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Folder Title:
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Staff Office-Individual:
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Original OA/ID Number:
2189

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**COLLECTION:**
- Clinton Presidential Records
- National Security Council
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**FOLDER TITLE:**
- Czech Republic [3]

**RESTRICION CODES**
- *Presidential Records Act* - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]
  - P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
  - P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
  - P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
  - P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
  - P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
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  - b(5) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(5) of the FOIA]
  - b(6) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
  - b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
  - b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]
President Havel, it is a joy to welcome you to the United States and to the White House. Your remarkable life holds a precious lesson – that people who love their country can act to shape it … and that a single individual can humanize all of us. You have reminded us that words are powerful instruments of change … that words and deeds are together the mainstays of freedom.

Ten years ago, the world was a very different place. Like half of Europe, Czechoslovakia lay shrouded beneath an outdated ideology. Aspirations were suppressed. Debate was stilled. You yourself spent years in jail for expressing beliefs in liberty and human rights that most of us take for granted. For articulating an elemental belief in freedom of speech, you were denied that same freedom.

Today, we celebrate our dramatic progress from that very different world, not so long ago. We celebrate your freedom and the aspirations of all people who insist on the right of self-determination. We celebrate ideas, not ideologies. From South Africa to South Korea to South America, societies are redefining themselves, removing barriers to the imagination, and cultivating the limitless resources of their people. That is a universal phenomenon – neither American nor European – but it owes a great deal to the inspiration provided by a single man, Vaclav Havel, who for years spoke up when it mattered – often at great personal cost.
We are now poised to build the new world of the new century. More people than every before are free to pursue their own destinies. We are grateful for the unprecedented achievement of the century we are leaving. But we are also aware that far too much of the 20th century saw division and dislocation ... nowhere more so than in the heart of Europe.

In the last decade, Europeans have gone far toward repairing the physical damage wrought by a century of war. But no less important has been the job of repairing the continent's spiritual architecture – unifying the hopes and dreams of people who were arbitrarily separated for too long. No person has done better work toward this end than President Havel.

Since assuming office, you have provided a voice of dazzling eloquence to the debate over the Europe's future and the future of our world. A voice of humility and also of great power. You have addressed issues small and large, regional and global, material and spiritual ... but universally human. You have articulated a politics of hope ... a politics of the heart. You have reminded us that all nations, small and large, form a community. You have spoken forcefully about our collective obligation to our children and their children. For their sake, we must do all we can to preserve our world and our community – backing up words with real deeds.

Since 1989, the Czech people have taken enormous strides to build a better world. You have made concrete contributions to the search for peace in Bosnia and Kosovo, strengthened cooperation with your neighbors, and taken steps to heal past wounds with Germany and Russia. You are providing humanitarian assistance to Chernobyl victims in
Ukraine and sharing with other transitioning states the lessons your country has learned in building a vibrant, free market democracy. You have stood with the community of nations against military aggression in the gulf, and you are joining the effort to control the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. And you soon will be members of the most successful alliance in history – NATO— even as your soldiers stand watch with other Allies in Bosnia today.

Together, we are building a stronger foundation for peace and prosperity.

At the end of your historic speech to Congress in 1990, you remembered that the people who founded America were bold in word and in deed. Mr. President, there is not a leader on earth whose words and deeds have meant more than your own. They will live on forever in the hearts and minds of all people who care about human dignity and the power of the imagination to shape our world. On behalf of all Americans, I am honored to welcome you to the White House.

###
Mr. President, it is always an honor to welcome a leader of your stature to the White House. It is difficult to decide which has been more dramatic ... your distinguished career as a playwright or the high drama of the Velvet Revolution and the remarkable leadership you have brought to the Czech Republic over the last decade. You have restored more than your nation’s future ... you have restored your history as well.

Most of us would consider it a small exaggeration to say that government and brilliant intellectual achievement go hand in hand. That is why your presidency has meant so much to so many. You have inspired people around the world that words matter ... that creativity has a place in politics ... that governments cannot make voices go silent simply by putting them behind bars [this is a nice line but not sure what it has to do with his presidency and his conduct thereof as opposed to simple fact he went from being prisoner to president]. Today, whenever you give speech, your words are heard around the world.

Long ago, you called for “anti-political politics” [Politics and Conscience, 1984] Looking back, it was a brilliant political ploy. Your unconventional political career has refreshed and revitalized politics for many who had stopped hoping that governments could change [not clear - - that governments could change i.e. become better government or change the lives of people?]
Does this apply to West or just to former East bloc?]. For all your achievement, you have never lost the honesty, spontaneity and contagious friendliness of your writing. I feel certain that no other head of state would have invited Secretary of State Albright to hear the Velvet Underground [did they reunite? didn’t they disband decades ago?], or appointed Frank Zappa to a government position. You are obviously an astute student of American popular culture, and we thank you for the official attention paid to our artists, many of whom have not exactly been showered with praise by their own government. [no self-critique] [I think it’s a safe guess that this is the first State Dinner Lou Reed has performed at, and we are glad to have him here.]

Before you became President, you wrote movingly about human rights and the need to encourage people’s hopes and dreams. Despite daunting challenges, and you refused to relinquish your own hopes for the future of your country. Even in the dark days of 1978, the last lines of your essay on “The Power of the Powerless” reflected a remarkable optimism and a belief that I have always shared: “For the real question is whether the ‘brighter future’ is really always so distant. What if, on the contrary, it has been here for a long time already …?”

Since assuming power, you have never forgotten this question, or the powerless. You have helped establish a vibrant democracy and civil society. You have led the Czech Republic to a place of prominence in the new Europe, and we look forward to rejoice at your pending accession to NATO. It is a great step forward … but it also recognizes something that existed long before the North Atlantic Treaty … the friendship that has always united our peoples, and always will [how does this account for cold War? Also maybe a little weird to say NATO is somewhat a guage of friendship. Shared interests and ideals yes -- which was not the case
during the cold war -- but not really friendship. Together as partners, we have been working in Bosnia and other Balkan trouble spots to repair the ravages of intolerance and injustice. As allies, I hope we can apply a common vision to promote freedom and prosperity throughout Eastern Europe ... using your own success as an example.

Since the beginning of the United States, we Americans have placed a high value on our connection to the Czech people. [Our government, after all, is based on Czechs and balances much as I appreciate really bad puns, this breaks the envelope]. The first Czechs arrived in the New World in the seventeenth century. Many more came in the wake of the 1848 revolutions. A little over a century ago, the great composer Anton Dvorak [di-VOR-zhahk] composed his New World Symphony, based on the rhythms he heard during his travels across the United States. The flag of the Czech Republic was designed and first flown in New York to honor a visit by the patriot, Tomas Masaryk. From athletes to artists, from actors to astronauts, Czech-Americans have lent their gifts to a grateful nation [Stan Musial, Andy Warhol, Tom Selleck, Kim Novak, James Lovell, Milos Forman, et al.].

There were also darker moments in our history. Americans shared the world's despondency when Czechoslovakia lost its independence fifty years ago. We felt a similar sense of loss when the Prague spring collapsed in 1968. But you taught us that seasons are cyclical, that spring always returns. In 1989, the Velvet Revolution rejuvenated the entire world. In 1998, spring came to Northern Ireland. I hope that before long, spring will come to Bosnia, the Middle East and other regions where hopes and dreams have gone unheard for too long.
Mr. President, none of us knows what the future will bring. Time will tell etc…

Trite-o-meter in the red. In Summer Meditations [102], you wrote, “that life is unfathomable is part of its dramatic beauty and charm.” But I feel confident to predict that the relationship between the United States and the Czech Republic will not only continue – it will flourish during the century we are about to enter.

There is an old Czech-American saying … “too much wisdom does not produce courage.” I think that is a nice way of saying that intellectuals sometimes spend a little too much time with their books, and not enough time in the real world. Mr. President, no one would ever level that accusation at you. You have harmonized the life of the mind with a life of great service to your people. You have moved people not only to think hard about their hopes, but then to act to redeem them.

Thank you for the personal inspiration you have afforded me … and thank you for the voice of reason you have provided for all Americans, for all people everywhere.

Please join me in a toast to the President of the Czech Republic, Vaclav Havel.

###
President Havel, it is a joy to welcome you to the United States and to the White House. Your remarkable life holds a precious lesson – that people who love their country can act to shape it... that tyranny cannot prevail over people who refuse to let it... and that a single individual can humanize all of us. You have reminded us that words are powerful instruments of change... and that words and deeds are together the mainstays of freedom and democracy.

Ten years ago, the world was a very different place. Like half of Europe, many nations around the world, Czechoslovakia lay shrouded beneath an outdated ideology. Aspirations were suppressed. Debate was stilled. You yourself spent years in jail for expressing beliefs in liberty and human rights that most of us take for granted. For articulating an elemental belief in freedom of speech, you were denied that same freedom. This was an insult to you, and to the millions of people, Czech and non-Czech, moved by your words—more than an insult -- the guy was throw n in jail]

Today, we celebrate our dramatic progress from that very different world, not so long ago. We celebrate your freedom and the aspirations of all people who insist on the right of self-determination. We celebrate ideas, not ideologies. From South Africa to South Korea to South America, societies are redefining themselves, removing barriers to the imagination, and
cultivating the limitless resources of their people. That is a universal phenomenon – neither American nor European – but it owes a great deal to the inspiration provided by a single man, who for years spoke up when it mattered – often at great personal cost. [who? need to close the loop to havel]

We are now poised to build the new world of the new century. More people than ever before are free to pursue their own destinies [With very few exceptions, every nation on earth is free to pursue its own destiny [well, since we say more than 50% now democratic, still leaves lots of closed socieites out there]. We are grateful for the unprecedented achievement of the century we are leaving. But we are also aware that far too much of the 20th century saw division and dislocation … nowhere more so than in the heart of Europe.

In the last decade, Europeans have gone far toward repairing the physical damage wrought by world war and cold war [what was physical damage from cold war?]. But no less important has been the job of repairing the continent’s spiritual architecture – unifying the hopes and dreams of people who were arbitrarily separated for too long. No person has done better work toward this end than President Havel.

Since assuming office, you have provided a voice of dazzling eloquence to the debate over the Europe’s future and the future of our world. A voice of humility and also of great power. You have addressed issues small and large, regional and global, material and spiritual … but universally human. You have articulated a politics of hope … a politics of the heart. You have reminded us that all nations, small and large, form a community. You have spoken forcefully
about our collective responsibility to those who will come long after us. For their sake, we must do all we can to preserve our world and our community – backing up our words with real deeds.

Since 1989, the Czech people have taken enormous strides to build a better world. You have rebuilt the bridges that connect you to the west. You are strengthening the bridges that connect you to the east. You are sharing the responsibilities of the community of nations. And you soon will be proud members of the most successful alliance in history – NATO. Together, we are building a stronger lasting foundation for peace and prosperity.

At the end of your historic speech to Congress in 1990, you remembered that the men and women who founded America were bold in word and in deed. I would like to reciprocate the compliment. Mr. President, there is not a leader on earth whose words and deeds have meant more than your own. They will live on forever in the hearts and minds of all people who care about human dignity and the power of the imagination to shape our world. Mr. President, on behalf of all Americans, I am honored to welcome you to the White House.

###
- Czech accomp
- alk.
- Masaryk, Varlen
Mr. President, it is an honor to welcome you to the White House. It is difficult to decide which has been more dramatic ... your distinguished career as a playwright or the high drama of the Velvet Revolution and the remarkable leadership you have brought to the Czech Republic over the last decade. You have restored more than your nation's future ... you have restored your history as well.

Most of us would consider it a small exaggeration to say that government and brilliant intellectual achievement go hand in hand. That is why your presidency has meant so much to so many. You have inspired people around the world that words matter ... that creativity has a place in politics ... that a nation's strength is measured not by its ability to control people, but by its success in empowering them rather than the opposite, by the power of people and their ideas.

For all your achievement, you have never lost the honesty, spontaneity and contagious friendliness of your writing. I feel certain that no other head of state would have appointed Frank Zappa as a consultant for trade, culture and tourism. Or would have invited our Czech-American Secretary of State, Madeline Albright, to go out nightclubbing [not sure this is kind of reference we really want] in New York. You are obviously an astute student of American popular culture, and we thank you for the official attention paid to our artists. It is encouraging to think the Velvet Underground contributed to the Velvet Revolution.
Before you became President, you wrote movingly about human rights and the need to encourage people's hopes and dreams – and you refused to relinquish your own hopes for the future of your country. Even in the dark days of 1978, the last lines of your essay on “The Power of the Powerless” reflected a remarkable optimism and a belief that I have always shared: “For the real question is whether the ‘brighter future’ is really always so distant. What if, on the contrary, it has been here for a long time already ...?”

Since assuming power, you have never forgotten this question, or the powerless. You have helped establish a vibrant democracy and civil society. You have led the Czech Republic to a place of prominence in the new Europe, and we look forward to your pending accession to NATO. It is a great step forward ... but it also builds on something that existed long before the North Atlantic Treaty ... the friendship that has always united our peoples, and always will.

Together as partners, we have been working in Bosnia and other Balkan trouble spots to repair the ravages of intolerance and injustice. As allies, I hope we can apply a common vision to promote freedom and prosperity throughout Eastern Europe ... using your own success as an example.

Since the beginning of the United States, we Americans have placed a high value on our connection to the Czech people. The first Czechs arrived in the New World in the seventeenth century. Many more came in the wake of the 1848 revolutions. A little over a century ago, the great composer Antonin Dvorak [di-VOR-zhahk] composed his New World Symphony, borrowing from the rhythms he heard during his travels across the United States, particularly from African-American folk music. The flag of the Czech Republic was designed and first flown in New York to honor a visit by the patriot, Tomas Masaryk. From athletes to artists, from
actors to astronauts, Czech-Americans have lent their gifts to a grateful nation [Stan Musial, George Halas, Andy Warhol, Tom Selleck, Kim Novak, Eugene Cernan, James Lovell, Milos Forman, Ray Kroc, et al.].

There were also darker moments in our history. Americans shared the world’s despondency when Czechoslovakia lost its independence fifty years ago. We felt a similar sense of loss when the Prague spring collapsed in 1968. But you taught us that seasons are cyclical, that spring always returns. In 1989, the Velvet Revolution rejuvenated the entire world.

Mr. President, you wrote in Summer Meditations, “that life is unfathomable is part of its dramatic beauty and charm.” But as we celebrate diversity and variety in our lives, we are also grateful for the constancy of friendship and mutual respect between nations. The relationship between the United States and the Czech Republic will not only continue—it will flourish during the century we are about to enter.

There is an old Czech-American saying ... “too much wisdom does not produce courage.” I think that is a nice way of saying that intellectuals sometimes spend a little too much time with their books, and not enough time in the real world. Mr. President, you have harmonized the life of the mind with a life of great service to your people. You have moved people not only to think hard about their hopes, but then to act to redeem them. [As this is too long, I would choose to keep either this graf or the one before it but not both]

Thank you for the personal inspiration you have afforded me ... and thank you for the voice of reason you have provided for all Americans, for all people everywhere.
Please join me in a toast to the President of the Czech Republic, Vaclav Havel.

###
Slouan Amerikdansky in Iowa City. Lev J. Palda (1847-1912), the founder of Czech American socialism, established the first Czech social-democratic or socialist newspaper, Národní noviny (National Newspaper), in St. Louis, Missouri. Josefine Humpal-Zeman (1870-1906), an important figure in the women's suffrage movement, founded the Ženské Listy (Woman's Gazette).

LITERATURE
Genê Welke (1903- ), a member of the Prague linguistic Circle, settled in the United States in 1939, where he established the field of comparative literature at Yale University. Bartos Bittner (1861-1912) was an essayist and political satirist. and Albieri (1861-1901) wrote stories of military life.

MUSIC
The composer Antonin Dvořák (1842-1904) lived in the United States from 1892 to 1895, here he wrote the New World Symphony, a piece inspired by American folk motifs, particularly native American rhythms and African-American melodies. Rafael Kubelík (1914- ), son of the violinist Jan Kubelík, studied music at the Prague conservatory and conducted the Czech Philharmonic (1936-39, 1942-48) and the Chicago Symphony Orchestra (1950-53). In 1973-74 he was musical director of the Metropolitan Opera. Bohuslav Martinu (1890-1950), a contemporary composer whose music exhibits French and Czech influences, wrote the Double Concerto (1940), an expression of grief at the partition of Czechoslovakia. Jarmla Novotna Dauber (1907-1993) was an opera singer with the Metropolitan Opera company who studied under the renowned Czech opera singer Emmy Destinn; she also performed at the Salzburg Festival and the National Theater in Prague. Ardis Kramik (1929- ) is general director the Lyric Opera in Chicago. The pianist Rudolf Kusny (1912-1993) made his first appearance with the Czech Philharmonic in 1922 and played with numerous orchestras in the United States, including those in New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Chicago, and Detroit.

PUBLIC LIFE
A. Cernan (1914- ) was copilot on the Gemini 9 mission, lunar module pilot of the Apollo 10 mission, and spacecraft commander of Apollo 17. James Lovell (1928- ) served on the Apollo 8 mission, the first manned flight around the moon.

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY
Biochemists Gerty Cori (1896-1957) and Carl Cori (1896-1984) won the 1946 Nobel Prize for physiology or medicine, for their studies on sugar metabolism. The physician Joseph Goldberger (1874-1929) discovered a cure for pellagra, which he correctly attributed to diet deficiency, against the prevailing view that it was due to infection. Frederick George Novy (1864-1957) made important contributions to the field of microbiology. Joseph Murgas (1864-1930) was a pioneer in wireless technology who, although never able to amass sufficient resources to carry out his research, shared research with Guglielmo Marconi that contributed to the invention and patenting of the device.

SPORTS
George Halas (1895-1983) was founder and owner of the Chicago Bears football team. As head coach he led his team to seven championship seasons. Jack Root (1876-1963) was the first world champion lightweight boxer in 1903. Stan Musial (1920- ) was an outstanding baseball hitter and outfielder with the St. Louis Cardinals who won seven batting championships. Martina Navratilova (1956- ) has dominated women's tennis since the 1970s, winning the U.S. Open and Wimbledon numerous times and becoming only the fifth person in history to win the Grand Slam. Ivan Lendl (1960- ) has likewise dominated men's tennis, winning the U.S. Open in 1985 and the Australian Open in 1989. Stan Mikita (1940- )
TRADITIONS, CUSTOMS, AND BELIEFS
Community festivals such as polka celebrations and hospy (mushroom) hunting contests continue to play a prominent role in Czech American culture. Some traditions celebrated in the early days of immigration were centered around the church. At box-supper church fund raisers, women baked their fanciest dinners and put them into boxes decorated with crepe paper, hearts, and ribbons to be auctioned off to the highest bidder.

Customs frequently were derived from old pagan traditions. On Palm Sunday, children created an effigy of Smrt ("death"), a lifesize straw doll that might be dressed in rags and have a necklace of eggs. The straw woman, who symbolized the end of winter, was then cast into a river as the children sang a welcome to the beginning of spring. On New Year’s Eve, young men would gather in circles and fire their rifles into the air three times, a practice known as “shooting the witches.”

Czech superstitions include the belief that a bird that flies into a house is an omen of death. A dream about a body of water could also mean that a death would occur. Pebbles were placed inside eggshell rattles made for children, to drive away evil spirits. A garnet that dimmed while worn on the body was thought to be a sign of melancholy.

TRADITIONAL COSTUMES
Czech American traditional costumes were worn as everyday apparel in some parts of the country until the twentieth century, when they were worn only on ceremonial occasions. Women’s billowy skirts, multicolored or solid, were topped by gold-trimmed black vests and blouses with full puffed sleeves that might be trimmed in gold or lace and embroidered with a floral geometric motif. Women’s bright caps were worn flat on the head and had flaps on either side. Men’s trousers were

PROVERBS
Czech proverbs express popular wisdom on themes such as the family, labor, fortune, and benevolence. Common proverbs among Czech Americans in the United States include: Father and mother have taught us how to speak, and the world how to keep quiet; Too much wisdom does not produce courage; A pocketful of right needs a pocketful of gold; The poor are heaven’s messengers; He who has daughters has a family, and he who has sons has strangers; If there were no children, there would be no tears; All the rivers do what they can for the sea; Better a lie that heals than a truth that wounds; As long as the language lives, the nation is not dead.

CUISINE
Czech American cooking boasts a range of savory meat dishes and rich, flavorful desserts that can be prepared with simple ingredients. Potatoes, mushrooms, and cabbage are the staples of Czech cooking. Czech cooks in Minnesota prepared a potato strudel; flour was added to mashed potatoes to form a stiff dough, which was then sprinkled with cinnamon and melted goat’s milk butter and baked in the oven. Mushrooms picked during autumn field trips were brought home in bushels and set out in neat rows to dry. They were then turned into a sour mushroom soup which contained sauerkraut juice and fried onions. Sauerkraut, made from boiled cabbage, could also be mixed with pork and rice to make a cabbage roll.

The best-known Czech dessert is koláče, a sweet, squared-shaped dough bread filled with cheese; stewed prunes, apricots, or other fruit; or a mixture of poppy seed, custard pudding, and honey. Traditional at Christmas time was váněčka, a Christmas twist loaf flavored with mace, anise, and lemon and sprinkled with almonds and seedless raisins.

of other immigrant communities. The self-sufficiency of Czech urban settlements, with their assemblage of Czech-owned banks, theaters, amusement halls, and shops, may have contributed to a perception of Czechs as "clannish." Despite the Czechs' insistence that they be referred to as "Czechs," many Americans persisted in calling them by the pejorative "Bohunks" or by the less pejorative, but equally unacceptable "Bohemians." When the Czechs began moving out of urban neighborhoods into the suburbs after World War II, their search for new homes was not always greeted with enthusiasm. Some efforts at community expansion were met with strong prejudice, as when a Czech real-estate developer attempting to purchase land in a Chicago suburb returned home to find a burning cross on his land.

To many early twentieth-century observers, the Czechs were a relatively "successful" immigrant community. They were perceived as law-abiding and family- and community-oriented, and because they were dedicated to becoming fully Americanized, their assimilation into American culture was relatively smooth and complete.
Community festivals such as polka celebrations and houby (mushroom) hunting contests continue to play a prominent role in Czech American culture.

CZECH AMERICANS

by Christine Molinari

OVERVIEW

Under Communist rule until 1989, the Czech Republic (Česká Republika), which shared a common federal government with Slovakia until 1992, is now an independent state with democratic, multiparty institutions. Located in central Europe and occupying a territory of 78,864 square kilometers, it is bordered on the northwest and southwest by the Federal Republic of Germany, on the south by Austria, on the southeast by Slovakia, and on the north by Poland.

The Czech Republic has a population of 10,339,000. Of that number, 81.3 percent claim to be of Czech ethnic origin; 13.2 percent are Moravian; and the remaining 4.5 percent belong to other groups, notably Slovak, Polish, German, Silesian, Romany (Gypsy), Hungarian, or Ukrainian. The majority of Czechs (39.2 percent) are Roman Catholic, with a smaller number (4.1 percent) adhering to Protestant denominations. Czech is the official language. The capital city, Prague, preserves one of the oldest and richest architectural traditions in Europe, with many buildings, such as the Romanesque Church of St. George and the Gothic St. Vitus Cathedral, dating back to the Middle Ages. The flag of the Czech Republic, designed and first flown in New York to honor the visit of the World War I patriot Tomas G. Masaryk, consists of a blue triangle on a rectilinear background of white and red.
ALTHOUGH headlines like "Rock Legend Dies" have attended the death on Saturday of Frank Zappa, he was scarcely a household name of the sort you could bracket with Bruce Springsteen or Axl Rose. Some knew Zappa only as the man who christened his children Dweezil and Moon Unit. Others took one look at his alarming hawk-like nose, Billy Connolly hair and bandit's moustache (Zappa's parents were second generation Sicilian-Greeks living in Baltimore), and fled towards the comfort and safety of Adult Orientated Rock.

However, discerning listeners who pride themselves on taking an investigative peek into rock's dimly lit, difficult places, recognise Zappa as rock 'n' roll's first satirist and its most original intellectual prankster. Young Frank began his musical life thwacking at a set of drums, bashing out rhythm 'n' blues with a group called The Ramblers, but equally important to his subsequent development was the early discovery of Edgard Varese's experimental piece, Ionisation. Thenceforth, his career would manage to cast a critical eye over the venality and crassness of rock, while exploring widely across the spectrum of orchestral, improvised and "new" music.

By the time Zappa joined the Soul Giants in 1964, he had already dabbled with B-movie soundtracks and had a brush with the law over a spoof pornographic recording. By 1966, the Soul Giants had become the Mothers Of Invention and had recorded the provocative and barely house-trained Freak Out!, a riot of in-jokes, free improvisation and protest songs.

Zappa's ironic distance from the rock and pop mainstream was punched home by 1967's We're Only In It For The Money, the title alone displaying a cynicism decades ahead of its time while everybody else was wearing beads and flowers. Then he paraded his eclecticism with the doo-wop of Ruben And The Jets and the ferocious and precocious jazz-rock of Hot Rats. In 1971, he made the movie 200 Motels, with matching soundtrack, possibly thereby inventing the spoof "rockumentary" form exploited by Spinal Tap more than a decade later.

For the next 20-odd years, Zappa's musical and business career was an object lesson in restless self-determination. His music reflected and plundered from punk, movie soundtracks, modern jazz and big band music, never afraid to bound from Berg to Bartok to Berry (Chuck). He railed against America's corporate complacency and political lurch to the right, deplored racism and homophobia, and made a rare foray into the pop charts with the Top 40 hit, Valley Girl, in
1982. Away from the recording studio, he instigated legal action to regain ownership of master tapes of albums he recorded for MGM/Verve, and subsequently took on Warner Bros in his battle for control over his career. He set up his own Barking Pumpkin label as a vehicle for both new recordings and reissues of earlier work.

His homeland, famously lacking in irony, found it difficult to bestow the kind of recognition on Zappa that he deserved. However, Czechoslovakia appointed him its Cultural Liaison Officer with the West in 1991, Zappa having interviewed Czech premier Vaclav Havel on US cable TV the year before. Last night Havel said: "Zappa was a friend of our newly born democracy and one of the first people to visit here after the revolution [in November 1989]."

Zappa was too inquisitive and provocative to be easily pigeonholed, and it will take years for his achievements to be fully appreciated. Meanwhile, there's his new album with the Ensemble Modern, The Yellow Shark (Music For Nations), to be going on with.

LANGUAGE: English

LOAD-DATE: December 7, 1993
Frank Zappa, rock musician and satirist, died from prostate cancer in Los Angeles on December 4 aged 52. He was born in Baltimore, Maryland, on December 21, 1940.

AN OBSTREPEROUS and delightfully barking mad spirit, Frank Zappa was one of rock music's innovatory forces. But, though a talented musician, his penchant for bizarre humour and his gift of waspish satire were a combined insurance policy against his taking either himself or the rock ethos too seriously. California's Sixties' counter-culture and its Flower Children were no more proof against his barbs than a conservative Eighties' housewives' pressure group which wanted cinema-style ratings for pop records to alert the public to their content. "The whole hippie scene is wishful thinking," Zappa said in 1968. "They wish they could love but...it's easier to make someone mad than to make somebody love." The content of much Sixties' music he felt was "pitiful".

In this he displayed sharper critical acumen than was at that time to be had from much of an adoring press (even The Times's music critic described the Beatles as 'the greatest song-writers since Schubert'). Zappa took a different view of pop music's icons. His 1967 album We're Only in it for the Money, mercilessly parodied in both content and cover artwork the Beatles' reverentially received Sergeant Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band. The 'Fab Four', at that stage accustomed to plaudits for whatever they did, were not amused.

Zappa was too intelligent to be part of an ambience which accepted the half-baked and the second rate as "culture". (So were a number of other rock musicians but they were making far too much money to say so). He was familiar with classical music, particularly the works of 20th-century masters such as Stravinsky and Edgar Varese. And he was one of the first rock musicians to inject elements of jazz and classical music into his work.

Zappa also had a refreshing lack of desire to be idolised by his fans. "Hello pigs," he would snarl by way of greeting to his audiences, thus putting them neatly in the place of the police they themselves loved to hate. Allied to his talent for verbal satire was a love of theatrical outrage, which he employed in a ceaseless search for new ways to cause offence to his fellow Americans.

At the Garrick Theatre in New York's Greenwich Village in 1968, he incited a party of US marines in the audience to get up on stage and demonstrate their bayoneting skills on some baby dolls. Over the years his songs poked fun at
Jews, Catholics, politicians, the police and homosexuals. He once described the trade of rock journalism as: "people who can't write interviewing people who can't talk for people who can't read."

Frank Vincent Zappa Jr was of Sicilian-Greek parentage. When he was nine the family moved to California, eventually settling in Lancaster, a small town in the Mojave desert. There, at Antelope Valley High School, he started a school band called the Blackouts. After high school Zappa began playing with local groups. In 1959 he enrolled in Chaffee Junior College, where he studied harmony for a while before dropping out. In that year he married a girl called Kay. The marriage was dissolved in 1964.

For a time he scraped a living playing in cocktail bars and then, with the money earned from writing the soundtracks for a couple of B-movies, he set up a recording studio in Cucumonga, San Bernardino. Studio Z, as he named it, was closed down in 1964, after Zappa made a pornographic recording, commissioned by a used car salesman who turned out to be a detective from the San Bernardino Vice Squad. Zappa was jailed for ten days for the offence.

He moved to Los Angeles where he joined the singer Ray Collins in a band called the Soul Giants. The Giants became the Mothers and were eventually spotted by Bob Dylan's producer Tom Wilson, playing at the Whiskey-A-Go-Go club. Wilson got them a contract with Verve records, a subsidiary of MGM intended primarily as an outlet for jazz and rhythm and blues.

The group, now called the Mothers Of Invention at the insistence of the record company, released its debut album, Freak Out, in 1966. This was followed in 1967 by Absolutely Free. It was We're Only in it for the Money which cemented the Mothers' international reputation. A frenetic patchwork of styles from hard core rock to doo wop pastiche, it mocked everything held dear by the Flower Power generation. They lapped it up nevertheless.

Zappa disbanded the Mothers in 1969 proclaiming himself to be "tired of playing for people who clap for all the wrong reasons," and embarked on a solo career. Later the same year he married Gail Sloatman; they had two sons, Dweezil and Ahmet and two daughters Moon Unit and Diva.

The commercial appeal of Zappa's recordings was circumscribed by their unpredictability and their often outrageous content. America, in particular, tended to be rather squeamish about his lyrics. Either their scatological content as in: "Watch out where the huskies goAnd don't eat all that yellow snow'' offended the American housewife, or the wildly politically incorrect "'He's So Gay'' and 'Jewish Princess' had their respective pressure groups apoplectic with rage. Zappa did not much like England which he thought of as a Third World country and its people as being in thrall to notions of regality and pecking order: '"Until you change yourself from subjects to citizens you are going to be eating shit, aren't you?'" But Britain liked him, and his most impressive album, Hot Rats (1969), was a success here though it barely registered on the other side of the Atlantic. His work was popular, too, in Germany and The Netherlands, where earthy, straight-speaking lyrics have never been a bar to success. In samizdat recordings he was also popular in many Soviet bloc countries, notably Czechoslovakia.

His work continued to provoke controversy. In 1971 he was forced to cancel a
concert performance of 200 Motels with the Royal Philharmonic Orchestra due to be held at London's Royal Albert Hall, after the venue's representatives declared the libretto obscene. Later that same year, at a concert at London's Rainbow Theatre, Zappa was attacked and pushed off the stage by a fan's jealous husband. Badly injured, he spent several weeks in hospital and most of the ensuing year in a wheelchair. For some time afterwards he tried to avoid England. Nevertheless he returned to this country in 1988, bringing a breathtaking two-and-a-half hour show which mixed his latest work of tortuous musical intricacy with a leavening of the old favourites.

Besides music Zappa also spent time and energy opposing the Parents Music Resource Centre, a pressure group of Washington women dedicated to 'cleaning up' rock lyrics through censorship if necessary. Zappa dismissed PMRC's leaders Vice-President Al Gore's wife Tipper and former Secretary of State James Baker's wife Susan as 'bored housewives' and, before a congressional panel, derided the notion that his lyrics could influence behaviour: 'I wrote a song about dental floss but did anyone's teeth get cleaner?'

Another activity was Why Not? an international 'licensing, consulting and social engineering company' which he founded in 1989. One of its first clients was the Czechoslovak government whose leader Vaclav Havel regarded Zappa as one of the great influences on his life. On their first meeting in 1990 Havel was so taken with Zappa that he appointed him his consultant for trade, culture and tourism. James Baker thereupon advised Havel that he could do business with either the US or Zappa, but not both.

Cancer of the prostate was eventually diagnosed in 1991, but Zappa continued to work until physical strength failed him completely.

His wife Gail and the four children of what Zappa always called 'marriage as a Dada concept' survive him.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: December 8, 1993
The Rolling Stones, once denounced by the former Communist Government of Czechoslovakia as a capitalist money-making machine, performed before an enthusiastic audience of 107,000 who ignored a heavy rain to attend an outdoor concert on Saturday, which both the band and the fans said they had been awaiting for years.

The concert, staged at the invitation of President Vaclav Havel, was a late addition to the band's Urban Jungle tour of about 25 European cities. Tanks are rolling out, the Stones are rolling in, was the slogan with which this concert was promoted. Mr. Havel and his wife, Olga, attended the performance.

Tickets cost about $10; the Rolling Stones performed free. The proceeds are to go to a charity for disabled children under the patronage of Mrs. Havel.

A spokesman for the Rolling Stones said that the group had been interested in performing in other former East Bloc countries during its tour, but that it had not been possible to make the arrangements except in Prague and for two performances in East Berlin last Monday and Tuesday. The Stones last played Eastern Europe in the late 1960's, performing in Warsaw.

Jackets for Glassware

Several hours before the concert, the five members of the Stones met with Mr. Havel at his official residence at Hradcany Castle overlooking Prague. The band gave him several leather and denim bomber jackets with the Rolling Stones insignia, and he gave them some fine glassware.

The Czechoslovak news agency CTK reported that "in the conversation with Mick Jagger and other members of the Rolling Stones, the president expressed his joy over the fact that the concert was taking place, and spoke of the role that rock music played in the events leading to the November revolution and the revolution itself.''

Mr. Havel, who has attended the rock club CBGB in Manhattan, has reversed the country's official stand on its distaste for rock music. This year, he appointed the musician Frank Zappa a special cultural ambassador for
Czechoslovakia.

Although such artists as Stevie Wonder and Joan Baez performed here in recent years, opportunities for Western and Czechoslovak rock artists were sharply limited.

Czechoslovak followers of the Rolling Stones said the band's "Black and Blue" album from the 1970's was its only album sold officially in Czechoslovakia before the revolution in November. But Czechoslovak fans kept up with the Stones and other Western rockers by listening to bootlegged recordings and foreign radio broadcasts.

Gymnastics of a Different Sort

The concert, complete with a fireworks display and giant inflatable figures, was staged at Strahov Stadium here, said to be the largest in the world. The stadium had mainly been used for gymnastics exhibitions favored by the former Communist Government. But since the gymnastics were staged only once every five years, the stadium was considered by many in Prague to be a white elephant.

Concertgoers came from across Europe, but organizers said the largest number of foreign concertgoers, about 10,000, came from neighboring Hungary.

The concert took place just three days before the 22d anniversary of the Soviet-led invasion of the country to crush Prague Spring, the reform movement of 1968.

As if to underline irreverently the country's break with the past, a giant cut-out poster of the band's logo - a tongue sticking out of a mouth - was put up on a hill overlooking the historic old section of Prague. Giant portraits of Stalin had stood there in the past.

Still Strutting, Still Jumping

After several warmup groups played, the Rolling Stones performed for 2 hours and 20 minutes. Mick Jagger, who became 47 years old in July, strutted, jumped, played and sang in his energetic fashion on such familiar songs as 'Jumping Jack Flash'.

The audience was particularly excited by 'Satisfaction' and 'Sympathy for the Devil'.

After the concert, Zdena Riegrova, a 23-year-old student at Charles University in Prague, said: 'It was a great experience. It's a pity we couldn't have seen them 10 years ago.'

GRAPHIC: Photo:Keith Richards, left, and Mick Jagger of the Rolling Stones with President Vaclav Havel, right, during a meeting on Saturday in Prague before the band's concert, which Mr. Havel attended. (Agence France-Presse)

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH
FOR sheer urban cool, new Labour has a lot to do to catch up with Vaclav Havel, the Czech President, and Madeleine Albright, the American Secretary of State. Havel and his new wife were in New York on Thursday evening to pick up yet another poet-cum-statesman award. After the formalities, Havel telephoned an old friend, the singer Lou Reed, and suggested a night out clubbing. Havel and Reed got to know one another in the 1970s when Havel used to smuggle Velvet Underground albums into Prague, where they became favourites of the anti-communist movement.

Reed suggested they go to a dive called the Knitting Factory. When they met, Havel said he was expecting some more friends to join them. But even the seen-it-all Reed looked stunned when Albright, who has Czech blood, arrived surrounded by security guards. When she insisted on gabbing through the show, however, the performer, John Zorn, called out: "Would everyone up in the balcony please be quiet and listen to the music?"
provisions in light of my constitutional duties.

Section 206 of the Act would establish a United States Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy. Several of its provisions would impermissibly interfere with the President’s control over the deliberative processes of the executive branch. Section 206 clearly contemplates that the Commission shall report to the Congress about deliberations within the executive branch and, indeed, shall monitor the executive branch in its execution of the laws. I shall interpret these provisions consistent with my authority as head of the unitary executive branch to “take care that the Laws be faithfully executed,” U.S. Constitution, Article II, Section 3, to coordinate and supervise my subordinates, and to have the executive branch speak with one voice to the Congress.

Certain provisions of the Act could be construed to require impermissible racial preferences. In order to avoid legal challenge, these provisions will also be construed in accordance with the Constitution.

On a different matter, it is my understanding that section 128, removing the sunset provision on section 901 of the 1988-89 Authorization Act, which prohibits the exclusion of aliens on certain grounds, has no effect on the substance of section 901 or on the way the executive branch has applied it since its enactment.

Finally, with regard to Title IX, I want to reiterate that legislatively mandated sanctions represent an unwise constraint upon the President’s ability to conduct foreign policy. I note, however, that the section provides flexibility, by permitting a Presidential waiver to lift suspensions, in whole or in part, when it is in the national interest of the United States.

GEORGE BUSH


Note: H.R. 3792, approved February 16, was assigned Public Law No. 101-246.

Remarks Following Discussions With President Václav Havel of Czechoslovakia

February 20, 1990

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

Mr. President, your life has been one of miraculous transformations from the world of drama to the world of dissent, from the life of the artist to the life of the activist, and of course in the space of just 1 short year, the most miraculous journey of all, from prison to the Presidency. And of course it’s possible to measure profound change in more personal terms. For years, as a dissident subject to arrest and imprisonment at any time, you could never go out without your toothbrush in your pocket. But now, as President, you can never go out without one of these neckties. [Laughter]

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

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

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

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

And I am pleased that we've had this opportunity to meet, to speak together about the changes that are taking place from Prague to Moscow, and about Czechoslovakia's place in the heartland of the new Europe now emerging. We know there is no room for illusions. Difficult work lies ahead. The damage of four decades of fear and repression cannot be repaired in a day. But we know something more: We know that the people of Czechoslovakia have waited long enough, and they know it's time to move forward to freedom.

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

Mr. President, you've not asked for American economic aid, and you made it clear that democratic Czechoslovakia wants the opportunity to do business on an equal footing. And in that regard, I am pleased to announce that I signed today letters notifying our Congress that I am waiving the Jackson-Vanik amendment for Czechoslovakia. Today our trade representatives began negotiating a trade agreement. Pending passage by your Parliament of new liberal emigration legislation, these measures will permit us to extend the most-favored-nation status to Czechoslovakia without the requirement of an annual waiver, granting your country the most liberal access to the American market possible under United States law.

Mr. President, you've also explained the enormous tasks that you face in rebuilding a democracy on the ruins of the one-party state that you inherited. And you've identified several areas where help is needed, and we are ready to respond. Let me just mention two specifics. First, in response to your request, I am asking Peace Corps Director Paul Coverdell to take the initial steps to bring the Peace Corps to Czechoslovakia by this fall. And second, I am delighted that we will soon reopen our consulate in Bratislava, as well as new cultural centers there and in Prague.

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

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

In 1939, at the time of the Nazi invasion, Professor Kozak had 2 hours to pack his belongings and to flee Czechoslovakia. Among the items he took with him, this portrait of his friend. Professor Kozak settled in Ohio at Oberlin College, and so did this portrait until today. And now, with freedom returning to Czechoslovakia, so, too, should this portrait of President Masaryk, Czechoslovakia's first President and champion of freedom.

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

Mr. President, it is always an honor to welcome a leader of your stature to the White House. It is difficult to decide which has been more dramatic ... your distinguished career as a playwright or the high drama of the Velvet Revolution and the remarkable leadership you have brought to your nation over the last decade. You have ... you nation's future ... you have honored your history as well.

Most of us would consider it a small exaggeration to say that government and brilliant intellectual achievement go hand in hand. That is why your presidency has meant so much to so many. You have inspired people around the world that words matter ... that creativity has a place in politics ... that governments cannot make voices go silent simply by putting them behind bars.

It would be difficult to remember the last head of state with an equal measure of eloquence. But for all your achievement, you have never lost the honesty, humility and contagious friendliness of your writing. I feel certain that no other leader head of state would have invited Secretary of State Albright to hear the Velvet Underground, or appointed Frank Zappa to a government position. You are obviously an astute student of American popular culture, and we thank you for the official attention paid to our artists, many of whom have not exactly been showered with praise by their own government.
Before you became President, you wrote movingly about human rights and the need to encourage people’s hopes and dreams. Despite daunting challenges, you refused to relinquish your own hopes for the future of your country. Even in the dark days of 1978, the last lines of your essay on “The Power of the Powerless” reflected a remarkable optimism and a belief that I have always shared: “For the real question is whether the ‘brighter future’ is really always so distant. What if, on the contrary, it has been here for a long time already, and only our own blindness and weakness has prevented us from seeing it around us and within us, and kept us from developing it?”

Since assuming power, you have never forgotten this question, and you have always used power to help the powerless. You have helped establish a vibrant democracy and civic society. Your government has been a model of fairness and openness. You have led the Czech Republic to a place of prominence in the new Europe, and we rejoice at your impending recent accession to NATO. It is a great step forward—but it also recognizes something that existed long before the North Atlantic Treaty … the friendship that has always united our peoples, and always will. Together as partners we have been working in Bosnia and other Balkan trouble spots to help the rectify the ravages of intolerance and injustice. As Allies, I hope we can apply a common vision and some of the lessons of your country’s transformation to promote freedom and prosperity throughout Eastern Europe.

We Americans have always placed a high value on our connection to the Czech people. [Our government, after all, is based on Czechs and balances.] The first Czechs arrived in the New
World in the seventeenth century. Many more came in the wake of the 1848 revolutions. A little over a century ago, the great composer Anton Dvorak [di-VOR-zhahk] composed his New World Symphony, based on the rhythms he heard during his travels across the United States. The flag of the Czech Republic was designed and first flown in New York to honor a visit by the patriot, Tomas Masaryk. And from athletes to artists, actors to astronauts, Czech-Americans have lent their gifts to a grateful nation [Stan Musial, Andy Warhol, Tom Selleck, Kim Novak, James Lovell, Milos Forman, et al.].

There were also darker moments in our history. Americans shared the world’s helpless despondency when Czechoslovakia lost its independence fifty years ago. We felt a similar sense of loss when the Prague spring collapsed in 1968. But you taught us that seasons are cyclical, that spring always returns. In 1989, the Velvet Revolution rejuvenated the entire world. In 1998, spring came to Northern Ireland. I hope that before long, spring will come to Bosnia, the Middle East and other regions where hopes and dreams have gone unheard for too long.

Mr. President, none of us knows what the future will bring. In Summer Meditations [102], you wrote, “that life is unfathomable is part of its dramatic beauty and charm.” But I feel confident to predict that the relationship between the United States and the Czech Republic will not only continue – it will flourish during the century we are about to enter.

There is an old Czech-American saying ... “too much wisdom does not produce courage.” I think that is a nice way of saying that intellectuals sometimes spend a little too much time with their books, and not enough time in the real world. Mr. President, no one would ever level that
accusation at you. You have harmonized the life of the mind with a life of great service to your people. You have moved people not only to think hard about their hopes, but then to act to redeem them.

Thank you for the personal inspiration you have afforded me ... and thank you for the voice of reason you have provided for all Americans, for all people everywhere.

Please join me in a toast to the President of the Czech Republic, Vaclav Havel.

###

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you, One called for

anti-political politics

love of music

Stay true to yourself
Always you speak
The world listens
American nor European – but it owes a great deal to the inspiration provided by a single man, who for years spoke up when it mattered – often at great personal cost.

We are now poised to build the new world of the new century. With very few exceptions, every nation on earth is free to pursue its own destiny. We are grateful for the unprecedented achievement of the century we are leaving. But we are also aware that far too much of the 20th century saw division and dislocation … nowhere more so than in the heart of Europe.

In the last decade, Europeans have gone far toward repairing the physical damage wrought by world war and cold war. But no less important has been the job of repairing the continent’s spiritual architecture – unifying the hopes and dreams of people who were arbitrarily separated for too long. No person has done better work toward this end than President Havel.

Since assuming office, you have provided a voice of dazzling eloquence to the debate over the Europe’s future and the future of humanity. A voice of humility and also of great power. You have addressed issues small and large, regional and global, material and spiritual. You have articulated a politics of hope. You have spoken forcefully about our collective responsibility to... But universally human...

Since 1989, the Czech Republic people have (CR formed in ’94) taken enormous strides to build a better world. You have rebuilt the bridges that connect you to the west. You are revamping? maintaining an something to reflect that relations with Eastern neighbors are on a
more equitable, consensual basis) the bridges that connect you to the east. You are sharing the responsibilities of the community of nations. And now you soon will be proud members of the most successful alliance in history – NATO. Together, we are building a lasting foundation for peace and prosperity.

At the end of your historic speech to Congress in 1990, you remembered that the men who founded America were bold in word and in deed. I would like to reciprocate the compliment. There is not a leader on earth whose words and deeds have meant more than your own. They will live on forever in the hearts and minds of all people who care about human dignity and the power of the imagination to shape our world. Mr. President, on behalf of all Americans, I am honored to welcome you to the White House.

###
TO: DAVIES
FROM: KENNEY, K

KEYWORDS: CZECH REPUBLIC, Q&A, VISIT, NATO

PERSONS: HAVEL, VACLAV

SUBJECT: MATERIALS FOR POTUS MTG W/ CZECH PRES HAVEL ON 16 SEP

ACTION: ADD-ON / APPROPRIATE ACTION  DUE DATE: 09 SEP 98  STATUS: S
STAFF OFFICER: FLANAGAN  LOGREF: 9805459
FILES: PA  NSCP:  CODES:

DOCUMENT DISTRIBUTION

FOR ACTION  FOR CONCURRENCE  FOR INFO
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          MCELDOWNNEY  BLINKEN
          WITKOWSKY  BOUCHARD

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OF CLASSIFIED ATTACHMENTS
Initials: GS  Date: 6/129/09
2006 - 04/11 - F

DETERMINED TO BE AN ADMINISTRATIVE 
MARKING per C.O. 12550 as amended, Sec. 2.2 (c)
Initials:   Date:

COMMENTS: 

DISPATCHED BY ___________________ DATE ___________ BY HAND  W/ATTCH
OPENED BY: NSGP  CLOSED BY: DOC 3 OF 3

SECRET
MEMORANDUM FOR GLYN T. DAVIES  
Executive Secretary  
National Security Council  

SUBJECT: Materials for the President’s Meeting with Czech Republic President Vaclav Havel, September 16, 1998

Please find attached a diskette and hard copies of materials for the President’s meeting with Czech Republic President Vaclav Havel, September 16, 1998.

Attachments:
1. "Results of Moscow Summit"
2. Questions and Answers re Outcome of the Moscow Summit
3. One (1) Diskette
<table>
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<td>re: Results of Moscow Summit (1 page)</td>
<td>09/08/1998</td>
<td>P1/b(l)</td>
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**COLLECTION:**
- Clinton Presidential Records
- National Security Council
- Ted Widmer (Speechwriting)
- OA/Box Number: 2189

**FOLDER TITLE:**
- Czech Republic [3]

**RESTRICTION CODES**
- Presidential Records Act - 44 U.S.C. 2204(a)
- Freedom of Information Act - 5 U.S.C. 552(b)

P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.
Withdrawal/Redaction Marker
Clinton Library

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<td>P1/b(1)</td>
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COLLECTION:
Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Ted Widmer (Speechwriting)
OA/Box Number: 2189

FOLDER TITLE:
Czech Republic [3]

2006-0471-F
jp1553

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
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PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]
New Czech Government Likely to Face Disillusioned Public

The July 17 appointment of Milos Zeman as the new Czech Prime Minister brought to an end several weeks of political maneuvering. It also brought to power the first left-of-center government in the Czech Republic since 1989. This recent USIA survey, conducted just before the June 19-20 elections, suggests that the new government will be facing a public that has largely lost confidence in most public institutions, but still wants to stay on the path of reform.

KEY FINDINGS

- Only about one-third of the Czech public express confidence in government, parliament and the court system; a decline from previous years.

- Political corruption is on the minds of many: 14 percent name it as the most urgent issue facing the country and two-thirds believe it is widespread.

- Dissatisfaction with the current political situation has not, however, weakened support for democratic values and market reform.

Confidence in Institutions Slips in Czech Republic

The Czech public's confidence in national institutions has eroded in recent years. Just a third now express confidence in the government (see Table), down from about seven in ten in 1993 and 1994. Confidence in the Czech parliament (18%) has declined more than 10 percentage points over the same period, while confidence in the army, police and courts (a third or fewer) has also slipped moderately. By comparison, confidence in local government has remained stable over the past several years.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Confidence in Czech Institutions</th>
<th>Have Confidence</th>
<th>Lack Confidence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Government</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>66%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parliament</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local government</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Army</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Courts</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic media</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This report is based on face-to-face interviews with a nationwide representative probability sample of 981 adults age 18 and older in the Czech Republic. The firm AISA in Prague conducted the interviews between May 1 and 31, 1998 for USIA.
Public Voices Concern About Political Corruption
In the wake of high-profile political scandals, two-thirds of the Czech public say that most or almost all politicians in their country are engaged in corruption and bribe-taking. Three in ten think that political corruption is more limited. The issue also ranks high among the problems deemed "urgent" by the public: 14 percent say corruption or lack of good leadership is the most serious problem facing the Czech Republic. At the same time, over half (56% vs. 38%) reject the notion that one can generally rely on government "to do the right thing."

But Support for Reform Remains Steady
Despite obvious dissatisfaction with the current state of affairs, a majority of Czechs (56% vs. 36%) maintain that the political system is better than the one under communism. This is a slight decline since 1996 when 62 percent felt similarly. Moreover, Czechs maintain consistent support for the principles of democratic and market reform. Three-quarters agree that "whatever the problems that democracy brings, it's the best system of government for us," and six in ten say they would not trade political freedoms gained since 1989 for a "strong leader who we thought could solve our country's problems." (Just over a third (37%) say they "wouldn't mind.") Support for the democratic system has remained steady in the Czech Republic even though a majority (81%) admit that they thought "democracy would be better than it has turned out to be."

Consistent with these views, on the eve of the June 19-20 parliamentary elections, most Czechs (76%) believed that the elections mattered. Only a fifth (20%) thought "no matter who wins the upcoming elections, not much will change." Six in ten voiced optimism that the political situation will be better in five years than it is today, but three in ten feared it will worsen.

Support for the market system, though divided, has also remained stable: four in ten (42%) say that it is "right" for the country, while as many (46%) say it is "wrong" (12% are unsure). Six in ten believe foreign investment is beneficial and twice as many say that private business (47%) is better able to create jobs than say the government is better able (22%). Further, a solid majority (73%) reject the notion of "returning to the security of the old system" rather than going on with more changes.

Public Also Anticipates Economic Benefit from Democracy
Expectations about economic growth go along with views about democratic reforms. Somewhat more believe that "economic prosperity" (51%) is the most important benefit of democracy than think "the freedom to speak and act freely" (43%) is most important. As with many other publics in central and eastern Europe, the Czech public sees democracy as composed of both economic elements and elements of political liberties. Three-quarters cite a "system of justice that treats everyone equally" (77%) and "economic prosperity in the country" (74%) as essential for a society to be called a democracy, while somewhat fewer say guaranteeing citizens' basic economic needs (55%) or multiparty competition (38%). In each case, however, a majority of those who do not consider the factor essential identify it as "important, but not essential."

Prepared by Anna E. Sweeney, R/EU (202-619-5144; reu@usia.gov)
Issued by the Office of Research and Media Reaction, USIA
How This Poll Was Conducted

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Nineteen times out of 20, results from samples of this size will differ by no more than about 4 percentage points in either direction from what would be found if it were possible to interview every adult in the Czech Republic. Sampling error is larger for subgroups within the population. In addition to sampling error, the practical difficulties of conducting a survey of public opinion may introduce other sources of error into the results.

For further information, please contact the analyst.
Czech Public Critical of Domestic Economic Conditions

On Economy: Do the CSSD and ODS Make Strange Bedfellows?

Thanks to an agreement that surprised some observers, the new Czech Prime Minister Milos Zeman will lead a minority CSSD government with the toleration of Vaclav Klaus's ODS. This recent USIA poll in the Czech Republic suggests that amidst widespread dissatisfaction with the state of the economy, supporters of the CSSD and ODS have divergent views on key economic issues and may not be satisfied by the same economic policies.

KEY FINDINGS

- Three-quarters of the Czech public describe the economic situation in their country as bad and only two in ten expect improvement over the next twelve months.

- Overall support for a market economy has remained stable as has support for privatization of businesses and foreign investment.

- Views on the economy differ markedly between ODS supporters, who are much more likely to voice pro-reform opinions, and CSSD supports, who are more likely to favor government involvement in the economy.

Czechs Critical of Economic Situation

Three-quarters say that the current economic situation is bad and half expect nothing will change in the short term. This negative evaluation stands in stark contrast to the half or more who each year between 1993 and 1996 said the economic situation was "good." On an individual level, however, the public appears to be divided: 53 percent say the financial situation in their household is "good" and 45 percent say it is bad. As many are not worried (51%) about someone in their family losing a job this year as are (48%).

Few Optimistic About Quick Improvement

Half the public expects the economic situation to remain unchanged over the course of the next year. About a fifth expect improvement and a quarter expect continued decline. Those who think the situation is good now are more optimistic about what the future will bring. Those who think it is bad now are more pessimistic.

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Support for Economic Reform Remains Stable
Public support for the market system remains stable but divided with as many in favor (42%) as opposed (46%). Support for key aspects of the market system has held steady or increased. Six in ten Czechs now say that foreign investment "is necessary and will have a positive influence on the development of our economy" -- a five-year high. Just a third say it is "dangerous because it allows outsiders too much control over our affairs." Support for private ownership of small businesses is widespread (82%). The public remains skeptical of the privatization of large businesses (68% oppose, 27% support), but twice as many say private business (47%) is better able to create jobs than say the government is (22%) (26% volunteer that both are equally able).

CSSD-ODS Agreement Brings Together Supporters With Diverse Views
The new agreement between CSSD leader Milos Zeman and ODS leader Vaclav Klaus brings together two parties whose supporters have different views on the economy, the market system and the role of government in society (see Table). ODS supporters are more likely to believe that the freedom to speak and act freely is the most important benefit of democracy whereas CSSD supporters tend to think that economic prosperity is most important. For this reason, CSSD supporters may have higher expectations that the economy will improve while currently having a solidly negative perception of the economic situation in their country.

Supporters of the two leading parties may also differ somewhat in how they anticipate economic recovery will occur. CSSD supporters are much less supportive of the market system and three in ten believe that government is better able to create jobs than private industry and should continue to run the majority of large businesses. ODS supporters overwhelmingly support the market system for the Czech Republic, are more likely to favor private ownership to government ownership of large businesses and widely believe that private business is best suited to create jobs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Comparison of CSSD and ODS Supporters on Key Issues</th>
<th>CSSD</th>
<th>ODS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Most important benefit of democracy</td>
<td>prosperity 56%</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>freedom 37</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opinion of economic situation</td>
<td>good 15</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bad 85</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Market economy</td>
<td>support 30</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>oppose 60</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Who is better able to create jobs</td>
<td>government 30</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>private business 39</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ownership of large business</td>
<td>government 77</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>private 19</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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For further information, please contact the analyst.
Support for NATO Membership Strong Among Invitees

Publics in the three newest NATO countries appear to be increasingly supportive of the added responsibility.

Sizable public majorities in each of the three east European countries invited to join NATO favor their country’s membership. Overall Czech (68%) and Hungarian (76%) support for NATO membership has increased since late last year, and more now than in the past express strong support (among Hungarians who participated in the NATO referendum last November, 84 percent support membership). Polish support (76%), which has always been high, remains largely unchanged in terms of both breadth and intensity. Six in ten or more in each country also express confidence in NATO’s capacity to deal effectively with European problems.

Czechs are increasingly supportive of their forces participating in NATO peacekeeping efforts and in the potential defense of another NATO member (see table below). They are also more inclined than previously to support NATO exercises in the Czech Republic, but they are split on overflights and continue to oppose a foreign military presence on their soil. Over the last two years, Hungarians have also become increasingly supportive of likely NATO commitments. With the exception of sending their forces to defend another NATO country, majorities now support these requirements. Poles continue to be the most willing to support potential NATO responsibilities.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>If we join NATO there are certain things we may be asked to do. Please tell me if you would support or oppose:</th>
<th>Czech Rep.</th>
<th>Hungary</th>
<th>Poland</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>support</td>
<td>oppose</td>
<td>support</td>
<td>oppose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sending our troops to defend another NATO country</td>
<td>62%</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>48%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>regular, routine exercises in our country by NATO forces</td>
<td>57%</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>51%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>regular, routine overflights of our country by NATO aircraft</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>62%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stationing NATO troops in our country</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>53%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>providing our troops for NATO peacekeeping missions</td>
<td>66%</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>61%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The cost of NATO remains a hard item for east European publics to swallow. More in the Czech Republic oppose (59%) than support (34%) increased defense spending for the sake of NATO enlargement. Hungarians are divided on the issue (48% oppose, 46% support) and somewhat more Poles are supportive (48%) than opposed (39%).

With their countries approved to join NATO, Czechs, Hungarians and Poles remain supportive of further enlargement. Seven in ten in each country support inviting additional members in the coming years, and as many Czechs (69%) and Hungarians (73%) and somewhat fewer Poles (56%) actually think it likely that more countries will be admitted in the next five years. Asked about admitting Russia if it qualifies, more in each country are in favor than opposed.

Prepared by Mark Teare, USIA Office of Research and Media Reaction (202-619-5104; reu@usia.gov). Analysis based on face-to-face interviews conducted among nationally representative samples of about 1000 adults (18 yrs. And older) in the Czech Republic by AISA (Prague), in Hungary by Median (Budapest) and in Poland by Demoskop (Warsaw) in early June 1998.
Central & East Europeans Like the U.S.
But Many Worry About Its Influence

Opinion of the U.S. Remains Favorable
Three-fourths or more in Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland have a somewhat or very favorable view of the U.S. (see table). Overall opinion of the U.S. is largely unchanged since last September and is, in all but the Czech Republic, as high as or higher than it has been since 1990.

Views of U.S. Leadership More Constrained
Far fewer in each of the four countries agree that it is desirable for their country’s interests to have the U.S. exert strong leadership in world affairs (see table). In particular, Bulgarians tend to think such leadership is undesirable for their country’s interests. Hungarians and Poles by contrast, are more than twice as likely to consider U.S. global leadership desirable.

Unfavourable opinion of the U.S. tends to dampen enthusiasm for U.S. leadership. In the Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland, those negative toward the U.S. tend to consider its leadership undesirable, while those positive tend to deem it desirable. In Bulgaria, those favorable toward the U.S. are evenly divided on the leadership issue.

And Many Think the U.S. Exerts Too Much Influence
In the Czech Republic and Hungary, opinion about U.S. influence on the affairs of their countries has remained stable and evenly divided between those who agree U.S. influence is excessive and those who disagree (see table). In Poland, somewhat more disagree than agree the U.S. exerts too much influence, and in Bulgaria, the proportion who perceive excess influence continues to grow slowly. As one would expect, those with an unfavorable view of the U.S. tend to also think U.S. influence is excessive. In Bulgaria and the Czech Republic those who think the U.S. exercises too much influence also tend to think it is undesirable for the U.S. to exercise strong international leadership, while in Hungary and Poland, even majorities of those who consider U.S. influence excessive say U.S. leadership is desirable.

Prepared by Mark Teare, European Branch, (202) 619-5104. This report is based on results from face-to-face interviews with nationally representative samples of about 1000 adults (18 and older) in Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland conducted in late May and early June 1998 for USIA by leading local social and market research firms in each country.
EU Membership Appeals to Central and East Europeans

As the EU considers enlargement to include countries from central and eastern Europe, recent USIA polls show strong support for European integration tempered by domestic concerns.

EU Membership Favored
About eight in ten or more say they would support their country's joining the EU if it had the opportunity (see table below). Half or more in Bulgaria and Hungary strongly favor full membership. Overall support for EU membership is now higher than in the last three years in each country except Poland where it is largely unchanged. Among each public, a majority also think it likely that their country will become a full member of the EU in the next five years. Bulgarians are least likely to expect future membership (59%). Those who oppose joining the EU are much more likely to expect not to be admitted, particularly in Bulgaria.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bulgaria</th>
<th>Czech Rep.</th>
<th>Hungary</th>
<th>Poland</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strongly favor</td>
<td>59%</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat favor</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat oppose</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly oppose</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A plurality in each country (36 - 42%) think the economic policies and actions of the EU have been more helpful than harmful to the economic situation in their own country, while somewhat fewer think the EU has had no effect on their respective economies. Two in ten or fewer think the impact of the EU has been more harmful than helpful. Even among those who perceive more harm than good, more favor than oppose joining the EU. Still, the desire for economic integration into Europe does not override concerns for problems at home. Far more in each country favor focusing on domestic concerns before trying to become part of Europe (61% - 68%) over trying to join European institutions like the EU “as quickly as possible” (23% - 34%).

Most Have Confidence in EU Role in Europe and the World
Majorities express a fair amount or great deal of confidence in the EU to deal effectively with European problems (Bulgaria, 69%; Czech Rep. 81%; Hungary 68%; Poland 63%). Those expressing confidence overwhelmingly favor EU membership, while the minorities lacking confidence, particularly in Poland, are more likely than others to oppose membership (yet even these people are more likely to favor than oppose EU membership). In each country, more have confidence in the EU to deal effectively with European problems than in NATO (except in Poland), the OSCE, the WEU or the UN. Two-thirds or more also think it is desirable that the EU exert strong influence in world affairs.

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July 31, 1998

Despite Negative Views of Russia, Central and East Europeans Support Closer Relations

Opinion of Russia Mostly Unfavorable
Unlike opinion of the U.S. which is consistently favorable, opinion of Russia tends to be unfavorable in the Czech Republic (59%), Hungary (67%) and Poland (67%). Bulgarians are a clear exception as most (87%) are favorable in their overall views of Russia. In fact two-thirds of Bulgarians are favorable both toward Russia and the U.S. (see table at right). In the Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland, fewer are favorable toward both the U.S. and Russia, while a majority in each are polarized in a manner reminiscent of the Cold War: favorable to one and unfavorable to the other. This polarization favors the U.S.

Many Favor Closer Relations With Russia
Despite the tendency to view Russia with disfavor, however, there is considerable support for developing closer relations in the long-run (see table below). Only the Czech public is divided on this issue. In Bulgaria, Hungary and Poland most of those favorable toward Russia (75% - 91%) and a majority of those unfavorable (58% - 60%) support closer relations. In the Czech Republic, those favorable tend to support closer relations while those unfavorable do not.

And Many Would Allow Russia to Join NATO
Defeference toward Russia is also apparent in opinion on NATO membership (see table at right). In each country more think Russia should be allowed to join “when it meets the qualifications for membership,” than think it should be categorically excluded. Except in Poland, both those with positive and those with negative views of Russia tend to favor NATO membership for Russia.

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USIA Surveys

As you probably know, our troops are participating in the peacekeeping efforts in Bosnia – are you strongly in favor, somewhat in favor, somewhat opposed, very opposed to this?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>S96</th>
<th>F97</th>
<th>S98</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strongly in favor</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat in favor</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>42</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total in favor</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>66</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat opposed</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>22</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly opposed</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total opposed</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>31</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DK/NA</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Regional support for participating in the peacekeeping efforts in Bosnia - S.1998

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Hungary</th>
<th>Poland</th>
<th>Bulgaria</th>
<th>Czech Republic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Favor</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat Favor</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat Opposed</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Opposed</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DK/NA</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>