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# FOIA MARKER

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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:** 13548  
**Folder ID Number:** 13548-019

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**Folder Title:**  
Czechoslovakian Federal Assembly 11/17/90 [OA 6027]

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Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
<b>G</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>5</b>

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McGroarty/Dooley  
November 15, 1990  
6:15 pm

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: THE CZECHOSLOVAKIAN FEDERAL ASSEMBLY  
PRAGUE, CZECHOSLOVAKIA  
NOVEMBER 17, 1990  
12:20 P.M.

President Havel. Chairman Dubcek. [[Prime Ministers of the Czech and Slovak Republics.]] Members of the Assembly -- and the peoples of Czechoslovakia. // It is an honor for me -- the first American President ever to visit your country -- to bring you the greetings of the American people on this, the first anniversary of Czechoslovakia's return to freedom. //

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

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

Your revolution was also a renewal -- a renewal of the deeply held principles that bind my country to yours. Principles enshrined in your Declaration of Independence -- issued in the United States in 1918 by Thomas Masaryk (TOE-mas MAS-ah-rick),

your first President, and Milan Stefanik (MEE-lan SHTEH-fah-neek), proud Slovak patriot. Principles inspired by the ringing words of our own Thomas Jefferson, more than two centuries ago.

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

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

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

Czechoslovakia's revolution is over. Its renaissance has just begun. // Your work and ours is far from complete. Your nation, like your neighbors to the north and south, faces the unprecedented task of building stable democratic rule and a prosperous market economy on the ruins of totalitarianism.

I am here today to say that we will not fail you in this decisive moment. America will stand with you. To that end:

o America stands ready to help Czechoslovakia realize the progress and prosperity now within reach. Today, our two countries will sign agreements giving Czechoslovakia the fullest access to American markets, American investment and American technology. //

o To meet Czechoslovakia's critical needs, the United States will extend prompt economic assistance from the \$370 million dollars now committed to Central and Eastern Europe for the coming year. In addition, I will urge our Congress to authorize a \$60 million dollar Czechoslovak-American Enterprise Fund. //

o We also welcome the active involvement of the American private sector. I am pleased to see that, yesterday, your government entered into a promising, multi-million dollar joint venture with Bell Atlantic and U.S. West to modernize your country's communications network. // I am sure this will be the first of many large-scale investments in the future of a free Czechoslovakia. //

o In response to this region's severe energy problems, we expect the IMF -- at our initiative -- to lend up to \$5 billion in 1991 to Central and Eastern Europe, and the World Bank will commit an additional \$9 billion over the next three years. //

o In addition to these economic initiatives, we seek to renew the free and open exchange denied our peoples for so many years. I am pleased to announce the reopening of the American consulate in Bratislava in the Republic of Slovakia -- and later this month, the selection of a site for our new Cultural Center in

Prague. Our newly-established International Media Fund promises to contribute expertise and encouragement to your nation's free and independent media. And I am gratified that your Government and my country's Institute for East-West Security Studies will soon open a European Studies Center in Stirin [STEER-zheen] -- an important partnership of the intellect between European and American scholars. //

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

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

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

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

Dissident Havel -- now President Havel -- spoke then of a shared destiny -- spoke out of a sure sense that the fate of all mankind is linked. //

Czechs and Slovaks understand this vision and this challenge. For half a century, your struggle for freedom was cut short -- not by one, but by two of the cruelest tyrannies history has ever known. You know what it means to live under regimes whose vision of world order holds no place for freedom. As heirs of Jan Hus (Yon HOOS), whose statue stands just a few blocks from us -- as countrymen of Comenius (Koh-MAIN-ee-us), the son of Moravia whose name graces your great university at Bratislava -- you have always looked to the far horizon, to take your bearings from principles that are universal. As small nations, whose very existence demands constant vigilance, you have always understood that your future depends not only on your own heroic actions here -- but on the broader principles that govern the greater world in

which you live. We must recognize that no people, no Continent, can stand alone -- secure unto itself. Our fates -- our futures -- are intertwined.

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

This commonwealth rests on shared principles -- upon four cornerstones that constitute our common values:

An unshakable belief in the dignity and rights of man -- and the conviction that just government derives its power from the people. The belief that men and women everywhere must be free to enjoy the fruits of their labor. And that the rule of law must govern the conduct of nations. //

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

Every new nation that embraces these common values -- every new nation that joins the ranks of this commonwealth of freedom - - advances us one step closer to a new world order: a world in

which the use of force gives way to a shared respect for the rule of law. ///

This new world will be incomplete without a vision that extends beyond the boundaries of Europe alone. Now that unity is within reach in Europe is no time for our vision of change to stop at the edge of this continent. ///

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

Now, after four decades of conflict and Cold War, we are entering an era of great promise. And yet our freedom -- the freedom of people everywhere -- remains under threat from regimes for whom the rights of man and rule of law mean nothing. //

That is why our response to the challenge in the Persian Gulf is critical. The current crisis is a warning -- to America as well as to Europe -- that we cannot turn inward, somehow insulate ourselves from global challenges. Iraq's brutal aggression against Kuwait is a rude reminder that none of us can remain secure when aggression remains unchecked. //

No peoples understand better what is at stake in the Gulf than Czechs and Slovaks. You know from your own bitter experience that the world cannot turn a blind eye to aggression. You know the futility and vain hope that aggressors can be appeased. You know the tragic consequences when nations, confronted with aggression, choose to tell themselves it is no

concern of theirs -- just a "quarrel in a far-away country between a people of whom we know nothing." //

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

For the first time in the post-war era -- the Soviet Union is demonstrating its commitment to act as a constructive force for international stability. // For the first time in the post war era -- the United Nations is functioning as its creators intended it: free from the ideological confrontation that frustrated collective action. //

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

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

peace and prosperity you seek -- the peace and prosperity we shall share -- will be the peace and prosperity of all mankind.

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

# # #

90 OCT 16 11 2  
WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 11/15/90 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: -----

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: CZECHOSLOVAKIAN FEDERAL ASSEMBLY  
(11/15 6:15 p.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 checked="" type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" 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 type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	PINKERTON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	WINSTON	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HAGIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HOLIDAY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

The attached has been forwarded to the President.

RESPONSE:

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

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

November 14, 1990

mediated 11-15-90  
~~90 NSY-15~~ 11:10:42 7 pm

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT  
THROUGH: CHRISS WINSTON *CW*  
FROM: DAN MCGROARTY *DMcG*  
SUBJECT: CZECHOSLOVAKIAN FEDERAL ASSEMBLY

I. SUMMARY

At 12:20 p.m. on November 17 you will address a special session of the Czechoslovakian Federal Assembly. The speech will be simultaneously translated, and will be on teleprompter.

II. DISCUSSION

The remarks discuss the great progress that Czechoslovakia has made since the "velvet revolution" of a year ago, and also discuss the important role it can play in a new European and world order. Several economic and cultural initiatives are announced, including the hope that Prague will be the site of the Permanent Secretariat of the CSCE.

# # #

McGroarty/Dooley  
November 15, 1990  
6:15 pm

90 NOV 15 PM 6:49

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PRAGUE, CZECHOSLOVAKIA  
NOVEMBER 17, 1990  
12:20 P.M.

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which you live. We must recognize that no people, no Continent, can stand alone -- secure unto itself. Our fates -- our futures -- are intertwined.

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which the use of force gives way to a shared respect for the rule of law. ///

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peace and prosperity you seek -- the peace and prosperity we shall share -- will be the peace and prosperity of all mankind.

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

# # #

For PW

McGroarty/Dooley  
November 15, 1990

~~3:30 pm~~

445

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*used to be "This long-sought community"*  
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*reference to "new world we seek" deleted.*

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

Dissident Havel -- now President Havel -- spoke then of a shared destiny -- spoke out of a sure sense that the fate of all mankind is linked. //

Czechs and Slovaks understand this vision and this challenge. For half a century, your struggle for freedom was cut short -- not by one, but by two of the cruelest tyrannies history has ever known. *You are incredible... in such a difficult time* As heirs of Jan Hus (Yon HOOS), whose statue stands just a few blocks from us -- as countrymen of Comenius (Koh-MAIN-ee-us), the son of Moravia whose name graces your great university at Bratislava -- you have always looked to the far horizon, to take their bearings from principles that are universal. As small nations, whose very existence demands constant vigilance, you have always understood that your future depends not only on your own heroic actions here -- but on the broader principles that govern the greater world in which you live. We must recognize that no people, no Continent, can stand

*I want  
more  
here*

alone -- secure unto itself. Our fates -- our futures -- are intertwined.

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

That is why <sup>our nations have a strong interest</sup> our response to the challenge in the Persian Gulf is <sup>critical</sup> critical. The current crisis is a warning -- to America as well as to Europe -- that we cannot turn inward, somehow insulate ourselves from global challenges. Iraq's brutal aggression against Kuwait is a rude reminder that none of us can remain secure when aggression remains unchecked. //

No peoples understand better what is at stake in the Gulf than Czechs and Slovaks. You know from your own bitter experience that the world cannot turn a blind eye to aggression. You know the futility and vain hope that aggressors can be appeased. You know the tragic consequences when nations, confronted with aggression, choose to tell themselves it is no concern of theirs -- just a "quarrel in a far-away country between a people of whom we know nothing." //

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

For the first time in the post-war era -- the Soviet Union is demonstrating its commitment to act as a constructive force for international stability. // For the first time in the post war era -- the United Nations is functioning as its creators intended it: free from the ideological confrontation that frustrated collective action. //

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

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

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

# # #

McGroarty/Dooley  
November 15, 1990  
6:15 pm

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: THE CZECHOSLOVAKIAN FEDERAL ASSEMBLY  
PRAGUE, CZECHOSLOVAKIA  
NOVEMBER 17, 1990  
12:20 P.M.

President Havel. Chairman Dubcek. [[Prime Ministers of the Czech and Slovak Republics.]] Members of the Assembly -- and the peoples of Czechoslovakia. // It is an honor for me -- the first American President ever to visit your country -- to bring you the greetings of the American people on this, the first anniversary of Czechoslovakia's return to freedom. //

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

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

Your revolution was also a renewal -- a renewal of the deeply held principles that bind my country to yours. Principles enshrined in your Declaration of Independence -- issued in the United States in 1918 by Thomas Masaryk (TOE-mas MAS-ah-rick),

your first President, and Milan Stefanik (MEE-lan SHTEH-fah-neek), proud Slovak patriot. Principles inspired by the ringing words of our own Thomas Jefferson, more than two centuries ago.

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

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

Today, as fellow citizens of free governments, we share the fruits of our common resolve. Europe -- East and West -- stands at the threshold of a new era -- an era of peace, prosperity and security unparalleled in the long history of this continent.

Today, Europe's long division is ending. Today, once more -- Czechoslovakia // is free. ///

Czechoslovakia's revolution is over. Its renaissance has just begun. // Your work and ours is far from complete. Your nation, like your neighbors to the north and south, faces the unprecedented task of building stable democratic rule and a prosperous market economy on the ruins of totalitarianism.

I am here today to say that we will not fail you in this decisive moment. America will stand with you. To that end:

o America stands ready to help Czechoslovakia realize the progress and prosperity now within reach. Today, our two countries will sign agreements giving Czechoslovakia the fullest access to American markets, American investment and American technology. //

o To meet Czechoslovakia's critical needs, the United States will extend prompt economic assistance from the \$370 million dollars now committed to Central and Eastern Europe for the coming year. In addition, I will urge our Congress to authorize a \$60 million dollar Czechoslovak-American Enterprise Fund. //

o We also welcome the active involvement of the American private sector. I am pleased to see that, yesterday, your government entered into a promising, multi-million dollar joint venture with Bell Atlantic and U.S. West to modernize your country's communications network. // I am sure this will be the first of many large-scale investments in the future of a free Czechoslovakia. //

o In response to this region's severe energy problems, we expect the IMF -- at our initiative -- to lend up to \$5 billion in 1991 to Central and Eastern Europe, and the World Bank will commit an additional \$9 billion over the next three years. //

o In addition to these economic initiatives, we seek to renew the free and open exchange denied our peoples for so many years. I am pleased to announce the reopening of the American consulate in Bratislava in the Republic of Slovakia -- and later this month, the selection of a site for our new Cultural Center in

Prague. Our newly-established International Media Fund promises to contribute expertise and encouragement to your nation's free and independent media. And I am gratified that your Government and my country's Institute for East-West Security Studies will soon open a European Studies Center in Stirin [STEER-zheen] -- an important partnership of the intellect between European and American scholars. //

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

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

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

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

Dissident Havel -- now President Havel -- spoke then of a shared destiny -- spoke out of a sure sense that the fate of all mankind is linked. //

Czechs and Slovaks understand this vision and this challenge. For half a century, your struggle for freedom was cut short -- not by one, but by two of the cruelest tyrannies history has ever known. You know what it means to live under regimes whose vision of world order holds no place for freedom. As heirs of Jan Hus (Yon HOOS), whose statue stands just a few blocks from us -- as countrymen of Comenius (Koh-MAIN-ee-us), the son of Moravia whose name graces your great university at Bratislava -- you have always looked to the far horizon, to take your bearings from principles that are universal. As small nations, whose very existence demands constant vigilance, you have always understood that your future depends not only on your own heroic actions here -- but on the broader principles that govern the greater world in

which you live. We must recognize that no people, no Continent, can stand alone -- secure unto itself. Our fates -- our futures -- are intertwined.

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

This commonwealth rests on shared principles -- upon four cornerstones that constitute our common values:

An unshakable belief in the dignity and rights of man -- and the conviction that just government derives its power from the people. The belief that men and women everywhere must be free to enjoy the fruits of their labor. And that the rule of law must govern the conduct of nations. //

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

Every new nation that embraces these common values -- every new nation that joins the ranks of this commonwealth of freedom - - advances us one step closer to a new world order: a world in

which the use of force gives way to a shared respect for the rule of law. ///

This new world will be incomplete without a vision that extends beyond the boundaries of Europe alone. Now that unity is within reach in Europe is no time for our vision of change to stop at the edge of this continent. ///

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

Now, after four decades of conflict and Cold War, we are entering an era of great promise. And yet our freedom -- the freedom of people everywhere -- remains under threat from regimes for whom the rights of man and rule of law mean nothing. //

That is why our response to the challenge in the Persian Gulf is critical. The current crisis is a warning -- to America as well as to Europe -- that we cannot turn inward, somehow insulate ourselves from global challenges. Iraq's brutal aggression against Kuwait is a rude reminder that none of us can remain secure when aggression remains unchecked. //

No peoples understand better what is at stake in the Gulf than Czechs and Slovaks. You know from your own bitter experience that the world cannot turn a blind eye to aggression. You know the futility and vain hope that aggressors can be appeased. You know the tragic consequences when nations, confronted with aggression, choose to tell themselves it is no

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peace and prosperity you seek -- the peace and prosperity we shall share -- will be the peace and prosperity of all mankind.

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

# # #

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Date: 11/13/90

TO: Chriss Winston

FROM: **STEPHEN I. DANZANSKY** *SW*  
**Deputy Assistant to the President**  
**and Director of Cabinet Affairs**

There is no mention here of the historic joint venture agreement, just negotiated, between Bell Atlantic/ U.S. West and the Czech and Slovak Administrations for Poste and Telecommunications, to build a national analog cellular system ... the first step in the modernization of Czechoslovakia. The deal will be signed on November 16 and is valued at over \$80 million over 10 years.

It is the first "big" economic deal between the two countries, equivalent perhaps to the much heralded GE lightbulb deal with the Hungarian company Tungstram.

Perhaps that's what the reference to "other initiatives to come: NSC" means.

*✓ "yesterday"*

LAW OFFICES

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CHERYL B. GLEAFELD

OF COUNSEL  
MARCUS COHN  
LEONARD H. MARKS

**SUITE 600  
1333 NEW HAMPSHIRE AVENUE, N.W.  
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20036-1873**

90 NOV -6 PM 3:12

TELEPHONE (202) 293-3860  
CABLE COMAR-WASHINGTON, D. C.  
TELECOPIER (202) 293-4827

**TELECOPY INFORMATION**

**PLEASE DELIVER IMMEDIATELY**

**TO:** Jim Cicconi  
**FROM:** Leonard Marks  
**DATE:** November 6, 1990

2 pages follow this sheet. If there are any problems,  
please ask for the telecopy operator at (202) 452-4851.

**THANK YOU.**

Dear Jim:

I'm enclosing a draft of remarks that I hope the President can  
use in Prague in describing the work of the newly created  
International Media Fund.

The material has been sent to the Department of State.

LHM

**SENT TO:** ( 202 ) 456 - 2883

**NO.** 0880 - 001

*Baker*

Earlier this year, the United States announced in Prague an initiative to help the development of free and independent media in Central and Eastern Europe. To this end, the International Media Fund was organized, designed to aid all media but with particular emphasis on broadcasting, where the need seemed greatest.

Since the initiative was announced, we have made great progress. As requested by the government of the Czech and Slovak Republic, the International Media Fund is prepared, in the first half of 1991, to provide the following:

Assistance in building a network of independent media by providing technical know-how and certain limited financial grants for equipment and start-up costs.

Seminars for media specialists as well as those new to media in Prague and Bratislava.

Aid in the establishment of a new non-governmental resource center for independent media, providing not only training but model equipment, a library, etc.

Also planned is assistance to Charles University, including encouragement and help in the creation of a university radio

station, assistance in starting a university magazine and updating the equipment of the faculty of journalism.

The International Media Fund also intends to associate new independent Czech and Slovak radio and television stations with "sister stations" in the United States, thereby facilitating an exchange of expertise, personnel and programs.

In cooperation with the National Association of Broadcasters the IMF also is prepared to start a broadcasting assistance program almost immediately. Experienced U.S. broadcasters will be sent to Prague and Bratislava to provide training in broadcast journalism, programming, advertising sales and service, market research, technical areas of communications, and general management. Initially, these experts will offer training seminars. As new broadcast laws are passed and new stations are licensed, the International Media Fund will assist in the establishment of those stations, providing the training and other assistance necessary to make them viable. All of this will be done, of course, at no cost to our friends in Czechoslovakia and elsewhere in Central and Eastern Europe.

More can be done. Unfortunately the move to independent radio and television has been extremely slow to evolve because of the absence of enabling legislation. Frequencies need to be assigned in the very near future for private broadcasters.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

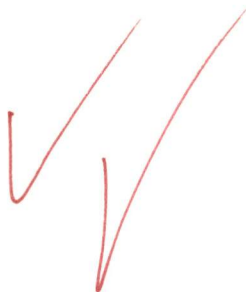
November 13, 1990

**TO: David Demarest**  
**FROM: Sig Rogich**  
**RE: Cultural Center in Prague**

Please make note that our Prague remarks need to reference the city's new cultural center.

On February 20, the President said the United States looked forward to opening a cultural center in Prague. In that regard, a selection of the site will likely be in place prior to our visit. It would be good to make direct reference to it.

Attachment



IMMEDIATE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 01 OF 02

PRT: ROGICH

SIT: VAX

-----  
<PREC> IMMEDIATE <CLAS> ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ <DTG> 091228Z NOV 90

FM AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

TO RUEADWW/WHITE HOUSE WASHDC IMMEDIATE  
INFO RUEHIA/USIA WASHDC 9076  
RUFHAD/AMEMBASSY ABU DHABI 0019

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE PRAGUE 10233

USIA

SPECDIS FOR WHITE HOUSE SIG ROGICH FROM USIA DIRECTOR  
GELB

USIA FOR D

ABU DHABI PLEASE PASS DAHRAN TO WHITE HOUSE ADVANCE  
SIG ROGICH

E. O. 12356: N/A

SUBJECT: PRAGUE CULTURAL CENTER

LETTER AS FOLLOWS TO THE WHITE HOUSE, SIG ROGICH FROM  
DIRECTOR GELB.

MR. SIG ROGICH

THE WHITE HOUSE

DEAR SIG:

WHEN THE PRESIDENT RECEIVED PRESIDENT HAVEL OF  
CZECHOSLOVAKIA IN WASHINGTON ON FEBRUARY 20 HE SAID  
THAT THE U. S. LOOKED FORWARD TO OPENING A CULTURAL  
CENTER IN PRAGUE. I HAVE JUST COMPLETED A VISIT TO  
PRAGUE TO VIEW THE TWO SITES THAT AMBASSADOR BLACK AND  
PAO HULL HAVE IDENTIFIED FOR A CULTURAL CENTER. BOTH  
ARE EXCELLENT. WE WILL DEFINITELY MAKE A DECISION ON  
WHICH OF THE TWO SITES IT WILL BE, HOPEFULLY BEFORE  
THE PRESIDENT ARRIVES BUT DEFINITELY BEFORE NOVEMBER  
30TH. FOR YOUR INFORMATION ONE IS THE FORMER LENIN

DECLASSIFIED

PER DOS WAIVER, November 6, 2015

By it NARA, Date 05/30/23

DECLASSIFIED

Department of State Guidelines, July 21, 1997  
By it NARA, Date 05/30/23

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

IMMEDIATE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM

PAGE 02 OF 02

MUSEUM AND THE OTHER IS THE FORMER EAST GERMAN  
CULTURAL CENTER -- INTERESTING IRONY.

/

IT MAY BE USEFUL FOR THE PRESIDENT TO ANNOUNCE DURING  
HIS VISIT TO PRAGUE NOVEMBER 17-18 THAT A CULTURAL  
CENTER WILL BE SELECTED "THIS MONTH". I BELIEVE WE  
CAN SPEED UP OUR PROCESS TO MAKE THIS POSSIBLE.

I WILL BE BACK IN MY OFFICE NOVEMBER 13 IF YOU WANT TO  
TALK. GELB

BT

#0233

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 14, 1990

MEMORANDUM FOR CHRISS WINSTON

FROM: ROGER B. PORTER *RBP*

SUBJECT: Presidential Remarks: The Czechoslovakian Federal  
Assembly

I have reviewed and concur with the Presidential remarks for the Czechoslovakian Federal Assembly, 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: 29

Attachment

cc: James W Cicconi

**WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM**

DATE: 11/10/90 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 3:00 PM, WED., NOV. 14

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: THE CZECHOSLOVAKIAN FEDERAL ASSEMBLY  
PRAGUE, CZECHOSLOVAKIA  
NOVEMBER 17, 1990

SUBJECT: \_\_\_\_\_

	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 checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMEYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CICCONI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	ROGERS	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PINKERTON	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	WINSTON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input 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 provide comments/edits on the attached directly to Chriss Winston, Rm. 122, x2930 with a copy to this office no later than 3:00 PM, WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 14. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

*See inside - pretty good sp.*

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

McGroarty/Dooley  
November 12, 1990  
11:30 am  
[czech]

90 NOV 12 PM 5:45

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: THE CZECHOSLOVAKIAN FEDERAL ASSEMBLY  
PRAGUE, CZECHOSLOVAKIA  
NOVEMBER 17, 1990  
XX:00 A.M.

President Havel. President Dubcek. Prime Ministers of the Czech and Slovakian Republics. Members of the Assembly -- and the people of Czechoslovakia. // It is an honor for me -- the first American President ever to visit your country -- to bring you the greetings of the American people on this, the first anniversary of Czechoslovakia's return to freedom. //

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

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

Your revolution was also a renewal -- a renewal of the deeply held principles that bind my country to yours. Principles enshrined in your Declaration of Independence -- written in the

United States in 1918 by Thomas Masaryk (TOE-mas MAS-ah-rick), your first President, signed by Milan Stefanik (MEE-lan SHTEH-fah-neek), proud Slovak patriot. Principles inspired by the ringing words of our own Jefferson, more than two centuries ago.

Here in Czechoslovakia, in November of 1989, that distant revolution echoed down through history. At a workers' rally -- in a place called Branik on the outskirts of Prague -- a worker, dressed in grimy overalls, rose to speak at the factory gate. He began his speech to his fellow citizens with these words:

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

On his visit to America, speaking to our Congress as today I speak to you, President Havel recalled that moment when the words of that distant revolution spoke in a language understood by all mankind: "These words inspire us all.... They inspire us to be citizens." //

Today, as fellow citizens of free governments, we share the fruits of our common resolve. Europe -- East and West -- stands at the threshold of a new era -- an era of peace, prosperity and security unparalleled in the long history of this continent.

Today, Europe's long division is ending. Today, once more -- Czechoslovakia // is free. //

A new Europe is now emerging -- built on the firm foundation of shared democratic principles -- a shared sense of partnership that made the Revolution of '89 possible. //

Czechoslovakia's revolution is over. Its renaissance has just begun. // Your work and ours is far from complete. Your nation, like your neighbors to the north and south, faces the unprecedented task of building stable democratic rule and a prosperous market economy on the ruins of totalitarianism.

I am here today to say at this decisive moment in your history that America stands with you.

America stands ready to help Czechoslovakia realize the progress and prosperity now within reach. To that end:

- o Today, I will sign the final documents giving Czechoslovakia Most Favored Nation status -- the most liberal access possible to American markets.
- o (Other initiatives to come: NSC.)

And let me say once again: It is right that Prague -- once on the fault line of Cold War and conflict -- now at the heart of the new and united Europe -- should be the home to the Permanent Secretariat of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. //

In Paris a few days from now, the nations of North America and Europe will sign historic documents: a treaty to provide deep reductions in conventional armed forces in Europe. [[A joint Declaration of Principles between the United States and the European Community.]] And a CSCE Summit Declaration, charting

the future role of CSCE in ending Europe's division. The Atlantic Alliance, the essential guarantor of European security, has pledged itself to that same goal.

The United States welcomes the new democracies of central and eastern Europe fully into the commonwealth of free nations. Working together, we can fulfill the promise of a Europe that reaches its democratic destiny -- a Europe that is truly whole and free. //

But this long-sought reconciliation will be incomplete without a vision that extends beyond the boundaries of Europe alone. Now that unity is within reach in Europe is no time for our vision of change to stop at the edge of this continent. //

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

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

*the point is universal  
but we do need to  
quote Havel!*

Dissident Havel -- now President Havel -- spoke then of a shared destiny -- spoke out of a sure sense that the fate of all mankind is linked. //

In that same spirit, let me say to you now that our challenge today is to strengthen these common bonds. To forge a new Atlantic partnership of shared values and common security -- a more inclusive Atlantic community, open to all who are dedicated to democracy and the rule of law. To build on the successes we have achieved together, successes that point the way to nothing less than a new world order -- to a new world of freedom for all nations. //

Czechs and Slovaks understand this vision and this challenge. The heirs of Jan Hus (Yon HOOSE), whose statue stands just a few blocks from us -- the countrymen of Comenius (Koh-MAIN-ee-us), the son of Moravia whose name graces your great university at Bratislava -- have always looked to the far horizon, to take their bearings from principles that are universal. As small nations, whose very existence demands constant vigilance, you have always understood that your future depends not only on your own heroic actions here -- but on the broader principles that govern the greater world in which you live. We must recognize that no people, no Continent, can stand alone -- secure unto itself. Our fates -- our futures -- are intertwined.

That is why our response to the challenge in the Persian Gulf is critical. The current crisis is a **warning** -- to America

as well as to Europe -- that we cannot turn inward, somehow insulate ourselves from global challenges. For those in America who would retreat once again into isolationism -- for those on this side of the Atlantic who believe in "Europe for the Europeans," Iraq's brutal aggression against Kuwait is a rude reminder that none of us can remain secure when aggression remains unchecked. //

No peoples understand better what is at stake in the Gulf than Czechs and Slovaks. You know from your own bitter experience that the world cannot turn a blind eye to aggression. You know the futility and vain hope that aggressors can be appeased. You know the tragic consequences when nations, confronted with aggression, choose to tell themselves it is no concern of theirs -- just a "quarrel in a far-away country between a people of whom we know nothing." //

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

The world's resolute action against Iraq's aggression shows what can be achieved when Americans and Europeans work together, in common cause with the rest of the world. //

For the first time in the post-war era -- the Soviet Union is demonstrating its commitment to act as a constructive force for international stability. For the first time in the post war

*Send in let from Czech  
applies to Kuwait*

*think about this  
the way*

*good*

era -- the United Nations is functioning as its creators intended it: free from the ideological confrontation that frustrated collective action.

And from this first crisis of the post-Cold War era comes an historic opportunity -- to extend our international solidarity and put in place the first foundations of a new world order: an order based on democracy and the rule of law; // an order founded in respect for human rights and individual liberty; // an order dedicated to resist aggression and the force of arms -- and promote enduring international peace and security. //

These principles are familiar. They are the principles on which we have staked our futures -- the principles for which we have fought and died -- not as fine words, but as the very form and substance of this new world we seek. //

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

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

# # #

**WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM**

90 OCT 14 P3:13

DATE: 11/10/90 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 3:00 PM, WED., NOV. 14

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: THE CZECHOSLOVAKIAN FEDERAL ASSEMBLY  
PRAGUE, CZECHOSLOVAKIA  
NOVEMBER 17, 1990

SUBJECT: \_\_\_\_\_

	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 checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<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 checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PINKERTON	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	WINSTON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input 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 provide comments/edits on the attached directly to Chriss Winston, Rm. 122, x2930 with a copy to this office no later than 3:00 PM, WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 14. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

*See comments. Thanks.  
Holly Williamson  
11-14-90*

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

McGroarty/Dooley  
November 12, 1990  
11:30 am  
[czech]

90 NOV 12 PM 5:45

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: THE CZECHOSLOVAKIAN FEDERAL ASSEMBLY  
PRAGUE, CZECHOSLOVAKIA  
NOVEMBER 17, 1990  
XX:00 A.M.

President Havel. President Dubcek. Prime Ministers of the Czech and Slovakian Republics. Members of the Assembly -- and the people of Czechoslovakia. // It is an honor for me -- the first American President ever to visit your country -- to bring you the greetings of the American people on this, the first anniversary of Czechoslovakia's return to freedom. //

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

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

Your revolution was also a renewal -- a renewal of the deeply held principles that bind my country to yours. Principles enshrined in your Declaration of Independence -- written in the

United States in 1918 by Thomas Masaryk (TOE-mas MAS-ah-rick), your first President, signed by Milan Stefanik (MEE-lan SHTEH-fah-neek), proud Slovak patriot. Principles inspired by the ringing words of our own Jefferson, more than two centuries ago.

Here in Czechoslovakia, in November of 1989, that distant revolution echoed down through history. At a workers' rally -- in a place called Branik on the outskirts of Prague -- a worker, dressed in grimy overalls, rose to speak at the factory gate. He began his speech to his fellow citizens with these words:

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

On his visit to America, speaking to our Congress as today I speak to you, President Havel recalled that moment when the words of that distant revolution spoke in a language understood by all mankind: "These words inspire us all.... They inspire us to be citizens." //

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

A new Europe is now emerging -- built on the firm foundation of shared democratic principles -- a shared sense of partnership that made the Revolution of '89 possible. //

Czechoslovakia's revolution is over. Its renaissance has just begun. // Your work and ours is far from complete. Your nation, like your neighbors to the north and south, faces the unprecedented task of building stable democratic rule and a prosperous market economy on the ruins of totalitarianism.

I am here today to say at this decisive moment in your history that America stands with you.

America stands ready to help Czechoslovakia realize the progress and prosperity now within reach. To that end:

o Today, I will sign the final documents giving Czechoslovakia Most Favored Nation status -- the most liberal access possible to American markets.

o \* (Other initiatives to come: NSC.)

And let me say once again: It is right that Prague -- once on the fault line of Cold War and conflict -- now at the heart of the new and united Europe -- should be the home to the Permanent Secretariat of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. //

In Paris a few days from now, the nations of North America and Europe will sign historic documents: a treaty to provide deep reductions in conventional armed forces in Europe. [[A joint Declaration of Principles between the United States and the European Community.]] And a CSCE Summit Declaration, charting

✓ See Steve Danzandy's note to you.

the future role of CSCE in ending Europe's division. The Atlantic Alliance, the essential guarantor of European security, has pledged itself to that same goal.

The United States welcomes the new democracies of central and eastern Europe fully into the commonwealth of free nations. Working together, we can fulfill the promise of a Europe that reaches its democratic destiny -- a Europe that is truly whole and free. //

But this long-sought reconciliation will be incomplete without a vision that extends beyond the boundaries of Europe alone. Now that unity is within reach in Europe is no time for our vision of change to stop at the edge of this continent. //

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

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

Dissident Havel -- now President Havel -- spoke then of a shared destiny -- spoke out of a sure sense that the fate of all mankind is linked. //

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That is why our response to the challenge in the Persian Gulf is critical. The current crisis is a **warning** -- to America

as well as to Europe -- that we cannot turn inward, somehow insulate ourselves from global challenges. For those in America who would retreat once again into isolationism -- for those on this side of the Atlantic who believe in "Europe for the Europeans," Iraq's brutal aggression against Kuwait is a rude reminder that none of us can remain secure when aggression remains unchecked. //

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

The world's resolute action against Iraq's aggression shows what can be achieved when Americans and Europeans work together, in common cause with the rest of the world. //

For the first time in the post-war era -- the Soviet Union is demonstrating its commitment to act as a constructive force for international stability. For the first time in the post war

era -- the United Nations is functioning as its creators intended it: free from the ideological confrontation that frustrated collective action.

And from this first crisis of the post-Cold War era comes an historic opportunity -- to extend our international solidarity and put in place the first foundations of a new world order: an order based on democracy and the rule of law; // an order founded in respect for human rights and individual liberty; // an order dedicated to resist aggression and the force of arms -- and promote enduring international peace and security. //

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

# # #

# WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

90 OCT 14 P2:59



DATE: 11/10/90 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 3:00 PM, WED., NOV. 14

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: THE CZECHOSLOVAKIAN FEDERAL ASSEMBLY  
PRAGUE, CZECHOSLOVAKIA

SUBJECT: NOVEMBER 17, 1990

	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 checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<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 checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PINKERTON	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	WINSTON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input 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 provide comments/edits on the attached directly to Chriss Winston, Rm. 122, x2930 with a copy to this office no later than 3:00 PM, WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 14. Thank you.

RESPONSE: *No comment*

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

McGroarty/Dooley  
November 12, 1990  
11:30 am  
[czech]

90 NOV 12 PM 5:45

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: THE CZECHOSLOVAKIAN FEDERAL ASSEMBLY  
PRAGUE, CZECHOSLOVAKIA  
NOVEMBER 17, 1990  
XX:00 A.M.

President Havel. President Dubcek. Prime Ministers of the Czech and Slovakian Republics. Members of the Assembly -- and the people of Czechoslovakia. // It is an honor for me -- the first American President ever to visit your country -- to bring you the greetings of the American people on this, the first anniversary of Czechoslovakia's return to freedom. //

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United States in 1918 by Thomas Masaryk (TOE-mas MAS-ah-rick), your first President, signed by Milan Stefanik (MEE-lan SHTEH-fah-neek), proud Slovak patriot. Principles inspired by the ringing words of our own Jefferson, more than two centuries ago.

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

# # #

**WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM**

90 OCT 14 4:54 PM

DATE: 11/10/90 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 3:00 PM, WED., NOV. 14  
PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: THE CZECHOSLOVAKIAN FEDERAL ASSEMBLY  
PRAGUE, CZECHOSLOVAKIA  
SUBJECT: NOVEMBER 17, 1990

	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 checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMEYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CICCONI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	ROGERS	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PINKERTON	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	WINSTON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input 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 provide comments/edits on the attached directly to Chriss Winston, Rm. 122, x2930 with a copy to this office no later than 3:00 PM, WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 14. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

*fine!*  
*minor comments*  
*XO*

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

McGroarty/Dooley  
November 12, 1990  
11:30 am  
[czech]

90 NOV 12 PM 5:45

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PRAGUE, CZECHOSLOVAKIA  
NOVEMBER 17, 1990  
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"We hold these truths to be self-evident. That all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights -- and that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

On his visit to America, speaking to our Congress as today I speak to you, President Havel recalled that moment when the words of that distant revolution spoke in a language understood by all mankind: "These words inspire us all.... They inspire us to be citizens." //

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

A new Europe is now emerging -- built on the firm foundation of shared democratic principles -- a shared sense of partnership that made the Revolution of '89 possible. //

Czechoslovakia's revolution is over. Its renaissance has just begun. // Your work and ours is far from complete. Your nation, like your neighbors to the north and south, faces the unprecedented task of building stable democratic rule and a prosperous market economy on the ruins of totalitarianism.

I am here today to say at this decisive moment in your history that America stands with you.

America stands ready to help Czechoslovakia realize the progress and prosperity now within reach. To that end:

- o Today, I will sign the final documents giving Czechoslovakia Most Favored Nation status -- the most liberal access possible to American markets.

- o (Other initiatives to come: NSC.)

And let me say once again: It is right that Prague -- once on the fault line of Cold War and conflict -- now at the heart of the new and united Europe -- should be the home to the Permanent Secretariat of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. //

In Paris a few days from now, the nations of North America and Europe will sign historic documents: a treaty to provide deep reductions in conventional armed forces in Europe. [[A joint Declaration of Principles between the United States and the European Community.]] And a CSCE Summit Declaration, charting

the future role of CSCE in ending Europe's division. The Atlantic Alliance, the essential guarantor of European security, has pledged itself to that same goal.

The United States welcomes the new democracies of central and eastern Europe fully into the commonwealth of free nations. Working together, we can fulfill the promise of a Europe that reaches its democratic destiny -- a Europe that is truly whole and free. //

But this long-sought reconciliation will be incomplete without a vision that extends beyond the boundaries of Europe alone. Now that unity is within reach in Europe is no time for our vision of change to stop at the edge of this continent. //

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

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

Dissident Havel -- now President Havel -- spoke then of a shared destiny -- spoke out of a sure sense that the fate of all mankind is linked. //

In that same spirit, let me say to you now that our challenge today is to strengthen these common bonds. To forge a new Atlantic partnership <sup>of nations whose</sup> ~~of~~ shared values and common security ~~is~~ <sup>are</sup> a more inclusive Atlantic community, open to all ~~who are~~ <sup>who are</sup> dedicated to democracy and the rule of law. To build on the successes we have achieved together, successes that point the way to nothing less than a new world order -- to a new world of freedom for all nations. //

Czechs and Slovaks understand this vision and this challenge. The heirs of Jan Hus (Yon HOOSE), whose statue stands just a few blocks from us -- the countrymen of Comenius (Koh-MAIN-ee-us), the son of Moravia whose name graces your great university at Bratislava -- have always looked to the far horizon, to take their bearings from principles that are universal. As small nations, whose very existence demands constant vigilance, you have always understood that your future depends not only on your own heroic actions here -- but on the broader principles that govern the greater world in which you live. We must recognize that no people, no Continent, can stand alone -- secure unto itself. Our fates -- our futures -- are intertwined.

That is why our response to the challenge in the Persian Gulf is critical. The current crisis is a **warning** -- to America

as well as to Europe -- that we cannot turn inward, somehow insulate ourselves from global challenges. For those in America who would retreat once again into isolationism -- for those on this side of the Atlantic who believe in "Europe for the Europeans," Iraq's brutal aggression against Kuwait is a rude reminder that none of us can remain secure when aggression remains unchecked. //

*rapacious?*

No peoples understand better what is at stake in the Gulf than Czechs and Slovaks. You know from your own bitter experience that the world cannot turn a blind eye to aggression. You know the futility and vain hope that aggressors can be appeased. You know the tragic consequences when nations, confronted with aggression, choose to tell themselves it is no concern of theirs -- just a "quarrel in a far-away country between a people of whom we know nothing." //

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

The world's resolute action against Iraq's aggression shows what can be achieved when Americans and Europeans work together, in common cause with the rest of the world. //

For the first time in the post-war era -- the Soviet Union is demonstrating its commitment to act as a constructive force for international stability. For the first time in the post war

era -- the United Nations is functioning <sup>(Active)</sup> as its creators intended <sup>in 1947</sup> ~~to~~ free from the ideological confrontation that frustrated ~~collective action.~~

And from this first crisis of the post-Cold War era comes an historic opportunity -- to extend our international solidarity and put in place the first foundations of a new world order: an order based on democracy and the rule of law; // an order founded in respect for human rights and individual liberty; // an order dedicated to resist aggression and the force of arms -- and promote enduring international peace and security. //

These principles are familiar. They are the principles on which we have staked our futures -- the principles for which we have fought and died -- not as fine words, but as the very form and substance of this new world we seek. //

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

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

# # #

Document No. 189955 SS

# WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 11/10/90 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 3:00 PM, WED., NOV. 14

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: THE CZECHOSLOVAKIAN FEDERAL ASSEMBLY  
PRAGUE, CZECHOSLOVAKIA

SUBJECT: NOVEMBER 17, 1990

	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 checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<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 checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PINKERTON	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	WINSTON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input 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 provide comments/edits on the attached directly to Chriss Winston, Rm. 122, x2930 with a copy to this office no later than 3:00 PM, WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 14. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

*No Comment 11/14/90*

90 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

DATE: 11/10/90 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 3:00 PM, WED., NOV. 14

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: THE CZECHOSLOVAKIAN FEDERAL ASSEMBLY  
PRAGUE, CZECHOSLOVAKIA  
NOVEMBER 17, 1990

SUBJECT: \_\_\_\_\_

	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 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 checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PINKERTON	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	WINSTON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input 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"/>

*Rogers  
out of  
office  
11/10/90  
N/C*

REMARKS:

Please provide comments/edits on the attached directly to Chriss Winston, Rm. 122, x2930 with a copy to this office 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

McGroarty/Dooley  
November 12, 1990  
11:30 am  
[czech]

90 NOV 12 PM 5:45

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: THE CZECHOSLOVAKIAN FEDERAL ASSEMBLY  
PRAGUE, CZECHOSLOVAKIA  
NOVEMBER 17, 1990  
XX:00 A.M.

President Havel. President Dubcek. Prime Ministers of the Czech and Slovakian Republics. Members of the Assembly -- and the people of Czechoslovakia. // It is an honor for me -- the first American President ever to visit your country -- to bring you the greetings of the American people on this, the first anniversary of Czechoslovakia's return to freedom. //

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

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

Your revolution was also a renewal -- a renewal of the deeply held principles that bind my country to yours. Principles enshrined in your Declaration of Independence -- written in the

United States in 1918 by Thomas Masaryk (TOE-mas MAS-ah-rick), your first President, signed by Milan Stefanik (MEE-lan SHTEH-fah-neek), proud Slovak patriot. Principles inspired by the ringing words of our own <sup>Thomas</sup> Jefferson, more than two centuries ago.

Here in Czechoslovakia, in November of 1989, that distant revolution echoed down through history. At a workers' rally -- in a place called Branik on the outskirts of Prague -- a worker, dressed in grimy overalls, rose to speak at the factory gate. He began his speech to his fellow citizens with these words:

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

On his visit to America, speaking to our Congress as today I speak to you, President Havel recalled that moment when the words of that distant revolution spoke in a language understood by all mankind: "These words inspire us all.... They inspire us to be citizens." //

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

A new Europe is now emerging -- built on the firm foundation of shared democratic principles -- a shared sense of partnership that made the Revolution of '89 possible. //

Czechoslovakia's revolution is over. Its renaissance has just begun. // Your work and ours is far from complete. Your nation, like your neighbors to the north and south, faces the unprecedented task of building stable democratic rule and a prosperous market economy on the ruins of totalitarianism.

I am here today to say at this decisive moment in your history that America stands with you.

America stands ready to help Czechoslovakia realize the progress and prosperity now within reach. To that end:

- o Today, I will sign the final documents giving Czechoslovakia Most Favored Nation status -- the most liberal access possible to American markets.

- o (Other initiatives to come: NSC.)

And let me say once again: It is right that Prague -- once on the fault line of Cold War and conflict -- now at the heart of the new and united Europe -- should be the home to the Permanent Secretariat of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. //

In Paris a few days from now, the nations of North America and Europe will sign historic documents: a treaty to provide deep reductions in conventional armed forces in Europe. [[A joint Declaration of Principles between the United States and the European Community.]] And a CSCE Summit Declaration, charting

the future role of CSCE in ending Europe's division. The Atlantic Alliance, the essential guarantor of European security, has pledged itself to that same goal.

The United States welcomes the new democracies of central and eastern Europe fully into the commonwealth of free nations. Working together, we can fulfill the promise of a Europe that reaches its democratic destiny -- a Europe that is truly whole and free. //

But this long-sought reconciliation will be incomplete without a vision that extends beyond the boundaries of Europe alone. Now that unity is within reach in Europe is no time for our vision of change to stop at the edge of this continent. //

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

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

Dissident Havel -- now President Havel -- spoke then of a shared destiny -- spoke out of a sure sense that the fate of all mankind is linked. //

In that same spirit, let me say to you now that our challenge today is to strengthen these common bonds. To forge a new Atlantic partnership <sup>of nations whose</sup> ~~of shared values and common security~~ <sup>are</sup> ~~a more inclusive Atlantic community,~~ open to all who are dedicated to democracy and the rule of law. To build on the successes we have achieved together, successes that point the way to nothing less than a new world order -- to a new world of freedom for all nations. //

Czechs and Slovaks understand this vision and this challenge. The heirs of Jan Hus (Yon HOOSE), whose statue stands just a few blocks from us -- the countrymen of Comenius (Koh-MAIN-ee-us), the son of Moravia whose name graces your great university at Bratislava -- have always looked to the far horizon, to take their bearings from principles that are universal. As small nations, whose very existence demands constant vigilance, you have always understood that your future depends not only on your own heroic actions here -- but on the broader principles that govern the greater world in which you live. We must recognize that no people, no Continent, can stand alone -- secure unto itself. Our fates -- our futures -- are intertwined.

That is why our response to the challenge in the Persian Gulf is critical. The current crisis is a **warning** -- to America

as well as to Europe -- that we cannot turn inward, somehow insulate ourselves from global challenges. For those in America who would retreat once again into isolationism -- for those on this side of the Atlantic who believe in "Europe for the Europeans," Iraq's brutal aggression against Kuwait is a rude *rapacious* reminder that none of us can remain secure when aggression remains unchecked. //

No peoples understand better what is at stake in the Gulf than Czechs and Slovaks. You know from your own bitter experience that the world cannot turn a blind eye to aggression. You know the futility and vain hope that aggressors can be appeased. You know the tragic consequences when nations, confronted with aggression, choose to tell themselves it is no concern of theirs -- just a "quarrel in a far-away country between a people of whom we know nothing." //

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

The world's resolute action against Iraq's aggression shows what can be achieved when Americans and Europeans work together, in common cause with the rest of the world. //

For the first time in the post-war era -- the Soviet Union is demonstrating its commitment to act as a constructive force for international stability. For the first time in the post war

era -- the United Nations is <sup>actually</sup> functioning as its creators intended <sup>in</sup> ~~it~~ free from ~~the~~ ideological confrontation, ~~that frustrated~~ <sup>1947</sup> ~~collective action.~~

And from this first crisis of the post-Cold War era comes an historic opportunity -- to extend our international solidarity and put in place the first foundations of a new world order: an order based on democracy and the rule of law; // an order founded in respect for human rights and individual liberty; // an order dedicated to resist aggression and the force of arms -- and promote enduring international peace and security. //

These principles are familiar. They are the principles on which we have staked our futures -- the principles for which we have fought and died -- not as fine words, but as the very form and substance of this new world we seek. //

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

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

# # #



**NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT STAFFING DOCUMENT**

TIME STAMP **RECEIVED**

90 NOV 13 A10. 36

SYSTEM LOG NUMBER: 8970

ACTION OFFICER: HUTCHINGS

DUE: 12:00PM, 14 NOV

**URGENT**

Prepare Memo For Scowcroft/Gates

Appropriate Action

Prepare Memo For Cicconi

Prepare Memo for Sittmann

Prepare Memo SCOWCROFT

to WINSTON W/ INFO CICCONI

**CONCURRENCES/COMMENTS\***

PHONE\* to action officer at ext. 5732

Concur FYI

- Barth
- Basora
- Beers
- Broome
- Burns
- Canas
- Charles
- Coulson
- Davis
- Deal
- Dorminey
- Dyke
- Frasure
- Fry
- Gordon
- Gompert
- Haass
- Hayden

*CW's copy*

Concur FYI

- Hutchings
- Jackson
- Johnson
- Kanter
- Kitchen
- Kuehne
- Lampley
- Lundsager
- Melby
- Menan
- Merchant
- Miller
- Needles
- O'Leary
- Paal
- Pacelli
- Pavitt
- Pilling

Concur FYI

- Poneman
- Popadiuk
- Pryce
- Rademaker
- Rice
- Rostow
- Tilley
- Tobey
- Van Eron
- Watson
- Welch
- Whitley
- Wilson
- Working
- Zelikow
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INFORMATION  Sittmann  
 Scowcroft (advance)

Hill  
 Gates (advance)

Exec Sec Desk  
 Secretariat

**COMMENTS**

Logged By AC

Return to Secretariat  
379 OEOB

## WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 11/10/90 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 3:00 PM, WED., NOV. 14

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: THE CZECHOSLOVAKIAN FEDERAL ASSEMBLY  
PRAGUE, CZECHOSLOVAKIA  
NOVEMBER 17, 1990

SUBJECT: \_\_\_\_\_

	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 checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMEYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CICCONI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	ROGERS	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PINKERTON	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	WINSTON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input 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 provide comments/edits on the attached directly to Chriss Winston, Rm. 122, x2930 with a copy to this office no later than 3:00 PM, WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 14.  
Thank you.

**RESPONSE:**

The NSC Staff concurs, with changes as indicated.

Brent Scowcroft

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

McGroarty/Dooley  
November 13, 1990  
5:30 pm

90 NOV 13 PM 5:52

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: THE CZECHOSLOVAKIAN FEDERAL ASSEMBLY  
PRAGUE, CZECHOSLOVAKIA  
NOVEMBER 17, 1990  
XX:00 A.M.

President Havel. President Dubcek. Prime Ministers of the Czech and Slovakian Republics. Members of the Assembly -- and the people of Czechoslovakia. // It is an honor for me -- the first American President ever to visit your country -- to bring you the greetings of the American people on this, the first anniversary of Czechoslovakia's return to freedom. //

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

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

Your revolution was also a renewal -- a renewal of the deeply held principles that bind my country to yours. Principles enshrined in your Declaration of Independence -- <sup>issued</sup> ~~written~~ in the United States in 1918 by Thomas Masaryk (TOE-mas MAS-ah-rick),

your first President, <sup>and</sup> ~~signed~~ by Milan Stefanik (MEE-lan SHTEH-fah-neek), proud Slovak patriot. Principles inspired by the ringing words of our own Jefferson, more than two centuries ago.

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

*Last year in Germany, I called for a healing of this Continent's great wounds. The moment has arrived*  
 At long last, the grip of the dictators weakened. <sup>great wounds. The moment has arrived</sup>  
 ^  
 Czechoslovakia seized its chance to rise up -- to reclaim your  
rights as a free people and sovereign nation. //

Today, as fellow citizens of free governments, we share the fruits of our common resolve. Europe -- East and West -- stands at the threshold of a new era -- an era of peace, prosperity and security unparalleled in the long history of this continent.

Today, Europe's long division is ending. Today, once more -- Czechoslovakia // is free. //

A **new Europe** is now emerging -- built on the firm foundation of shared democratic principles -- a shared sense of **partnership** that made the **Revolution of '89** possible. //

Czechoslovakia's revolution is over. Its renaissance has just begun. // Your work and ours is far from complete. Your nation, like your neighbors to the north and south, faces the

unprecedented task of building stable democratic rule and a prosperous market economy <sup>from</sup> ~~on~~ the <sup>rubble</sup> ~~ruins~~ of totalitarianism.

I am here today to say that we will not fail you in this decisive moment. America will stand with you. To that end:

o America stands ready to help Czechoslovakia realize the progress and prosperity now within reach. Today, our two countries will sign agreements giving Czechoslovakia the fullest access to American markets, American investment and American technology. //

o To meet Czechoslovakia's critical needs, the United States will extend <sup>prompt economic assistance from the \$370 million</sup> ~~\$50 million dollars in immediate financial assistance~~ <sup>now committed to central and eastern Europe for the coming year.</sup>

*o* And I will seek ~~the~~ authorization from our Congress to create a <sup>\$60 million Czechoslovak Enterprise</sup> fund. *o* In response to this region's severe energy problems, we expect the IMF -- at our initiative -- to lend up to \$5 billion in 1991, <sup>to central and eastern Europe</sup> and the World Bank ~~to~~ <sup>will</sup> commit an additional \$9 billion over the next ~~two~~ <sup>three</sup> years. //

o In addition to these economic initiatives, we seek to renew the free and open exchange denied our peoples for so many years. I am pleased to announce the reopening of the American consulate in Bratislava in the Republic of Slovakia. And I am gratified that your Government and my country's Institute for East-West Security Studies will soon open a European Studies Center in Stirin [STEER-zheen] -- an important partnership of the intellect between European and American scholars. //

o And let me say once again: Prague should be the home to the Permanent Secretariat of the Conference on Security and

Cooperation in Europe. In Paris, I expect to find unanimous support for this initiative. // It is right that this city -- once on the fault line of Cold War and conflict -- now at the heart of the new and united Europe -- play a central role as the CSCE seeks to expand the frontiers of freedom in Europe. //

At the Paris Summit of the CSCE, the nations of North America and Europe will sign historic documents: a treaty to provide deep reductions in conventional armed forces in Europe. -- and a CSCE Summit Declaration, charting the future role of CSCE in ending Europe's division. The Atlantic Alliance, the

essential guarantor of European security, has pledged itself to that same goal. *But this Continent's reconciliation is only part of a larger vision for our world -- a vision which I ask you to share.*

~~Working together, we can fulfill the promise of a Europe that reaches its democratic destiny -- a Europe that is truly whole and free. // The United States welcomes the new democracies of central and eastern Europe fully into the commonwealth of freedom -- a moral community united in its dedication to free ideals. //~~

~~This commonwealth rests upon four cornerstones:~~

~~An unshakeable belief in the dignity and rights of man -- and its corollary: that just government derives its power from the people. That men and women everywhere must be free to enjoy the fruits of their labor. And that the rule of law must govern the conduct of nations. //~~

~~But this long-sought community will be incomplete without a vision that extends beyond the boundaries of Europe alone. Now~~

that unity is within reach in Europe is no time for our vision of change to stop at the edge of this continent. //

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

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

Dissident Havel -- now President Havel -- spoke then of a shared destiny -- spoke out of a sure sense that the fate of all mankind is linked. //

Czechs and Slovaks understand this vision and this challenge. The heirs of Jan Hus (Yon HOOSE), whose statue stands just a few blocks from us -- the countrymen of Comenius (Koh-MAIN-ee-us), the son of Moravia whose name graces your great university at Bratislava -- have always looked to the far horizon, to take their bearings from principles that are universal. As small nations, whose very existence demands

constant vigilance, you have always understood that your future depends not only on your own heroic actions here -- but on the broader principles that govern the greater world in which you live. We must recognize that no people, no Continent, can stand alone -- secure unto itself. Our fates -- our futures -- are intertwined.

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

That is why our response to the challenge in the Persian Gulf is critical. The current crisis is a warning -- to America as well as to Europe -- that we cannot turn inward, somehow insulate ourselves from global challenges. Iraq's brutal aggression against Kuwait is a rude reminder that none of us can remain secure when aggression remains unchecked. //

No peoples understand better what is at stake in the Gulf than Czechs and Slovaks. You know from your own bitter experience that the world cannot turn a blind eye to aggression. You know the futility and vain hope that aggressors can be appeased. You know ~~the tragic consequences when nations, last behind us -- Europeans must demand respect for its values wherever they are threatened.~~ <sup>that -- as Europe's suffering seems at</sup> ~~confronted with aggression, choose to tell themselves it is no concern of theirs~~ just a "quarrel in a far-away country between a people of whom we know nothing." //

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

The world's resolute action against Iraq's aggression shows what can be achieved when Americans and Europeans work together, in common cause with the rest of the world. //

~~For the first time in the post-war era -- the Soviet Union is demonstrating its commitment to act as a constructive force for international stability. For the first time in the post war era -- the United Nations is functioning as its creators intended it: free from the ideological confrontation that frustrated collective action -- determined to see its values defended.~~

~~{ And from this first crisis of the post-Cold War era comes an historic opportunity -- to extend our international solidarity and put in place the first foundations of a new world order: an order based on freedom and the rule of law; // an order founded in respect for human rights and individual liberty; // an order dedicated to resist aggression and the force of arms -- and promote enduring international peace and security. // }~~

These principles are familiar. They are the principles on which we have staked our futures -- the principles for which we have fought and died -- not as fine words, but as the very form and substance of this new world we seek. //

We have learned this past thrilling year in Europe what our partnership can achieve. Let us now have the vision to extend that partnership to change the world.

We have

learned...

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

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

# # #

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Europe should now take responsibility to share in the leadership of freedom. The creation of a Europe whole and free was only possible because of the ideals we hold for humanity. Across this continent, and across the Atlantic, we have created a moral community. We have founded a **commonwealth of freedom** bound by these principles and embracing our hopes for the whole world.

We are bound in this partnership by four convictions:

- We believe in the fundamental dignity and rights of men and women.
- We believe that (governments receive their power from the people) and must be accountable to them. ✓
- We believe that people should be able to enjoy the fruits of their labor -- (that prosperity comes from freeing human) ✓ potential.
- And we believe that government and nations must live by a rule of law as a condition of human progress.

These are the values for which America and Europe must stand -- and stand together.

The new Europe is of course still incomplete. It is right and natural to think of how to build the new democracies of Central and Eastern Europe, of designing structures for a more secure Europe, and of extending liberty throughout this continent. But as Europe's bright future unfolds, it must also look outward -- as a leader in the commonwealth of freedom.

Continued

This commonwealth is open to all who accept the rule of law and the supremacy of human dignity. [ We wish to encourage the Soviet

Union and others to go forward, difficult as the course may seem. ]

*reform point.* They will find our community ready to welcome them and to help them as they commit themselves to freedom.

Thus we are emerging from a long Cold War between East and West. The world has never been so full of promise. But our commonwealth and peoples elsewhere remain threatened by governments which scorn our values.

OW's copy

McGroarty/Dooley  
November 15, 1990  
10:30 am

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: THE CZECHOSLOVAKIAN FEDERAL ASSEMBLY  
PRAGUE, CZECHOSLOVAKIA  
NOVEMBER 17, 1990  
12:20 P.M.

President Havel. President Dubcek. Prime Ministers of the Czech and Slovakian Republics. Members of the Assembly -- and the **people of Czechoslovakia**. // It is an honor for me -- the first American President ever to visit your country -- to bring you the greetings of the American people on this, the first anniversary of Czechoslovakia's return to freedom. //

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

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

Your revolution was also a renewal -- a renewal of the deeply held principles that bind my country to yours. Principles enshrined in your Declaration of Independence -- issued in the United States in 1918 by Thomas Masaryk (TOE-mas MAS-ah-rick),

your first President, and Milan Stefanik (MEE-lan SHTEH-fah-neek), proud Slovak patriot. Principles inspired by the ringing words of our own Thomas Jefferson, more than two centuries ago.

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

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

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

A new Europe is now emerging -- built on the firm foundation of shared democratic principles -- a shared sense of partnership that made the Revolution of '89 possible. //

Czechoslovakia's revolution is over. Its renaissance has just begun. // Your work and ours is far from complete. Your nation, like your neighbors to the north and south, faces the

unprecedented task of building stable democratic rule and a prosperous market economy on the ruins of totalitarianism.

I am here today to say that **we will not fail you in this decisive moment.** America will stand with you. To that end:

o America stands ready to help Czechoslovakia realize the progress and prosperity now within reach. Today, our two countries will sign agreements giving Czechoslovakia the fullest access to American markets, American investment and American technology. //

o To meet Czechoslovakia's critical needs, the United States will extend prompt economic assistance from the \$370 million dollars now committed to Central and Eastern Europe for the coming year. In addition, I will urge our Congress to authorize a \$60 million dollar Czechoslovak-American Enterprise Fund. //

o We also welcome the active involvement of the American private sector. I am pleased to see that, yesterday, your government entered into a promising, multi-million dollar joint venture with Bell Atlantic and U.S. West to modernize your country's communications network. // I am sure this will be the first of many large-scale investments in the future of a free Czechoslovakia. //

o In response to this region's severe energy problems, we expect the IMF -- at our initiative -- to lend up to \$5 billion in 1991 to Central and Eastern Europe, and the World Bank will commit an additional \$9 billion over the next three years. //

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

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

At the Paris Summit of the CSCE, the nations of North America and Europe will sign historic documents: a treaty to provide deep reductions in conventional armed forces in Europe. -- and a CSCE Summit Declaration, charting the future role of CSCE in ending Europe's division. The Atlantic Alliance, the essential guarantor of European security, has pledged itself to that same goal.

Working together, we can fulfill the promise of a Europe that reaches its democratic destiny -- a Europe that is truly whole and free. // The United States welcomes the new democracies of central and eastern Europe fully into the commonwealth of freedom -- a moral community united in its dedication to free ideals. We wish to encourage the Soviet Union to go forward with their reforms, as difficult as the course may seem. They will find our community ready to welcome them -- and to help them as they too commit themselves to this commonwealth of freedom. //

It is a commonwealth that rests upon four cornerstones: *shared principles*

An unshakable belief in the dignity and rights of man -- and its corollary: that just government derives its power from the people. That men and women everywhere must be free to enjoy the fruits of their labor. And that the rule of law must govern the conduct of nations. //

But this long-sought community will be incomplete without a vision that extends beyond the boundaries of Europe alone. Now that unity is within reach in Europe is no time for our vision of change to stop at the edge of this continent. //

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*square  
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have fought and died -- not as fine words, but as the very form and substance of this new world we seek. //

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

The world's resolute action against Iraq's aggression shows what can be achieved when Americans and Europeans work together, in common cause with the rest of the world. // From this first crisis of the post-Cold War era comes an historic opportunity -- to extend our international solidarity and put in place the first foundations of a commonwealth of freedom -- a new world order far more stable and secure than any we have known.

For the first time in the post-war era -- the Soviet Union is demonstrating its commitment to act as a constructive force for international stability. // For the first time in the post war era -- the United Nations is functioning as its creators intended it: free from the ideological confrontation that frustrated collective action. //

For the first time in the post war era -- a true commonwealth of freedom is within our reach. //

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

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