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OA/ID Number: 13585
Folder ID Number: 13585-012

Folder Title:

Arrival Statement & State Dinner Toast for Official Visit of President Vaclav Havel of Czechoslovakia 1
0/22/91 [OA 6038]

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
G	26	17	3	7

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM
 91 OCT 21 P12: 09

DATE: 10/21/91 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: ---

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

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	HORNER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	PETERSMEYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
BRADY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
BROMLEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SMITH	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<u>MCBRIDE</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<u>PORTER ROSE</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<u>FIRESTONE</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<u>SNOW</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
HOLIDAY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<u> </u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

The attached has been forwarded to the President.

RESPONSE:

PHILLIP D. BRADY
 Assistant to the President
 and Staff Secretary
 Ext. 2702

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

31 OCT 21 11:03

October 21, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: DAVE DEMAREST
TONY SNOW *TS*

FROM: DAN MC GROARTY *DMG*

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

I. SUMMARY

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

II. DISCUSSION

Your arrival remarks (approximately 10 minutes/cards) pay tribute to President Havel and focus on the economic, political and moral challenges he and Czechoslovakia now face.

McGroarty/Bunton
October 21, 1991
[CZECH]

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

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

I suspect the life of Vaclav Havel, President, would tax even the imagination of Vaclav Havel, playwright. Yet your life inspires us precisely because it shows that greatness begins with small acts of conscience and personal decency -- acts that each one of us can perform.

Confronted with a wall of lies, you summoned the courage to "live in truth:" to shun the silence that allows the lie to live -- to speak out, and risk the consequences. // That courage sustained you through five long years in prison and many more as an outcast in your own country -- to the chill autumn night two years ago when the people of Czechoslovakia came to Wenceslas Square. At first, a few candles flickered in the night sky. In time, the square was ablaze with light -- the Velvet Revolution had begun. //

Long before that night, Vaclav Havel had written about "the power of the powerless." In the Revolution of 89, the world saw the Czech and Slovak people break their chains -- the world witnessed once more the awesome power of the democratic idea. //

Almost one year ago, on the first anniversary of the Velvet Revolution, I had the honor of becoming the first American President ever to visit Czechoslovakia. Mr. President, standing with you before hundreds of thousands of your countrymen was among the most moving moments of my life. / When I addressed your country's Federal Assembly, I brought copies of the American Constitution and our Bill of Rights -- not as a blueprint, a set of rules for you to follow, but as a gesture of friendship between fellow democracies. //

Now in 1991, as America celebrates the Bicentennial of the Bill of Rights -- as Czechoslovakia and its Republics craft their own constitutions -- we affirm these simple truths: That democracy means far more than free elections. That majority rule requires respect for minority rights. That democracy cannot survive unless we safeguard the freedom of all men and women to live, work and worship as they wish. ///

Today, the electricity of Revolution has given way to the sober business of democracy-building. / Your Federal Republic faces the challenge of three revolutions: first, an economic revolution, to replace the failed command system with a market that responds to the rules of supply and demand. Second, a political revolution -- to replace the totalitarian travesty with democratic government, and the tyranny of men with the rule of law, so that Czechs and Slovaks -- working together -- can build a secure future. Third -- and critical to the success of the other two -- a moral revolution: the process of building public

trust, trading the cynicism that helped people survive the old regime for the idealism that will help you build a new one. ///

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

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

Yet your country has made impressive progress. You have taken decisive steps to privatize state-enterprises, to liberalize trade and investment, to lift restrictions on private enterprise. Each barrier you sweep away unleashes the energies of free enterprise -- liberates the Czech and Slovak people to pursue their ideas and ideals. //

In the first year after the Revolution, nearly half-a-million private entrepreneurs registered to do business. You have increased trade with Western economies. When I visited your country one year ago, only 15 American businesses had offices in Prague. Now nearly 100 have established themselves in your capital, with more on the way.

America stands with you in these efforts, ready to help -- not with torrents of government-to-government aid that breeds dependency, but with market-tested advice and assistance, initiatives that encourage business-to-business contacts. Our Enterprise Fund will channel capital to Czech and Slovak entrepreneurs ready to put it to work. OPIC -- the U.S. Government's Overseas Private Investment Corporation -- has just completed a mission to Czechoslovakia, the largest mission OPIC has ever led to any country. //

Together we are taking further steps to encourage trade and investment. A few days ago, I signed a document exempting the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic from the requirement of an annual Jackson-Vanik review. I hope for early Congressional action to grant your nation permanent Most Favored Nation status.

Through our Trade Enhancement Initiative, we are opening American markets to your products, and beginning a special review to expand your benefits under our Generalized System of Preferences. During your visit, our Governments will sign the new Bilateral Investment Treaty. This accord will assure an attractive investment climate for American firms that do business in your country.

As the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic transforms itself into a vibrant democracy, it also has claimed its place in the councils of Europe. You now work closely with Poland and Hungary to chart a common course in democracy-building. / Mr. President, as a founder of Charter 77, you lived through the days

when the secret police ransacked homes for papers related to the Helsinki Accords. You must marvel that Prague now serves as home to the permanent Secretariat of the CSCE. //

Mr. President, in Prague I spoke of America's enduring role in Europe and of our vision of a new commonwealth of freedom. I know you share that vision -- and I value your strong conviction that the U.S. should remain in Europe as a guarantor of security. Together -- on both sides of the Atlantic -- we can work as partners in a growing community of free nations to extend the values of democracy, free enterprise, and the rule of law.

Your country knows better than most the harsh lessons of history -- what happens when aggression goes unchecked. // When Iraq invaded Kuwait, the Czech and Slovak people stepped forward to take their place in the international coalition against the aggressor. Even as it struggled to secure its own fragile independence, your country came to the defense of a nation in need. ///

You have led the way in showing a new Europe that the security of one state is inseparable from the security of all. I welcome the opportunity to reaffirm today my country's commitment to your success -- to the promise of democracy and independence. //

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

#

McGroarty/Bunton
October 21, 1991
[CZECH.TST]

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

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

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

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

The people of Czechoslovakia chose wisely. In welcoming President Havel earlier today, I mentioned that Czechoslovakia faces the challenge of not one but three revolutions: first, an economic revolution, to replace the failed system of command and

control with a market that responds to the rules of supply and demand. Second, a political revolution -- to replace the totalitarian travesty with democratic institutions and the rule of law. Third -- and most critical -- a moral revolution: the process of building public trust, creating a sense of society -- trading cynicism about all things public for the sense of civic duty that makes democracy work. //

Mr. President, we know the difficulties you face, but we are confident that you will succeed -- that Czechs and Slovaks, working together, will build a stable, prosperous and democratic future.

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

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

In that same spirit, let us raise our glasses: To our guests, President and Mrs. Havel; to the enduring friendship that links the citizens of this country to the Czech and Slovak peoples -- and to the most precious gift of all: freedom.

As Czechoslovakia joins the broader European and global economy, it is also important that it be tied into the Western European energy pipeline system. Accordingly, I call on the World Bank and the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development to provide assistance to commercial pipeline projects already under consideration.

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Cut for space reasons?

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

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

Yet your country has made ^{you have} progress. Czechoslovakia has taken decisive steps to privatize state-enterprises, to liberalize trade and investment, to lift restrictions on private enterprise. Each barrier you sweep away unleashes the energies of free enterprise -- liberates the Czech and Slovak people to pursue their ideas and ideals. //



October 21, 1991

Dave:

Too long. Let's get it down to 3 1/2 pages That's still pretty long.

I ve checked some parts it would be good to keep. Substance fine, just long.

GB

Guidance:
10 minutes way
too long for arrival
statements.
6 min max

FROM THE PRESIDENT

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
10/21/91

McGroarty/Bunton
October 21, 1991
[CZECH]

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#

10/21/91

It would be nice to
get one more humorous
line in here - S

McGroarty/Bunton
October 21, 1991
[CZECH.TST]

OK

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: TOAST AT THE STATE DINNER IN HONOR OF
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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 unalienable rights, [and] that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." //

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

91 OCT 21 AM : 03

October 21, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: DAVE DEMAREST
TONY SNOW *TS*

FROM: DAN MC GROARTY *DMG*

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

I. SUMMARY

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II. DISCUSSION

Your arrival remarks (approximately 10 minutes/cards) pay tribute to President Havel and focus on the economic, political and moral challenges he and Czechoslovakia now face.

As Czechoslovakia joins the broader European and global economy, it is also important that it be tied into the Western European energy pipeline system. Accordingly, I call on the World Bank and the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development to provide assistance to commercial pipeline projects already under consideration.

OCT 21 12:38

Arrival
Energy P.
p. 4

**ARRIVAL STATEMENT FOR VISIT OF PRESIDENT VACLAV HAVEL
SOUTH LAWN \ OCTOBER 22, 1991 \ 10:00 AM**

**TODAY WE WELCOME A MAN WHOSE MORAL AUTHORITY MAKES
HIM A HERO NOT SIMPLY IN HIS OWN LAND -- BUT EVERYWHERE
THAT PEOPLE CHERISH FREEDOM: PRESIDENT VACLAV [VATS-
LAF] HAVEL. //**

**I SUSPECT THE LIFE OF VACLAV HAVEL, PRESIDENT,
WOULD TAX EVEN THE IMAGINATION OF VACLAV HAVEL,
PLAYWRIGHT.**

- 2 -

**YET YOUR LIFE INSPIRES US PRECISELY BECAUSE IT SHOWS
THAT GREATNESS BEGINS WITH SMALL ACTS OF CONSCIENCE AND
PERSONAL DECENCY -- ACTS THAT EACH ONE OF US CAN
PERFORM.**

**CONFRONTED WITH A WALL OF LIES, YOU SUMMONED THE
COURAGE TO "LIVE IN TRUTH:" TO SHUN THE SILENCE THAT
ALLOWS THE LIE TO LIVE -- TO SPEAK OUT, AND RISK THE
CONSEQUENCES. //**

THAT COURAGE SUSTAINED YOU THROUGH FIVE LONG YEARS IN PRISON, AS AN OUTCAST IN YOUR OWN COUNTRY -- TO THE CHILL AUTUMN NIGHT TWO YEARS AGO WHEN THE PEOPLE OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA CAME TO WENCESLAS SQUARE. AT FIRST, A FEW CANDLES FLICKERED IN THE NIGHT SKY. IN TIME, THE SQUARE WAS ABLAZE WITH LIGHT -- THE VELVET REVOLUTION HAD BEGUN. //

LONG BEFORE THAT NIGHT, YOU HAD WRITTEN ABOUT "THE POWER OF THE POWERLESS."

IN THE REVOLUTION OF 89, THE WORLD SAW THE CZECH AND SLOVAK PEOPLE BREAK THEIR CHAINS -- THE WORLD WITNESSED ONCE MORE THE AWESOME POWER OF THE DEMOCRATIC IDEA. //

TODAY, THE ELECTRICITY OF REVOLUTION HAS GIVEN WAY TO THE SOBER BUSINESS OF DEMOCRACY-BUILDING. / YOUR FEDERAL REPUBLIC FACES THE CHALLENGE OF THREE REVOLUTIONS: FIRST, AN ECONOMIC REVOLUTION, TO REPLACE THE FAILED COMMAND SYSTEM WITH THE FREE MARKET.

SECOND, A POLITICAL REVOLUTION: TO REPLACE THE TOTALITARIAN TRAVESTY WITH DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT, AND THE TYRANNY OF MEN WITH THE RULE OF LAW. THIRD, AND MOST IMPORTANT, YOU FACE A MORAL REVOLUTION: THE NEED TO BUILD PUBLIC TRUST AND TOLERANCE, TO TRADE THE CYNICISM THAT HELPED PEOPLE SURVIVE THE OLD REGIME FOR THE IDEALISM THAT WILL HELP YOU BUILD A NEW ONE.

FOR FORTY YEARS, THE RULING REGIME FED YOUR PEOPLE NOTHING BUT LIES:

A STEADY DIET OF QUOTAS FULFILLED, RECORD HARVESTS, UNANIMOUS VOTES AND UNENDING PROGRESS -- AN ELABORATE FANTASY THAT FOOLED NO ONE. TODAY, MR. PRESIDENT, YOU LEAD A PEOPLE WHO KNOW THAT BEING FREE MEANS FACING THE TRUTH -- PREFERRING FACT TO FICTION -- NO MATTER HOW HARSH THE TRUTH MAY BE.

YOUR STRUGGLE IS FAR FROM OVER.

EVERYWHERE ACROSS YOUR COUNTRY YOU FEEL THE STRAINS --
THE DISLOCATIONS AND DEPRESSED STANDARD OF LIVING --
AND I KNOW THE TRANSITION HAS HIT PARTICULARLY HARD IN
SLOVAKIA.

YET YOUR COUNTRY HAS MADE IMPRESSIVE PROGRESS. YOU
HAVE TAKEN DECISIVE STEPS TO PRIVATIZE STATE-
ENTERPRISES, TO LIBERALIZE TRADE AND INVESTMENT, TO
LIFT RESTRICTIONS ON PRIVATE ENTERPRISE.

EACH BARRIER YOU SWEEP AWAY UNLEASHES THE ENERGIES OF
FREE ENTERPRISE -- LIBERATES THE CZECH AND SLOVAK
PEOPLE TO PURSUE THEIR IDEAS AND IDEALS. //

AMERICA STANDS WITH YOU IN THIS EFFORT. OUR TRADE
ENHANCEMENT INITIATIVE AIMS AT OPENING AMERICAN MARKETS
TO YOUR PRODUCTS. WE SEEK THROUGH A SPECIAL REVIEW TO
EXPAND YOUR BENEFITS UNDER OUR GENERALIZED SYSTEM OF
PREFERENCES.

OUR ENTERPRISE FUND WILL CHANNEL CAPITAL TO CZECH AND SLOVAK ENTREPRENEURS READY TO PUT IT TO WORK. OPIC -- THE U.S. GOVERNMENT'S OVERSEAS PRIVATE INVESTMENT CORPORATION -- HAS JUST COMPLETED A MISSION TO CZECHOSLOVAKIA, THE LARGEST MISSION OPIC HAS EVER LED TO ANY COUNTRY. //

DURING YOUR VISIT, OUR GOVERNMENTS WILL SIGN THE NEW BILATERAL INVESTMENT TREATY -- ASSURING AN ATTRACTIVE INVESTMENT CLIMATE FOR AMERICAN FIRMS THAT DO BUSINESS IN YOUR COUNTRY. /

A FEW DAYS AGO, I SIGNED A DOCUMENT EXEMPTING THE CZECH AND SLOVAK FEDERAL REPUBLIC FROM THE REQUIREMENT OF AN ANNUAL JACKSON-VANIK REVIEW. I HOPE FOR EARLY CONGRESSIONAL ACTION TO GRANT YOUR COUNTRY PERMANENT MOST FAVORED NATION STATUS. //

AS YOUR FEDERAL REPUBLIC TRANSFORMS ITSELF WITHIN, IT ALSO HAS CLAIMED ITS PLACE IN THE COUNCILS OF EUROPE. MR. PRESIDENT, AS A FOUNDER OF CHARTER 77, YOU LIVED THROUGH THE DAYS WHEN THE SECRET POLICE RANSACKED HOMES FOR PAPERS RELATED TO THE HELSINKI ACCORDS.

YOU MUST MARVEL THAT PRAGUE NOW SERVES AS HOME TO THE
PERMANENT SECRETARIAT OF THE CSCE. //

MR. PRESIDENT, NEARLY ONE YEAR AGO WHEN I ADDRESSED
YOUR FEDERAL ASSEMBLY, I SPOKE OF AMERICA'S ENDURING
ROLE IN EUROPE -- AND OF OUR VISION OF A NEW
COMMONWEALTH OF FREEDOM. I KNOW YOU SHARE THAT
VISION -- AND I VALUE YOUR STRONG CONVICTION THAT THE
U.S. SHOULD REMAIN IN EUROPE AS A GUARANTOR OF
SECURITY.

TOGETHER -- ON BOTH SIDES OF THE ATLANTIC -- WE CAN
WORK AS PARTNERS IN A GROWING COMMUNITY OF FREE NATIONS
TO EXTEND THE VALUES OF DEMOCRACY, FREE ENTERPRISE, AND
THE RULE OF LAW.

YOUR COUNTRY KNOWS BETTER THAN MOST THE HARSH
LESSONS OF HISTORY -- WHAT HAPPENS WHEN AGGRESSION GOES
UNCHECKED. WHEN IRAQ INVADED KUWAIT, THE CZECH AND
SLOVAK PEOPLE STEPPED FORWARD TO TAKE THEIR PLACE IN
THE COALITION AGAINST THE AGGRESSOR.

EVEN AS IT STRUGGLED TO SECURE ITS OWN FRAGILE INDEPENDENCE, YOUR COUNTRY CAME TO THE DEFENSE OF A NATION IN NEED. //

YOU LED THE WAY IN SHOWING A NEW EUROPE THAT THE SECURITY OF ONE STATE IS INSEPARABLE FROM THE SECURITY OF ALL. I WELCOME THE OPPORTUNITY TO REAFFIRM TODAY MY COUNTRY'S COMMITMENT TO YOUR SUCCESS -- TO THE PROMISE OF DEMOCRACY AND INDEPENDENCE. //

ONCE AGAIN, MR. PRESIDENT, WELCOME TO THE WHITE HOUSE -- AND MAY GOD BLESS THE CZECH AND SLOVAK PEOPLE.

#

STATE DINNER TOAST IN HONOR OF PRESIDENT HAVEL
STATE DINING ROOM \ OCTOBER 22, 1991 \ 7:30 PM

IT IS MY GREAT PLEASURE TO WELCOME ALL OF YOU TO THE WHITE HOUSE. / OUR DISTINGUISHED GUEST TONIGHT SET OUT TO MAKE HIS NAME AS A WRITER OF PLAYS. INSTEAD HE FINDS HIMSELF CENTER STAGE IN A COMPELLING DRAMA: A REVOLUTION THAT MARKED THE END OF A LONG ERA OF SUFFERING AND OPENED UP A NEW WORLD OF HOPE. //

VACLAV HAVEL HAS BEEN CALLED A "RELUCTANT POLITICIAN."

- 2 -

CERTAINLY, HE TAKES A DIFFERENT TACK THAN MOST PUBLIC SERVANTS. OTHERS MIGHT TOSS AROUND BUDGET STATISTICS OR QUOTE THE LATEST OPINION POLLS, BUT NOT PRESIDENT HAVEL. WHEN HE ADDRESSED CONGRESS LAST YEAR, HE SPOKE OF WHAT HE CALLED HIS "ONE GREAT CERTAINTY" -- AND I QUOTE: "CONSCIOUSNESS PRECEDES BEING, AND NOT THE OTHER WAY AROUND." //

[[MEMBERS OF CONGRESS ARE STILL SCRATCHING THEIR HEADS ABOUT THAT ONE. MAYBE I CAN EXPLAIN WHAT MY FRIEND MEANT IN MY NEXT STATE OF THE UNION ADDRESS. //]]

MR. PRESIDENT, YOUR COUNTRY TURNED TO YOU BECAUSE IT SAW IN YOU A MAN OF MORAL CLARITY -- A MAN OF CONVICTIONS, PRINCIPLES BEYOND COMPROMISE. EVEN WHEN A CRIMINAL REGIME BANNED YOUR PLAYS AND SENT YOU TO PRISON, YOU REMAINED FREE IN SPIRIT. //

THE PEOPLE OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA CHOSE WISELY. IN WELCOMING PRESIDENT HAVEL EARLIER TODAY, I MENTIONED THAT CZECHOSLOVAKIA FACES THE CHALLENGE OF NOT ONE BUT THREE REVOLUTIONS: FIRST, AN ECONOMIC REVOLUTION, TO REPLACE THE FAILED SYSTEM OF COMMAND AND CONTROL WITH A MARKET THAT RESPONDS TO THE RULES OF SUPPLY AND DEMAND. SECOND, A POLITICAL REVOLUTION -- TO REPLACE THE TOTALITARIAN TRAVESTY WITH DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS AND THE RULE OF LAW.

THIRD -- AND MOST CRITICAL -- A MORAL REVOLUTION: THE PROCESS OF BUILDING PUBLIC TRUST, CREATING A SENSE OF SOCIETY -- TRADING CYNICISM ABOUT ALL THINGS PUBLIC FOR THE SENSE OF CIVIC DUTY THAT MAKES DEMOCRACY WORK. //

MR. PRESIDENT, WE KNOW THE DIFFICULTIES YOU FACE, BUT WE ARE CONFIDENT THAT YOU WILL SUCCEED -- THAT CZECHS AND SLOVAKS, WORKING TOGETHER, WILL BUILD A STABLE, PROSPEROUS AND DEMOCRATIC FUTURE.

AMERICA STANDS WITH YOU. / OF THE MANY UNFORGETTABLE MOMENTS IN THE REVOLUTION OF 89, I'D LIKE TO RECALL ONE I KNOW BOTH OF US REGARD AS SPECIAL -- ONE THAT UNDERSCORES THE COMMON CAUSE THAT LINKS OUR COUNTRIES. / IT HAPPENED AT A PLACE CALLED BRANIK [BRAH-NEEK] ON THE OUTSKIRTS OF PRAGUE. A WORKER DRESSED IN GRIMY OVERALLS ROSE TO SPEAK AT THE FACTORY GATES. HE BEGAN HIS SPEECH TO HIS FELLOW CITIZENS WITH THESE WORDS:

"WE HOLD THESE TRUTHS TO BE SELF-EVIDENT. THAT ALL MEN ARE CREATED EQUAL, THAT THEY ARE ENDOWED BY THEIR CREATOR WITH CERTAIN UNALIENABLE RIGHTS, [AND] THAT AMONG THESE ARE LIFE, LIBERTY AND THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS." //

IN THAT SAME SPIRIT, LET US RAISE OUR GLASSES: TO OUR GUESTS, PRESIDENT AND MRS. HAVEL; TO THE ENDURING FRIENDSHIP THAT LINKS THE CITIZENS OF THIS COUNTRY TO THE CZECH AND SLOVAK PEOPLES -- AND TO THE MOST PRECIOUS GIFT OF ALL: FREEDOM.

#



THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

October 21, 1991

The President today announced his intention to nominate J. Carter Beese, Jr., of Maryland, to be a Member of the Securities and Exchange Commission for the term expiring June 5, 1996. He would succeed Philip R. Lochner, Jr. Since 1978, Mr. Beese serves as a Partner with Alex Brown and Sons in Baltimore, Maryland.

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#

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 21, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: DAVE DEMAREST
TONY SNOW *TS*

FROM: DAN MC GROARTY *DMG*

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

I. SUMMARY

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

II. DISCUSSION

Your arrival remarks (approximately 10 minutes/cards) pay tribute to President Havel and focus on the economic, political and moral challenges he and Czechoslovakia now face.

McGroarty/Bunton
October 21, 1991
[CZECH]

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

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

I suspect the life of Vaclav Havel, President, would tax even the imagination of Vaclav Havel, playwright. Yet your life inspires us precisely because it shows that greatness begins with small acts of conscience and personal decency -- acts that each one of us can perform.

Confronted with a wall of lies, you summoned the courage to "live in truth:" to shun the silence that allows the lie to live -- to speak out, and risk the consequences. // That courage sustained you through five long years in prison and many more as an outcast in your own country -- to the chill autumn night two years ago when the people of Czechoslovakia came to Wenceslas Square. At first, a few candles flickered in the night sky. In time, the square was ablaze with light -- the Velvet Revolution had begun. //

Long before that night, Vaclav Havel had written about "the power of the powerless." In the Revolution of 89, the world saw the Czech and Slovak people break their chains -- the world witnessed once more the awesome power of the democratic idea. //

Almost one year ago, on the first anniversary of the Velvet Revolution, I had the honor of becoming the first American President ever to visit Czechoslovakia. Mr. President, standing with you before hundreds of thousands of your countrymen was among the most moving moments of my life. / When I addressed your country's Federal Assembly, I brought copies of the American Constitution and our Bill of Rights -- not as a blueprint, a set of rules for you to follow, but as a gesture of friendship between fellow democracies. //

Now in 1991, as America celebrates the Bicentennial of the Bill of Rights -- as Czechoslovakia and its Republics craft their own constitutions -- we affirm these simple truths: That democracy means far more than free elections. That majority rule requires respect for minority rights. That democracy cannot survive unless we safeguard the freedom of all men and women to live, work and worship as they wish. ///

Today, the electricity of Revolution has given way to the sober business of democracy-building. / Your Federal Republic faces the challenge of three revolutions: first, an economic revolution, to replace the failed command system with a market that responds to the rules of supply and demand. Second, a political revolution -- to replace the totalitarian travesty with democratic government, and the tyranny of men with the rule of law, so that Czechs and Slovaks -- working together -- can build a secure future. Third -- and critical to the success of the other two -- a moral revolution: the process of building public

trust, trading the cynicism that helped people survive the old regime for the idealism that will help you build a new one. ///

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

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

Yet your country has made impressive progress. You have taken decisive steps to privatize state-enterprises, to liberalize trade and investment, to lift restrictions on private enterprise. Each barrier you sweep away unleashes the energies of free enterprise -- liberates the Czech and Slovak people to pursue their ideas and ideals. //

In the first year after the Revolution, nearly half-a-million private entrepreneurs registered to do business. You have increased trade with Western economies. When I visited your country one year ago, only 15 American businesses had offices in Prague. Now nearly 100 have established themselves in your capital, with more on the way.

America stands with you in these efforts, ready to help -- not with torrents of government-to-government aid that breeds dependency, but with market-tested advice and assistance, initiatives that encourage business-to-business contacts. Our Enterprise Fund will channel capital to Czech and Slovak entrepreneurs ready to put it to work. OPIC -- the U.S. Government's Overseas Private Investment Corporation -- has just completed a mission to Czechoslovakia, the largest mission OPIC has ever led to any country. //

Together we are taking further steps to encourage trade and investment. A few days ago, I signed a document exempting the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic from the requirement of an annual Jackson-Vanik review. I hope for early Congressional action to grant your nation permanent Most Favored Nation status.

Through our Trade Enhancement Initiative, we are opening American markets to your products, and beginning a special review to expand your benefits under our Generalized System of Preferences. During your visit, our Governments will sign the new Bilateral Investment Treaty. This accord will assure an attractive investment climate for American firms that do business in your country.

As the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic transforms itself into a vibrant democracy, it also has claimed its place in the councils of Europe. You now work closely with Poland and Hungary to chart a common course in democracy-building. / Mr. President, as a founder of Charter 77, you lived through the days

when the secret police ransacked homes for papers related to the Helsinki Accords. You must marvel that Prague now serves as home to the permanent Secretariat of the CSCE. //

Mr. President, in Prague I spoke of America's enduring role in Europe and of our vision of a new commonwealth of freedom. I know you share that vision -- and I value your strong conviction that the U.S. should remain in Europe as a guarantor of security. Together -- on both sides of the Atlantic -- we can work as partners in a growing community of free nations to extend the values of democracy, free enterprise, and the rule of law.

Your country knows better than most the harsh lessons of history -- what happens when aggression goes unchecked. // When Iraq invaded Kuwait, the Czech and Slovak people stepped forward to take their place in the international coalition against the aggressor. Even as it struggled to secure its own fragile independence, your country came to the defense of a nation in need. ///

You have led the way in showing a new Europe that the security of one state is inseparable from the security of all. I welcome the opportunity to reaffirm today my country's commitment to your success -- to the promise of democracy and independence. //

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

#

McGroarty/Bunton
October 21, 1991
[CZECH.TST]

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

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

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

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

The people of Czechoslovakia chose wisely. In welcoming President Havel earlier today, I mentioned that Czechoslovakia faces the challenge of not one but three revolutions: first, an economic revolution, to replace the failed system of command and

control with a market that responds to the rules of supply and demand. Second, a political revolution -- to replace the totalitarian travesty with democratic institutions and the rule of law. Third -- and most critical -- a moral revolution: the process of building public trust, creating a sense of society -- trading cynicism about all things public for the sense of civic duty that makes democracy work. //

Mr. President, we know the difficulties you face, but we are confident that you will succeed -- that Czechs and Slovaks, working together, will build a stable, prosperous and democratic future.

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

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

In that same spirit, let us raise our glasses: To our guests, President and Mrs. Havel; to the enduring friendship that links the citizens of this country to the Czech and Slovak peoples -- and to the most precious gift of all: freedom.

ARRIVAL STATEMENT FOR VISIT OF PRESIDENT VACLAV HAVEL
SOUTH LAWN \ OCTOBER 22, 1991 \ 10:00 AM

TODAY WE WELCOME A MAN WHOSE MORAL AUTHORITY MAKES HIM A HERO NOT SIMPLY IN HIS OWN LAND -- BUT EVERYWHERE THAT PEOPLE CHERISH FREEDOM: PRESIDENT VACLAV [VATS-LAF] HAVEL. //

I SUSPECT THE LIFE OF VACLAV HAVEL, PRESIDENT, WOULD TAX EVEN THE IMAGINATION OF VACLAV HAVEL, PLAYWRIGHT.

- 2 -

YET YOUR LIFE INSPIRES US PRECISELY BECAUSE IT SHOWS THAT GREATNESS BEGINS WITH SMALL ACTS OF CONSCIENCE AND PERSONAL DECENCY -- ACTS THAT EACH ONE OF US CAN PERFORM.

CONFRONTED WITH A WALL OF LIES, YOU SUMMONED THE COURAGE TO "LIVE IN TRUTH:" TO SHUN THE SILENCE THAT ALLOWS THE LIE TO LIVE -- TO SPEAK OUT, AND RISK THE CONSEQUENCES. //

THAT COURAGE SUSTAINED YOU THROUGH FIVE LONG YEARS IN PRISON, AS AN OUTCAST IN YOUR OWN COUNTRY -- TO THE CHILL AUTUMN NIGHT TWO YEARS AGO WHEN THE PEOPLE OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA CAME TO WENCESLAS SQUARE. AT FIRST, A FEW CANDLES FLICKERED IN THE NIGHT SKY. IN TIME, THE SQUARE WAS ABLAZE WITH LIGHT -- THE VELVET REVOLUTION HAD BEGUN. //

LONG BEFORE THAT NIGHT, YOU HAD WRITTEN ABOUT "THE POWER OF THE POWERLESS."

IN THE REVOLUTION OF 89, THE WORLD SAW THE CZECH AND SLOVAK PEOPLE BREAK THEIR CHAINS -- THE WORLD WITNESSED ONCE MORE THE AWESOME POWER OF THE DEMOCRATIC IDEA. //

TODAY, THE ELECTRICITY OF REVOLUTION HAS GIVEN WAY TO THE SOBER BUSINESS OF DEMOCRACY-BUILDING. / YOUR FEDERAL REPUBLIC FACES THE CHALLENGE OF THREE REVOLUTIONS: FIRST, AN ECONOMIC REVOLUTION, TO REPLACE THE FAILED COMMAND SYSTEM WITH THE FREE MARKET.

SECOND, A POLITICAL REVOLUTION: TO REPLACE THE TOTALITARIAN TRAVESTY WITH DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT, AND THE TYRANNY OF MEN WITH THE RULE OF LAW. THIRD, AND MOST IMPORTANT, YOU FACE A MORAL REVOLUTION: THE NEED TO BUILD PUBLIC TRUST AND TOLERANCE, TO TRADE THE CYNICISM THAT HELPED PEOPLE SURVIVE THE OLD REGIME FOR THE IDEALISM THAT WILL HELP YOU BUILD A NEW ONE.

FOR FORTY YEARS, THE RULING REGIME FED YOUR PEOPLE NOTHING BUT LIES:

A STEADY DIET OF QUOTAS FULFILLED, RECORD HARVESTS, UNANIMOUS VOTES AND UNENDING PROGRESS -- AN ELABORATE FANTASY THAT FOOLED NO ONE. TODAY, MR. PRESIDENT, YOU LEAD A PEOPLE WHO KNOW THAT BEING FREE MEANS FACING THE TRUTH -- PREFERRING FACT TO FICTION -- NO MATTER HOW HARSH THE TRUTH MAY BE.

YOUR STRUGGLE IS FAR FROM OVER.

EVERYWHERE ACROSS YOUR COUNTRY YOU FEEL THE STRAINS --
THE DISLOCATIONS AND DEPRESSED STANDARD OF LIVING --
AND I KNOW THE TRANSITION HAS HIT PARTICULARLY HARD IN
SLOVAKIA.

YET YOUR COUNTRY HAS MADE IMPRESSIVE PROGRESS. YOU
HAVE TAKEN DECISIVE STEPS TO PRIVATIZE STATE-
ENTERPRISES, TO LIBERALIZE TRADE AND INVESTMENT, TO
LIFT RESTRICTIONS ON PRIVATE ENTERPRISE.

EACH BARRIER YOU SWEEP AWAY UNLEASHES THE ENERGIES OF
FREE ENTERPRISE -- LIBERATES THE CZECH AND SLOVAK
PEOPLE TO PURSUE THEIR IDEAS AND IDEALS. //

AMERICA STANDS WITH YOU IN THIS EFFORT. OUR TRADE
ENHANCEMENT INITIATIVE AIMS AT OPENING AMERICAN MARKETS
TO YOUR PRODUCTS. WE SEEK THROUGH A SPECIAL REVIEW TO
EXPAND YOUR BENEFITS UNDER OUR GENERALIZED SYSTEM OF
PREFERENCES.

OUR ENTERPRISE FUND WILL CHANNEL CAPITAL TO CZECH AND SLOVAK ENTREPRENEURS READY TO PUT IT TO WORK. OPIC -- THE U.S. GOVERNMENT'S OVERSEAS PRIVATE INVESTMENT CORPORATION -- HAS JUST COMPLETED A MISSION TO CZECHOSLOVAKIA, THE LARGEST MISSION OPIC HAS EVER LED TO ANY COUNTRY. //

DURING YOUR VISIT, OUR GOVERNMENTS WILL SIGN THE NEW BILATERAL INVESTMENT TREATY -- ASSURING AN ATTRACTIVE INVESTMENT CLIMATE FOR AMERICAN FIRMS THAT DO BUSINESS IN YOUR COUNTRY. /

A FEW DAYS AGO, I SIGNED A DOCUMENT EXEMPTING THE CZECH AND SLOVAK FEDERAL REPUBLIC FROM THE REQUIREMENT OF AN ANNUAL JACKSON-VANIK REVIEW. I HOPE FOR EARLY CONGRESSIONAL ACTION TO GRANT YOUR COUNTRY PERMANENT MOST FAVORED NATION STATUS. //

AS YOUR FEDERAL REPUBLIC TRANSFORMS ITSELF WITHIN, IT ALSO HAS CLAIMED ITS PLACE IN THE COUNCILS OF EUROPE. MR. PRESIDENT, AS A FOUNDER OF CHARTER 77, YOU LIVED THROUGH THE DAYS WHEN THE SECRET POLICE RANSACKED HOMES FOR PAPERS RELATED TO THE HELSINKI ACCORDS.

YOU MUST MARVEL THAT PRAGUE NOW SERVES AS HOME TO THE PERMANENT SECRETARIAT OF THE CSCE. //

MR. PRESIDENT, NEARLY ONE YEAR AGO WHEN I ADDRESSED YOUR FEDERAL ASSEMBLY, I SPOKE OF AMERICA'S ENDURING ROLE IN EUROPE -- AND OF OUR VISION OF A NEW COMMONWEALTH OF FREEDOM. I KNOW YOU SHARE THAT VISION -- AND I VALUE YOUR STRONG CONVICTION THAT THE U.S. SHOULD REMAIN IN EUROPE AS A GUARANTOR OF SECURITY.

TOGETHER -- ON BOTH SIDES OF THE ATLANTIC -- WE CAN WORK AS PARTNERS IN A GROWING COMMUNITY OF FREE NATIONS TO EXTEND THE VALUES OF DEMOCRACY, FREE ENTERPRISE, AND THE RULE OF LAW.

YOUR COUNTRY KNOWS BETTER THAN MOST THE HARSH LESSONS OF HISTORY -- WHAT HAPPENS WHEN AGGRESSION GOES UNCHECKED. WHEN IRAQ INVADED KUWAIT, THE CZECH AND SLOVAK PEOPLE STEPPED FORWARD TO TAKE THEIR PLACE IN THE COALITION AGAINST THE AGGRESSOR.

EVEN AS IT STRUGGLED TO SECURE ITS OWN FRAGILE INDEPENDENCE, YOUR COUNTRY CAME TO THE DEFENSE OF A NATION IN NEED. //

YOU LED THE WAY IN SHOWING A NEW EUROPE THAT THE SECURITY OF ONE STATE IS INSEPARABLE FROM THE SECURITY OF ALL. I WELCOME THE OPPORTUNITY TO REAFFIRM TODAY MY COUNTRY'S COMMITMENT TO YOUR SUCCESS -- TO THE PROMISE OF DEMOCRACY AND INDEPENDENCE. //

ONCE AGAIN, MR. PRESIDENT, WELCOME TO THE WHITE HOUSE -- AND MAY GOD BLESS THE CZECH AND SLOVAK PEOPLE.

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WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 10/16/91 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 4:00 p.m. 10/17

ARRIVAL STATEMENT and
STATE DINNER TOAST for

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: CZECHOSLOVAK PRESIDENT VACLAV HAVEL/OCT. 22

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	HORNER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PETERSMEYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BRADY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BROMLEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SMITH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	McBRIDE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	FIRESTONE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	PORTER ROSE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SNOW	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
HOLIDAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

Please provide any comments directly to Tony Snow no later than 4:00 p.m. on Thursday, with a copy to this office. Thanks.

RESPONSE:

The NSC staff concurs with changes as indicated.

Brent Scowcroft

PHILLIP D. BRADY
Assistant to the President
and Staff Secretary
Ext. 2702

W/TS Margin notes

McGroarty/Bunton
October 16, 1991
4:30 pm
[CZECH]

31 OCT 16 PG: 10

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

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

EVATS-1a
^

Pres. has trouble pronouncing "Vaclav." Let's not make him do it 3 times.
(NO)

~~I suspect the life of Vaclav Havel, President, would tax even the imagination of Vaclav Havel, playwright. Yet~~ your life inspires us precisely because it shows that greatness begins with ~~acts of conscience and personal decency -- acts that each one of us can perform.~~

Confronted with a wall of lies, you summoned the courage to "live in truth:" to shun the silence that allows the lie to live -- to speak out, and risk the consequences. // That courage sustained you through five long years in prison and many more as an outcast in your own country -- to the chill autumn night two years ago when the people of Czechoslovakia came to Wenceslavs Square. At first, a few candles flickered in the night sky. In time, the square was ablaze with light -- the Velvet Revolution had begun. //

Long before that night, Vaclav Havel had written about "the power of the powerless." In the Revolution of 89, the world saw the Czech and Slovak people unleashed -- witnessed the awesome power of the democratic idea. //

Cut for reasons of space; also, tone too exuberant for today's somber realities in Czechoslovakia.

NO

~~[Your revolution was also a renewal. It celebrated the universal principles that bind my country to yours -- principles enshrined in Czechoslovakia's own Declaration of Independence, issued here in the United States in 1918 by your first President, Tomas Masaryk (TOE-mas MASS-ah-rick), and Milan Stefanik (MEE-lan SHTEH-fah-neek), proud Slovak patriot. // [[I am proud to announce that this founding document -- preserved for so many years in our Library of Congress -- will return with you to Czechoslovakia.]] //]~~

add, but keep Dan's language

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

NO Cut for space reasons?

Now in 1991, as America celebrates the Bicentennial of the Bill of Rights -- as Czechoslovakia and its Republics craft their own constitutions -- we affirm these simple truths: That democracy means far more than free elections. That majority rule requires respect for minority rights. That democracy cannot survive unless we safeguard the freedom of all men and women to live, work and worship as they wish. ///

YES

Today, the electricity of Revolution has given way to the sober business of democracy-building. / ~~Your Federal Republic~~ / ~~Czechoslovakia~~ faces the challenge of three revolutions: first, an economic

revolution, to replace the failed system of command and control with a market that responds to the rules of supply and demand. Second, a political revolution -- to replace the totalitarian travesty with democratic government, and the tyranny of men with the rule of law, ^{so that Czechs and Slovaks, working together, can build a secure future} Third -- and critical to the success of the other two -- a moral revolution: the process of building public trust, trading the cynicism that helped people survive the old regime for the idealism that will help you build a new one. ///

Yes

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

No
cut
for
space
reasons
?

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

Yes

Yet your country has made ^{you have} progress. Czechoslovakia has taken decisive steps to privatize state-enterprises, to liberalize trade and investment, to lift restrictions on private enterprise. Each barrier you sweep away unleashes the energies of free enterprise -- liberates the Czech and Slovak people to pursue their ideas and ideals. //

One year after the Revolution, nearly half-a-million private entrepreneurs have registered to do business. You have increased trade with Western economies. When I visited your country one year ago, only 15 American businessess had offices in Prague. Now nearly 100 have established themselves in your capital, with more on the way.

with you in these efforts

Yes
America stands ready to help -- not with torrents of government-to-government aid that breeds dependency, but with market-tested advice and assistance, initiatives that encourage business-to-business contacts. Our ~~Czechoslovakia~~ Enterprise Fund will channel ~~Western~~ capital to Czech and Slovak entrepreneurs ready to put it to work. OPIC -- the U.S.

Yes
Government's Overseas Private Investment Corporation -- has just completed a mission to Czechoslovakia, ~~linking American companies to new business opportunities in your country~~ *the largest such mission OPIC has ever led to any country.* //

the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic
As ~~Czechoslovakia~~ transforms itself into a vibrant democracy, it also has claimed its place in the councils of Europe. You now work closely with Poland and Hungary to chart a common course in democracy-building. / Mr. President, as a

founder of Charter 77, you lived through the days when the secret police ransacked homes for papers related to the Helsinki

Accords. You must marvel that Prague now serves as home to the ^{primarily} ~~Secretariat~~ [^] ~~headquarters~~ of the CSCE. //

Yes
~~Czechoslovakia's vision extends beyond the confines of its own continent.~~ Mr. President, your ~~nation~~ ^{Country} knows better than most countries the harsh lessons of history -- what happens when

INSERT
1

INSERT
2

aggression goes unchecked. // When Iraq invaded Kuwait, the Czech and Slovak people stepped forward to take their place in the international coalition against the aggressor. Even as it struggled to secure its own fragile independence, ^{your country} ~~Czechoslovakia~~ came to the defense of a nation in need. (1) ///

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

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

#

(2) You have led the way in showing a new Europe that the security of one state is inseparable from the security of all. I welcome the opportunity to reaffirm today ~~that~~ my country's commitment to your success, and to the consolidation and safeguarding of your democracy and independence.

INSERT 1

document

Together we are taking further steps to encourage trade and investment. A few days ago, I signed a ~~determination~~ exempting the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic from the requirement of an annual Jackson-Vanik review ~~and~~ and I hope for early Congressional action ~~allowing me to grant~~ Czechoslovakia permanent Most Favored Nation status.

Through my Trade Enhancement Initiative, we are opening American markets ~~wide~~ to your products and beginning a special review to expand your benefits under our Generalized System of Preferences. ~~And~~ ^{During} your visit, our ~~two~~ governments will sign the new Bilateral Investment Treaty, which will assure an attractive investment climate for American firms ~~to do~~ business in Czechoslovakia.

This that do

((ENERGY INITIATIVE -- TO BE PROVIDED))

INSERT 2

speaks

Mr. President, when I visited Prague last year, I ~~took that~~ occasion ~~to speak~~ of America's enduring role in Europe and our vision of a new commonwealth of freedom. I know ~~that~~ you share that vision, and I value your strong conviction that the U.S. should remain in Europe as a guarantor of security ~~and stability~~. Together we can work as members of a growing Euro-Atlantic community of free nations to extend the values of democracy, free markets, and the rule of law.

McGroarty/Bunton
October 16, 1991
3:30 pm
[CZECH.TST]

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

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

Vaclav Havel has been called a "reluctant politician."
~~Certainly, he takes a different tack than most public servants. Others might toss around budget statistics or quote the latest opinion polls, but not President Havel. When he addressed Congress last year, he spoke of what he called his "one great certainty" -- and I quote: "Consciousness precedes Being, and not the other way around." // [[Members of Congress are still scratching their heads about that one. Maybe I can explain what my friend meant in my next State of the Union address.]]]~~
But he has proved to be not only a politician much more than a politician; he is an exemplary statesman of the new Europe.

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

The people of Czechoslovakia chose wisely. In welcoming President Havel earlier today, I mentioned that Czechoslovakia faces the challenge of not one but three revolutions: first, an

(Havel is being criticized for *ambiguity*. Let's accentuate the positive.)

economic revolution, to replace the failed system of command and control with a market that responds to the rules of supply and demand. Second, a political revolution -- to replace the totalitarian travesty with ^{democratic} responsive institutions and the rule of law. Third -- and most critical -- a moral revolution: the process of building public trust, creating a sense of society -- trading cynicism about all things public for the sense of civic duty that makes democracy work. //

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

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

In that same spirit, let us raise our glasses:

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

#

Mr. President, we know the difficulties you face and know the burdens you carry. But we are confident that you will succeed, that Czechs and Slovaks, working together, will build a stable, prosperous, and democratic future. And please know that America stands with you.

Revised

McGroarty/Bunton
October 21, 1991
[CZECH]

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

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

I suspect the life of Vaclav Havel, President, would tax even the imagination of Vaclav Havel, playwright. Yet your life inspires us precisely because it shows that greatness begins with small acts of conscience and personal decency -- acts that each one of us can perform.

Confronted with a wall of lies, you summoned the courage to "live in truth:" to shun the silence that allows the lie to live -- to speak out, and risk the consequences. // That courage sustained you through five long years in prison and many more as an outcast in your own country -- to the chill* autumn night two years ago when the people of Czechoslovakia came to Wenceslas Square. At first, a few candles flickered in the night sky. In time, the square was ablaze with light -- the Velvet Revolution had begun. //

Long before that night, Vaclav Havel had written about "the power of the powerless." In the Revolution of 89, the world saw the Czech and Slovak people break their chains -- the world witnessed once more the awesome power of the democratic idea. //

Almost one year ago, on the first anniversary of the Velvet Revolution, I had the honor of becoming the first American President ever to visit Czechoslovakia. Mr. President, standing with you before hundreds of thousands of your countrymen was among the most moving moments of my life. When I addressed your country's Federal ^{Assembly} Congress, I brought copies of the American Constitution and our Bill of Rights -- not as a blueprint, a set of rules for you to follow, but as a gesture of friendship between fellow democracies. //

Now in 1991, as America celebrates the Bicentennial of the Bill of Rights -- as Czechoslovakia and its Republics craft their own constitutions -- we affirm these simple truths: That democracy means far more than free elections. That majority rule requires respect for minority rights. That democracy cannot survive unless we safeguard the freedom of all men and women to live, work and worship as they wish. ///

Today, the electricity of Revolution has given way to the sober business of democracy-building. / Your Federal Republic faces the challenge of three revolutions: first, an economic revolution, to replace the failed command system with a market that responds to the rules of supply and demand. Second, a political revolution -- to replace the totalitarian travesty with democratic government, and the tyranny of men with the rule of law, so that Czechs and Slovaks -- working together -- can build a secure future. Third -- and critical to the success of the other two -- a moral revolution: the process of building public

trust, trading the cynicism that helped people survive the old regime for the idealism that will help you build a new one. ///

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

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

Yet your country has made impressive progress. You have taken decisive steps to privatize state-enterprises, to liberalize trade and investment, to lift restrictions on private enterprise. Each barrier you sweep away unleashes the energies of free enterprise -- liberates the Czech and Slovak people to pursue their ideas and ideals. //

In the first year after the Revolution, nearly half-a-million private entrepreneurs registered to do business. You have increased trade with Western economies. When I visited your country one year ago, only 15 American businesses had offices in Prague. Now nearly 100 have established themselves in your capital, with more on the way.

America stands with you in these efforts, ready to help -- not with torrents of government-to-government aid that breeds dependency, but with market-tested advice and assistance, initiatives that encourage business-to-business contacts. Our Enterprise Fund will channel capital to Czech and Slovak entrepreneurs ready to put it to work. OPIC -- the U.S. Government's Overseas Private Investment Corporation -- has just completed a mission to Czechoslovakia, the largest mission OPIC has ever led to any country. //

Together we are taking further steps to encourage trade and investment. A few days ago, I signed a document exempting the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic from the requirement of an annual Jackson-Vanik review. I hope for early Congressional action to grant Czechoslovakia permanent Most Favored Nation status. Through our Trade Enhancement Initiative, we are opening American markets to your products, and beginning a special review to expand your benefits under our Generalized System of Preferences. During your visit, our Governments will sign the new Bilateral Investment Treaty. This accord will assure an attractive investment climate for American firms that do business in your country.

As the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic transforms itself into a vibrant democracy, it also has claimed its place in the councils of Europe. You now work closely with Poland and Hungary to chart a common course in democracy-building. / Mr. President, as a founder of Charter 77, you lived through the days

when the secret police ransacked homes for papers related to the Helsinki Accords. You must marvel that Prague now serves as home to the permanent Secretariat of the CSCE. //

Mr. President, in Prague I spoke of America's enduring role in Europe and of our vision of a new commonwealth of freedom. I know you share that vision -- and I value your strong conviction that the U.S. should remain in Europe as a guarantor of security. Together -- on both sides of the Atlantic -- we can work as partners in a growing community of free nations to extend the values of democracy, free enterprise, and the rule of law.

Mr. President, your country knows better than most the harsh lessons of history -- what happens when aggression goes unchecked. // When Iraq invaded Kuwait, the Czech and Slovak people stepped forward to take their place in the international coalition against the aggressor. Even as it struggled to secure its own fragile independence, your country came to the defense of a nation in need. ///

You have led the way in showing a new Europe that the security of one state is inseparable from the security of all. I welcome the opportunity to reaffirm today my country's commitment to your success -- to the promise of democracy and independence. //

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

#

91 OCT 20 11:59
WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 10/16/91 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 4:00 p.m. 10/17

ARRIVAL STATEMENT and
 STATE DINNER TOAST for

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: CZECHOSLOVAK PRESIDENT VACLAV HAVEL/OCT. 22

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	HORNER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PETERSMEYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BRADY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BROMLEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SMITH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	McBRIDE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	FIRESTONE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	PORTER ROSE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SNOW	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
HOLIDAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

Please provide any comments directly to Tony Snow no later than 4:00 p.m. on Thursday, with a copy to this office. Thanks.

- MASTER -

RESPONSE:

SEE GARDNER MEMO ATT.
 October 19, 1991

The NSC staff concurs with changes as indicated.

Arrival is long, especially with our inserts.
 Brent Scowcroft

PHILLIP D. BRADY
 Assistant to the President
 and Staff Secretary
 Ext. 2702

McGroarty/Bunton
October 16, 1991
4:30 pm
[CZECH]

31 OCT 16 PG: 10

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

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

[EVATS-laf] ✓

~~I suspect the life of Vaclav Havel, President, would tax
even the imagination of Vaclav Havel, playwright. Yet~~ your life
inspires us precisely because it shows that greatness begins with
~~acts~~ acts of conscience and personal decency -- acts that each
one of us can perform.

(Pres. has trouble pronouncing "Vaclav." Let's not make him do it 3 times.)

Confronted with a wall of lies, you summoned the courage to
"live in truth:" to shun the silence that allows the lie to live
-- to speak out, and risk the consequences. // That courage
sustained you through five long years in prison and many more as
an outcast in your own country -- to the chill autumn night two
years ago when the people of Czechoslovakia came to Wenceslaus
Square. At first, a few candles flickered in the night sky. In
time, the square was ablaze with light -- the Velvet Revolution
had begun. //

✓

Long before that night, Vaclav Havel had written about "the
power of the powerless." In the Revolution of 89, the world saw
the Czech and Slovak people unleashed -- witnessed the awesome
power of the democratic idea. //

(Cut for reasons of space; also, tone too exuberant for today's somber realities in Czechoslovakia.)

~~[Your revolution was also a renewal. It celebrated the universal principles that bind my country to yours -- principles enshrined in Czechoslovakia's own Declaration of Independence, issued here in the United States in 1918 by your first President, Tomas Masaryk (TOE-mas MASS-ah-rick), and Milan Stefanik (MEE-lan SHTEH-fah-neek), proud Slovak patriot. // [[I am proud to announce that this founding document -- preserved for so many years in our Library of Congress -- will return with you to Czechoslovakia.]] //]~~

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

Mr. President, standing with you before hundreds of thousands of your countrymen was among the most moving moments of my life.

Cut for space reasons?

Now in 1991, as America celebrates the Bicentennial of the Bill of Rights -- as Czechoslovakia and its Republics craft their own constitutions -- we affirm these simple truths: That democracy means far more than free elections. That majority rule requires respect for minority rights. That democracy cannot survive unless we safeguard the freedom of all men and women to live, work and worship as they wish. ///

Today, the electricity of Revolution has given way to the sober business of democracy-building. / ~~Czechoslovakia~~ *Your Federal Republic* faces the challenge of three revolutions: first, an economic

revolution, to replace the failed system of ^a command and ^{economy} control with a market that responds to the rules of supply and demand. Second, a political revolution -- to replace the totalitarian travesty with democratic government, and the tyranny of men with the rule of law, ^{so that Czechs and Slovaks, working together, can build a secure future.} Third -- and critical to the success of the other two -- a moral revolution: the process of building public trust, trading the cynicism that helped people survive the old regime for the idealism that will help you build a new one. ///

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

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

Yet your country has made ^{you have} progress. [^] ~~Czechoslovakia~~ has taken decisive steps to privatize state-enterprises, to liberalize trade and investment, to lift restrictions on private enterprise. Each barrier you sweep away unleashes the energies of free enterprise -- liberates the Czech and Slovak people to pursue their ideas and ideals. //

Cut
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?

not two years?

One year after the Revolution, nearly half-a-million private entrepreneurs have registered to do business. You have increased trade with Western economies. When I visited your country one year ago, only 15 American businesses had offices in Prague. Now nearly 100 have established themselves in your capital, with more on the way.

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Government's Overseas Private Investment Corporation -- has just completed a mission to Czechoslovakia, ~~linking American companies to new business opportunities in your country.~~ *the largest such mission OPIC has ever led to any country.*

INSERT 1

~~to new business opportunities in your country.~~ // *the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic*
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INSERT 2

~~Czechoslovakia's vision extends beyond the confines of its own continent.~~ Mr. President, your ~~nation~~ *country* knows better than most countries the harsh lessons of history -- what happens when

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#

7 lines
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HAVEL ARRIVAL -- INSERTS (PAGE 4)

INSERT 1

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1/2 page

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((ENERGY INITIATIVE -- TO BE PROVIDED))

INSERT 2

8 lines

Mr. President, when I visited Prague last year, I took that occasion to speak of America's enduring role in Europe and our vision of a new commonwealth of freedom. I know that you share that vision, and I value your strong conviction that the U.S. should remain in Europe as a guarantor of security and stability. Together we can work as members of a growing Euro-Atlantic community of free nations to extend the values of democracy, free markets, and the rule of law.

McGroarty/Bunton
October 16, 1991
3:30 pm
[CZECH.TST]

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THE WHITE HOUSE
OCTOBER 22, 1991
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~~Mr. President,~~ ^{of} the many unforgettable moments in the Revolution of 89, I'd like to recall one I know both of us regard as special -- one that underscores the common cause that links our countries. / It happened at a place called Branik [BRAH-neek] on the outskirts of Prague. A worker dressed in grimy overalls rose to speak at the factory gates. He began his speech to his fellow citizens with these words:

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

In that same spirit, let us raise our glasses:

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

#

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MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

91 OCT 17 09:32

October 17, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR TONY SNOW/DAN MCGROARTY

FROM: John S. Gardner *J.S.G.*
SUBJECT: Havel Remarks

This is really fine work, appropriate to the occasion, and I am sure it will be well received by the Czechoslovaks present. I especially liked the weight given to Slovakia, the notion that the country has earned its place in the councils of Europe, and the concentration on the moral leadership of President Havel.

A few specific suggestions:

1. I'd include a pronunciation guide -- isn't it Va-TSLAV HA-vel?
2. On the next to last line of p. 1, "unleashed" sounds like a transitive verb instead of an adjective, hence the change.
3. On p. 3, the beginning of the second full paragraph is a little confusing. It sounds as though the President is going to make reference to the pains of lustrace -- the whole debate about exposing those who had ties with the old regime, which is really a difficult issue in the CSFR at the moment. But then the paragraph goes on to discuss economics. I think you're right to avoid lustrace, but this needs a bit more clarification. ✓
4. Didn't at least one Czech die in Desert Storm? Should we make some reference to that?
5. The third para. of p. 1 in the toast could sound confusing in translation without some clarification such as "free in your spirit" or "free in the inner man." ✓
6. Should there be some further reference to Mrs. Havel and her struggle while her husband was in prison (just a phrase or sentence)?
7. At the end of the toast, would it work to have the President first say the Czech word for freedom, e.g., "gift of all: _____ -- freedom." It might be a nice touch.

But all these are minor points. These speeches were great.

Thanks.

McGroarty/Bunton
October 16, 1991
4:30 pm
[CZECH]

91 OCT 16 P6:10

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: ARRIVAL STATEMENT FOR OFFICIAL VISIT OF
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THE SOUTH LAWN
OCTOBER 22, 1991
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I suspect the life of Vaclav Havel, President, would tax even the imagination of Vaclav Havel, playwright. Yet your life inspires us precisely because it shows that greatness begins with small acts of conscience and personal decency -- acts that each one of us can perform.

Confronted with a wall of lies, you summoned the courage to "live in truth:" to shun the silence that allows the lie to live -- to speak out, and risk the consequences. // That courage sustained you through five long years in prison and many more as an outcast in your own country -- to the chill autumn night two years ago when the people of Czechoslovakia came to Wenceslaus Square. At first, a few candles flickered in the night sky. In time, the square was ablaze with light -- the Velvet Revolution had begun. //

Long before that night, Vaclav Havel had written about "the power of the powerless." In the Revolution of 89, the world saw the Czech and Slovak people ~~unleashed~~ -- witnessed the awesome power of the democratic idea. //

unfettered

Your revolution was also a renewal. It celebrated the universal principles that bind my country to yours -- principles enshrined in Czechoslovakia's own Declaration of Independence, issued here in the United States in 1918 by your first President, Tomas Masaryk (TOE-mas MASS-ah-rick), and Milan Stefanik (MEE-lan SHTEH-fah-neek), proud Slovak patriot. // [[I am proud to announce that this founding document -- preserved for so many years in our Library of Congress -- will return with you to Czechoslovakia.]] //

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

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

Yet your country has made progress. Czechoslovakia has taken decisive steps to privatize state-enterprises, to liberalize trade and investment, to lift restrictions on private enterprise. Each barrier you sweep away unleashes the energies of free enterprise -- liberates the Czech and Slovak people to pursue their ideas and ideals. //

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Czechoslovakia's vision extends beyond the confines of its own continent. Mr. President, your nation knows better than most countries the harsh lessons of history -- what happens when

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

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

#

McGroarty/Bunton
October 16, 1991
3:30 pm
[CZECH.TST]

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

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

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

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

The people of Czechoslovakia chose wisely. In welcoming President Havel earlier today, I mentioned that Czechoslovakia faces the challenge of not one but three revolutions: first, an

economic revolution, to replace the failed system of command and control with a market that responds to the rules of supply and demand. Second, a political revolution -- to replace the totalitarian travesty with responsive institutions and the rule of law. Third -- and most critical -- a moral revolution: the process of building public trust, creating a sense of society -- trading cynicism about all things public for the sense of civic duty that makes democracy work. //

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

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

In that same spirit, let us raise our glasses:

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

#

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

91 OCT 17 A 8:15

DATE: 10/16/91 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 4:00 p.m. 10/17

ARRIVAL STATEMENT and
STATE DINNER TOAST for

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: CZECHOSLOVAK PRESIDENT VACLAV HAVEL/OCT. 22

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	HORNER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE <i>N/C</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT <i>Hutchings</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PETERSMEYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN <i>N/C</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER <i>MC</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BRADY (<i>GARDNER</i>)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH <i>N/C</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BROMLEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SMITH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	McBRIDE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST <i>out of town</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	FIRESTONE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	PORTER ROSE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
GRAY <i>N/C</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SNOW	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
HOLIDAY <i>N/C</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

Please provide any comments directly to Tony Snow no later than 4:00 p.m. on Thursday, with a copy to this office. Thanks.

RESPONSE:

→ Svoboda
→ Sloboda.

PHILLIP D. BRADY
Assistant to the President
and Staff Secretary
Ext. 2702

McGroarty/Bunton
October 16, 1991
4:30 pm
[CZECH]

31 OCT 16 P6:10
PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: ARRIVAL STATEMENT FOR OFFICIAL VISIT OF
CZECHOSLOVAK PRESIDENT VACLAV HAVEL
THE SOUTH LAWN
OCTOBER 22, 1991
10:00 AM

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

I suspect the life of Vaclav Havel, President, would tax even the imagination of Vaclav Havel, playwright. Yet your life inspires us precisely because it shows that greatness begins with small acts of conscience and personal decency -- acts that each one of us can perform.

Confronted with a wall of lies, you summoned the courage to "live in truth:" to shun the silence that allows the lie to live -- to speak out, and risk the consequences. // That courage sustained you through five long years in prison and many more as an outcast in your own country -- to the chill autumn night two years ago when the people of Czechoslovakia came to Wenceslaus Square. At first, a few candles flickered in the night sky. In time, the square was ablaze with light -- the Velvet Revolution had begun. //

Long before that night, Vaclav Havel had written about "the power of the powerless." In the Revolution of 89, the world saw the Czech and Slovak people unleashed -- witnessed the awesome power of the democratic idea. //

Your revolution was also a renewal. It celebrated the universal principles that bind my country to yours -- principles enshrined in Czechoslovakia's own Declaration of Independence, issued here in the United States in 1918 by your first President, Tomas Masaryk (TOE-mas MASS-ah-rick), and Milan Stefanik (MEE-lan SHTEH-fah-neek), proud Slovak patriot. // [[I am proud to announce that this founding document -- preserved for so many years in our Library of Congress -- will return with you to Czechoslovakia.]] //

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McGroarty/Bunton
October 16, 1991
3:30 pm
[CZECH.TST]

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CZECHOSLOVAK PRESIDENT VACLAV HAVEL
THE WHITE HOUSE
OCTOBER 22, 1991
7:30 PM

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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 unalienable rights, [and] that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." //

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WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 10/16/91 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 4:00 p.m. 10/17

ARRIVAL STATEMENT and
STATE DINNER TOAST for

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: CZECHOSLOVAK PRESIDENT VACLAV HAVEL/OCT. 22

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	HORNER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PETERSMEYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BRADY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BROMLEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SMITH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	McBRIDE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	FIRESTONE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	PORTER ROSE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SNOW	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
HOLIDAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

Please provide any comments directly to Tony Snow no later than 4:00 p.m. on Thursday, with a copy to this office. Thanks.

RESPONSE:

*President Havel,
you have often talked of the
forces of light overcoming the
forces of darkness. We here
believe in the power of
light manifesting itself
in thousands of ways.*

PHILLIP D. BRADY
Assistant to the President
and Staff Secretary
Ext. 2702

McGroarty/Bunton
October 16, 1991
4:30 pm
[CZECH]

31 OCT 16 P6:10
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CZECHOSLOVAK PRESIDENT VACLAV HAVEL
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OCTOBER 22, 1991
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Confronted with a wall of lies, you summoned the courage to "live in truth:" to shun the silence that allows the lie to live -- to speak out, and risk the consequences. // That courage sustained you through five long years in prison and many more as an outcast in your own country -- to the chill autumn night two years ago when the people of Czechoslovakia came to Wenceslaus Square. At first, a few candles flickered in the night sky. In time, the square was ablaze with light -- the Velvet Revolution had begun. //

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October 16, 1991
3:30 pm
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#

278 553

Document No.

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

91 OCT 17 P4:38

DATE: 10/16/91 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 4:00 p.m. 10/17

ARRIVAL STATEMENT and
STATE DINNER TOAST for

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: CZECHOSLOVAK PRESIDENT VACLAV HAVEL/OCT. 22

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	HORNER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PETERSMEYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BRADY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BROMLEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SMITH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	McBRIDE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	FIRESTONE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	PORTER ROSE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SNOW	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
HOLIDAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

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RESPONSE: *No comment*

PHILLIP D. BRADY
Assistant to the President
and Staff Secretary
Ext. 2702

McGroarty/Bunton
October 16, 1991
4:30 pm
[CZECH]

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Now in 1991, as America celebrates the Bicentennial of the Bill of Rights -- as Czechoslovakia and its Republics craft their own constitutions -- we affirm these simple truths: That democracy means far more than free elections. That majority rule requires respect for minority rights. That democracy cannot survive unless we safeguard the freedom of all men and women to live, work and worship as they wish. ///

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

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

Yet your country has made progress. Czechoslovakia has taken decisive steps to privatize state-enterprises, to liberalize trade and investment, to lift restrictions on private enterprise. Each barrier you sweep away unleashes the energies of free enterprise -- liberates the Czech and Slovak people to pursue their ideas and ideals. //

One year after the Revolution, nearly half-a-million private entrepreneurs have registered to do business. You have increased trade with Western economies. When I visited your country one year ago, only 15 American businesses had offices in Prague. Now nearly 100 have established themselves in your capital, with more on the way.

America stands ready to help -- not with torrents of government-to-government aid that breeds dependency, but with market-tested advice and assistance, initiatives that encourage business-to-business contacts. Our Czechoslovakia Enterprise Fund will channel Western capital to Czech and Slovak entrepreneurs ready to put it to work. OPIC -- the U.S. Government's Overseas Private Investment Corporation -- has just completed a mission to Czechoslovakia, linking American companies to new business opportunities in your country. //

As Czechoslovakia transforms itself into a vibrant democracy, it also has claimed its place in the councils of Europe. You now work closely with Poland and Hungary to chart a common course in democracy-building. / Mr. President, as a founder of Charter 77, you lived through the days when the secret police ransacked homes for papers related to the Helsinki Accords. You must marvel that Prague now serves as home to the headquarters of the CSCE. //

Czechoslovakia's vision extends beyond the confines of its own continent. Mr. President, your nation knows better than most countries the harsh lessons of history -- what happens when

aggression goes unchecked. // When Iraq invaded Kuwait, the Czech and Slovak people stepped forward to take their place in the international coalition against the aggressor. Even as it struggled to secure its own fragile independence, Czechoslovakia came to the defense of a nation in need. ///

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

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

#

McGroarty/Bunton
October 16, 1991
3:30 pm
[CZECH.TST]

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

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

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

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

The people of Czechoslovakia chose wisely. In welcoming President Havel earlier today, I mentioned that Czechoslovakia faces the challenge of not one but three revolutions: first, an

economic revolution, to replace the failed system of command and control with a market that responds to the rules of supply and demand. Second, a political revolution -- to replace the totalitarian travesty with responsive institutions and the rule of law. Third -- and most critical -- a moral revolution: the process of building public trust, creating a sense of society -- trading cynicism about all things public for the sense of civic duty that makes democracy work. //

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

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

In that same spirit, let us raise our glasses:

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

#

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

91 OCT 17 P3:32

DATE: 10/16/91 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 4:00 p.m. 10/17

ARRIVAL STATEMENT and STATE DINNER TOAST for

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: CZECHOSLOVAK PRESIDENT VACLAV HAVEL/OCT. 22

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	HORNER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PETERSMEYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BRADY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BROMLEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SMITH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	McBRIDE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	FIRESTONE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	PORTER ROSE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SNOW	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
HOLIDAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

Please provide any comments directly to Tony Snow no later than 4:00 p.m. on Thursday, with a copy to this office. Thanks.

RESPONSE: No comment.

Thanks,
Elizabeth Luttig

PHILLIP D. BRADY
Assistant to the President
and Staff Secretary
Ext. 2702

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

91 OCT 17 P1:07

DATE: 10/16/91 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 4:00 p.m. 10/17

ARRIVAL STATEMENT and
STATE DINNER TOAST for

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: CZECHOSLOVAK PRESIDENT VACLAV HAVEL/OCT. 22

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	HORNER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PETERSMEYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BRADY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BROMLEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SMITH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	McBRIDE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	FIRESTONE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	PORTER ROSE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SNOW	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
HOLIDAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

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RESPONSE:

S.R.

PHILLIP D. BRADY
Assistant to the President
and Staff Secretary
Ext. 2702

McGroarty/Bunton
October 16, 1991
4:30 pm
[CZECH]

31 OCT 16 PG: 10

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

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

I suspect the life of Vaclav Havel, President, would tax even the imagination of Vaclav Havel, playwright. Yet your life inspires us precisely because it shows that greatness begins with small acts of conscience and personal decency -- acts that each one of us can perform.

Confronted with a wall of lies, you summoned the courage to "live in truth:" to shun the silence that allows the lie to live -- to speak out, and risk the consequences. // That courage sustained you through five long years in prison and many more as an outcast in your own country -- to the chill autumn night two years ago when the people of Czechoslovakia came to Wenceslaus Square. At first, a few candles flickered in the night sky. In time, the square was ablaze with light -- the Velvet Revolution had begun. //

Long before that night, Vaclav Havel had written about "the power of the powerless." In the Revolution of 89, the world saw the Czech and Slovak people unleashed -- witnessed the awesome power of the democratic idea. //

Your revolution was also a renewal. It celebrated the universal principles that bind my country to yours -- principles enshrined in Czechoslovakia's own Declaration of Independence, issued here in the United States in 1918 by your first President, Tomas Masaryk (TOE-mas MASS-ah-rick), and Milan Stefanik (MEE-lan SHTEH-fah-neek), proud Slovak patriot. // [[I am proud to announce that this founding document -- preserved for so many years in our Library of Congress -- will return with you to Czechoslovakia.]] //

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

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October 16, 1991
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#

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

91 OCT 17 P1: 07 October 17, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR TONY SNOW

FROM: STEPHEN G. RADEMAKER 
ASSOCIATE COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Presidential Remarks: Arrival Statement and State
Dinner Toast for Czechoslovak President Vaclav
Havel

Pursuant to Phil Brady's request, Counsel's Office has reviewed the above-referenced matter and has no legal objection to the proposed presidential remarks.

cc: Phillip D. Brady