symbolize your fiercely burning national pride. When I finally arrived in this square today, the first thing I looked for was the candle wax. Mounds of it, from the thousands of candles left here over the years.

grief

Then I saw that church, Mary of the Snow, overlooking the square. And I thought of what happens at ~~its~~ ^{the} Easter midnight service. The priest brings a candle from the altar into the unbroken darkness. Then he passes the flame to each worshipper's own individual candle. Soon the church is ablaze with flickering lights that shine together to defeat the dark and to herald the resurrection. You -- the proud Czech and Slovak people -- you are that candle. The light of your vision has redeemed you from darkness. And that light is now spreading through the world.

*Amberwood
you are the candle?*

For nothing could stop a dream "whose time has come." A year ago the world saw you face barbaric totalitarianism. We saw the miraculously peaceful crowd swell day by day in numbers and in

Can be say this word

resolve. We saw the few candles grow into a blaze. We saw this square burst into life with the explosion of dreams too long deferred. We listened as the words of your leader became "the axe for the frozen sea inside you." As this square gave birth to your "era of freedom," we rejoiced as if it the victory were our own.

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??
I don't get it

ambivalent

whole and free

and it took 10 years. In Hungary, 10 months. East Germany, 10 weeks. Here, 10 days. Ten days that shook your world. And ours.

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And now you are at the threshold of a new era. But you do not stand there alone. For four decades, our two nations stood across the divide between East and West. Two peoples united in spirit -- cut off by conflict. Today we stand together, united once more in our devotion to the democratic ideal. Now, with the division of Europe ending, and the emergence of democracy in the east, the challenge is to move forward. In Czechoslovakia: from revolution to renaissance. Across this continent: toward a new Europe, in which each nation and every culture can flourish and breathe free. On both sides of the ocean: toward a new Atlantic partnership based on our shared heritage and common values.

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and!
33
Ambivalent

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WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 11/13/90 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 11/14/90 3:00 PM

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: WENCESLAUS SQUARE, PRAGUE

| | 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 type="checkbox"/> | NEWMAN | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
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| DARMAN | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | ROGICH | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| CARD | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | UNTERMAYER | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| CICCONI | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <u>ROGERS</u> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input checked="" 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"/> | <u>PINKERTON</u> | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| GRAY | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <u>PORTER ROSE</u> | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
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| HOLIDAY | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <u> </u> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

REMARKS:

Please forward any comments directly to Chriss Winston, Rm. 122, x2930, no later than 3:00 PM, Wednesday, November 14. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

The NSC Staff concurs, with changes as indicated.

Brent Scowcroft

90 OCT 14 8:45

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

90 NOV 13 PM 1:54

(Hinchliffe/Grossman)
November 12, 1990 2 p.m.
PRAGUE

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

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

It was a partnership among Czechs and Slovaks to join together in federation.

Cut for brevity

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

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[Then I saw that church, Mary of the Snow, overlooking the square. And I thought of what happens at its Easter midnight service. The priest brings a candle from the altar into the unbroken darkness. Then he passes the flame to each worshipper's own individual candle. Soon the church is ablaze with flickering lights that shine together to defeat the dark and to herald the resurrection. You -- the proud Czech and Slovak people^S_A -- you are that candle. The light of your vision has redeemed you from darkness.] And that light is now spreading through the world.

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Cut for brevity

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

~~steel and the heart of love that are the living Czechoslovakia~~
^{Compassion}
 And Vaclav Havel. ^{a (VATS-lav HAH-vel)} ~~(My friend.)~~ A man of warmth, ~~(Compassion)~~ wisdom, and tremendous moral courage. ~~He blesses the lives he~~

~~touches and the country he leads~~ [In the dark years, on one side stood the state. On the other -- ~~Vaclav~~ Havel. On one side, the trappings of tyranny. On the other -- this man of vision. On one side, the cold jail. On the other --] this man who even in prison was free -- with the freedom that comes from living in truth. First, there was this man. Now there are millions.

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

Yours was the light that led us out of the chill winter of the Cold War's darkness and sorrow - and to the brink of a Europe
~~healed and whole.~~ ^{and free} ~~A Europe intrepid and free.~~ We have seen a New World of freedom born amid shouts of joy and triumph. Born full of hope, barreling with confidence toward a new century. ~~[In Pot~~

Cut
for
brevity

~~and it took 10 years. In Hungary, 10 months. East Germany, 10 weeks. Here, 10 days. Ten days that shook your world. And ours.~~

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

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

And now you are at the threshold of a new era. But you do not stand there alone. For four decades, our two nations stood across the divide between East and West. Two peoples united in spirit -- cut off by conflict. Today we stand together, united once more in our devotion to the democratic ideal. Now, with the division of Europe ending, and the ^{ascendant} emergence of democracy 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 ocean: toward a new Atlantic partnership based on our shared heritage and common values.]~~

INSERT { A partnership inspired by words which are as true today as they were when your great Comenius wrote them 3 centuries ago:

~~"Let us have but one end in view, the welfare of humanity." If there is one thought I want you to take from this historic afternoon, it is that we must look beyond our own borders, to true global partnership. The situation in the Gulf teaches us~~

Martin

this harsh lesson. We know that Czechoslovakia was one of the first nations to endorse sanctions. We know how hard this has hit your economy. And we want you to know how your example inspires the rest of the world. You show that aggression against another member of the international community -- be it next door or across the world -- is everyone's business. You show that all peoples must defend the oppressed as they throw off the yoke of tyranny which no man has the right to impose on another.

Earlier, I told your Parliament we know this is a difficult time. As you undertake political and economic reform, we know you will draw on your strong industrial tradition -- your courage -- your strength -- and your indomitable spirit. But I want you ~~to know one more thing. You also have our pledge of friendship.~~

I look forward to working with ^{President} Vaclav Havel, and all of you, as we are finally able to continue along the road mapped out by our presidents more than 70 years ago. ~~[A road whose destination was described by Woodrow Wilson as: "A universal dominion of right by ... free peoples (to) bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself at last free."]~~

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

President Havel, on behalf of the people of the United States of America, ~~[I have a very special gift for the people of Czeches-~~

~~lovakia.]~~ I am honored to announce that we will return to you your original Declaration of Independence. May it be for future generations a reminder of the ties that bind our nations -- and the principles that bind all humanity. God Bless Czechoslovakia!

#

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

90 OCT 14 PM 12:16

November 13, 1990

Memorandum to Chriss Winston

From: Jim Pinkerton

Re: Wenceslaus Square draft

I think this is quite well-written; just a couple of comments.

On pg. 3, graf 3, is it correct to say that Dubcek led the Czechs to their "first " taste of liberty? What about Masaryk or any other liberator in Czech history?

At the top of page 4, I don't think we need to get into invidious comparisons about who got liberated the fastest. However, I do like the 10 Days that Shook the World line.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 14, 1990

MEMORANDUM FOR CHRISS WINSTON

FROM: ROGER B. PORTER *RB*

SUBJECT: Presidential Remarks: Wenceslaus Square, Prague

I have reviewed and concur with the Presidential remarks for Wenceslaus Square, November 17, 1990.

If you have any questions or we can help in any other way, please let me know.

90 OCT 14 P 7: 30

Attachment

cc: James W. Cicconi

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 11/13/90 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 11/14/90 3:00 PM

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: WENCESLAUS SQUARE, PRAGUE

| | 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 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 checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | ROGICH | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| CARD | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | UNTERMAYER | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| CICCONI | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <u>ROGERS</u> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input checked="" 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"/> | <u>PINKERTON</u> | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| GRAY | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <u>PORTER ROSE</u> | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| HAGIN | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <u> </u> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| HOLIDAY | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <u> </u> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

REMARKS:

Please forward any comments directly to Chriss Winston, Rm. 122, x2930, no later than 3:00 PM, Wednesday, November 14. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

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

90 NOV 13 PM 1:54

(Hinchliffe/Grossman)
November 12, 1990 2 p.m.
PRAGUE

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

And the world will never forget what happened here. Wenceslas Square still reverberates with all the emotions your nation has felt for generations. The days of anguish. The days of hope. For so many years you came here bearing candles against the dark night, answering Comenius' call to follow "the way of light." Those brave flames came to symbolize your fiercely burning national pride. When I finally arrived in this square today, the first thing I looked for was the candle wax. Mounds of it, from the thousands of candles left here over the years.

Then I saw that church, Mary of the Snow, overlooking the square. And I thought of what happens at its Easter midnight service. The priest brings a candle from the altar into the unbroken darkness. Then he passes the flame to each worshipper's own individual candle. Soon the church is ablaze with flickering lights that shine together to defeat the dark and to herald the resurrection. You -- the proud Czech and Slovak people -- you are that candle. The light of your vision has redeemed you from darkness. And that light is now spreading through the world.

For nothing could stop a dream "whose time has come." A year ago the world saw you face barbaric totalitarianism. We saw the miraculously peaceful crowd swell day by day in numbers and in

resolve. We saw the few candles grow into a blaze. We saw this square burst into life with the explosion of dreams too long deferred. We listened as the words of your leader became "the axe for the frozen sea inside you." As this square gave birth to your "era of freedom," we rejoiced as if it the victory were our own.

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

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

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

Yours was the light that led us out of the chill winter of the Cold War's darkness and sorrow - and to the brink of a Europe healed and whole. A Europe intrepid and free. We have seen a New World of freedom born amid shouts of joy and triumph. Born full of hope, barreling with confidence toward a new century. In Pol-

and it took 10 years. In Hungary, 10 months. East Germany, 10 weeks. Here, 10 days. Ten days that shook your world. And ours.

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

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

And now you are at the threshold of a new era. But you do not stand there alone. For four decades, our two nations stood across the divide between East and West. Two peoples united in spirit -- cut off by conflict. Today we stand together, united once more in our devotion to the democratic ideal. Now, with the division of Europe ending, and the emergence of democracy in the east, the challenge is to move forward. In Czechoslovakia: from revolution to renaissance. Across this continent: toward a new Europe, in which each nation and every culture can flourish and breathe free. On both sides of the ocean: toward a new Atlantic partnership based on our shared heritage and common values.

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lovakia. I am honored to announce that we will return to you your original Declaration of Independence. May it be for future generations a reminder of the ties that bind our nations -- and the principles that bind all humanity. God Bless Czechoslovakia!

#

November 13, 1990

MEMORANDUM FOR CHRISS WINSTON

FROM: JENNIFER GROSSMAN

SUBJECT: FACT CHECK ON WENCESLAS SQ. REMARKS

NOTE: Our Czech contact at the Library of Congress has expressed concern about what will happen to some of the quotes (originally translated from Czech to English) when they are translated back to Czech again. Because of the many ways each word can be translated, he fears that what should sound like the original historic Czech quotes will sound like a strange and innappropriate paraphrase. He as offered to find us the quotes in original Czech to avoid confusion in translation.

1) p. 1, graph 1: "the first American President to visit"

True, first American President to visit as president; others have, but not during their presidency.

2) p. 1, graph 2: "Tomas Masaryk" is pronounced "TOE-mash MAH-sah-rick"

3) p. 1, graph 3: "One that began 7 decades ago.."

Actually, the year she is referring to is 1918. I don't know if it's necessary to phrase as "that began more than 7 decades ago.."

4) p. 2, graph 1: "Masaryk described to American soldiers"

Correct: however, note that these soldiers were Czech-American.

5) p. 2, graph 2: "For so many years you came here bearing candles.."

Our Czech specialist at the Library of Congress says that this statement is untrue. For "so many years," in fact, the people of Czechoslovakia were barred from coming to the square bearing candles. Moreover, "so many years" implies continuity. How about rather than "For so many years," we substitute "So many times." Our Czech friend says that works.

6) p. 2, graph 2: "Mounds of it, from the thousands of candles left here over the years."

Same problem as #5. The symbolic burning of candles happened occasionally, but didn't have the kind of permanence this phrase suggests. Moreover, it was really since the Velvet Revolution (last Nov. 17) that people began burning the candles with real regularity and openness.

7) p. 2, graph 3: "..Mary of the Snow, overlooking the square."

"Our Lady on the Snow" is the better known and more official version of this name. Note: it's "on" not "of" the Snow.

Secondly, the church is not "overlooking the square."
"Close to" or "not far" from the square would be much better.

8) p. 3, graph 1: "the words of your leader became 'the axe for the frozen sea inside you.'"

This Kafka quote reads "inside us" not "inside you."

Also note: this Kafka line comes from his correspondence and is therefore not the most well known. Given its relative obscurity, I don't know if you want to include attribution.

It is however, quite beautiful.

9) p. 3, graph 3: "Vaclev Havel"

It's Vaclav, not Vaclev. The pronunciation: "VATZ-lav."

insulting to include Havel?

10) p. 3, graph 4: Just a question of punctuation on this Masaryk quote, it's all one sentence and should read as follows:

"Not with violence but with love, not with the sword but with the plough, not with blood but with work, not with death but with life..."

11) p. 4, graph 2: "Kossuth" is pronounced COE-shoot.

12) p. 5, graph 4: "--on which these two men worked--"

This line refers to Wilson and Masaryk--and although Masaryk presented the Declaration to Wilson, the latter didn't actually work on it. Why not clear this up with: "which was shared by these two men" or just kill that little line altogether.