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PRESIDENT HAVEL'S VISIT TO WASHINGTON: 19-21 FEBRUARY
SUMMARY

1. A PRIMARILY SYMBOLIC VISIT, ALTHOUGH PRESIDENT BUSH USED THE OCCASION TO AUTHORISE A WAIVER OF JACKSON-VANIK, THUS PAVING THE WAY FOR NEGOTIATIONS ON NEW TRADE AGREEMENTS. HAVEL ADDRESSED BOTH HOUSES OF CONGRESS, WHERE HE APPEALED TO THE US TO AID SOVIET DEMOCRATISATION, AND LOOKED FORWARD TO THE DAY WHEN EUROPE WOULD NOT NEED US TROOPS.

DETAIL

2. PRESIDENT HAVEL VISITED WASHINGTON ON 19-21 FEBRUARY. HE HAD OVER THREE HOURS OF TALKS WITH PRESIDENT BUSH, INCLUDING AN UNSCHEDULED MEETING ARRANGED JUST BEFORE HAVEL LEFT FOR NEW YORK. HIS ADDRESS TO CONGRESS HAS BEEN WIDELY ADMIRERD AND HAS UNDOUBTEDLY ADDED TO HAVEL'S STATURE IN US EYES.

3. IN HIS ADDRESS HAVEL SAID THE CHANGES IN EASTERN EUROPE WERE IRREVERSIBLE. HE HOPED THAT THE PROCESS WOULD RESULT IN EUROPE BEING ABLE TO STAND GUARD OVER ITSELF, AND THAT US TROOPS WOULD NO LONGER BE REQUIRED IN EUROPE. IN THE INTERESTS OF POLITICAL STABILITY HE WANTED AS MANY SOVIET UNITS AS POSSIBLE REMOVED FROM CZECHOSLOVAKIA BEFORE THE JUNE ELECTIONS. THE US COULD MOST HELP CZECHOSLOVAKIA BY HELPING THE SOVIET UNION ON ITS QUOTE IRREVERSIBLE BUT IMMENSELY COMPLICATED ROAD TO DEMOCRACY UNQUOTE. THE SOONER THE SOVIET UNION MOVED TOWARDS GENUINE POLITICAL PLURALISM, AND A MARKET ECONOMY, THE BETTER. THIS WOULD ALSO ENABLE THE US TO REDUCE ITS MILITARY BUDGET. HAVEL STRESSED THAT HE DID NOT WISH TO DISSOLVE QUOTE THE WARSAW PACT TOMORROW AND NATO THE DAY AFTER THAT UNQUOTE, BUT HE BELIEVED THAT US SOLDIERS SHOULD NOT CONTINUE TO BE STATIONED IN EUROPE FOREVER. QUOTE AMERICAN SOLDIERS SHOULDNT HAVE TO BE SEPARATED FROM THEIR MOTHERS JUST BECAUSE EUROPE IS INCAPABLE OF BEING A GUARANTOR OF WORLD PEACE. UNQUOTE. THIS YEAR'S CSCE SUMMIT SHOULD DECIDE TO HOLD THE HELSINKI TWO CONFERENCE EARLIER THAN 1992. HELSINKI TWO SHOULD BECOME SOMETHING EQUIVALENT TO A EUROPEAN PEACE CONFERENCE WHICH WOULD OFFICIALLY BRING A DEMOCRATIC GERMANY INTO A NEW PAN-EUROPEAN STRUCTURE. EUROPEAN BORDERS SHOULD BE LEGALLY

GUARANTEED BY TREATY.

4. HAVEL SAID HE WELCOMED THE BUSH INITIATIVE ON TROOP REDUCTIONS. IF CZECHOSLOVAKIA WAS FORCED TO DEFEND ITSELF IT WOULD DO SO WITH A SMALL ARMY: IT WOULD NOT SURRENDER ITS NEWBORN FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE. HE ADDED THAT WHATEVER STEPS WERE TAKEN BY CZECHOSLOVAKIA WERE NOT INTENDED TO COMPLICATE CFE TALKS, BUT QUOTE TO FACILITATE THEM UNQUOTE. CZECHOSLOVAKIA, HE SAID, WAS RETURNING TO EUROPE. IT WISHED TO COORDINATE ITS RETURN, POLITICALLY AND ECONOMICALLY, WITH OTHER RETURNEES, ABOVE ALL WITH THE POLES AND THE HUNGARIANS. CZECHOSLOVAKIA HAD, FOR MANY YEARS, REFUSED TO FACE UP HONESTLY TO ITS QUOTE CO-RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE WORLD UNQUOTE. IT HAD A LOT TO MAKE UP FOR.

5. HIS SPEECH DEALT WITH WHAT HE DESCRIBED AS THE QUOTE PHILOSOPHICAL ASPECT UNQUOTE OF THE CHANGES IN EASTERN EUROPE. HE STRESSED THE NEED FOR A QUOTE GLOBAL REVOLUTION IN THE SPHERE OF HUMAN CONSCIOUSNESS UNQUOTE, MAN WAS A PART OF CREATION AND NOT THE PINNACLE OF IT. HE HAD TO PUT MORALITY AHEAD OF POLITICS, SCIENCE AND ECONOMICS.

6. MUCH OF HAVEL'S DISCUSSION WITH PRESIDENT BUSH WAS ONE-ON-ONE. STATE DEPARTMENT CONTACTS HAVE TOLD US THAT IT WAS MOSTLY ABOUT EUROPEAN SECURITY WITH HAVEL EXPOUNDING ON THE QUOTE BIG PICTURE UNQUOTE. HAVEL DID NOT CONTEST THE NEED, AT LEAST FOR THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE, FOR A CONTINUING US PRESENCE IN EUROPE, AND FOR GERMAN MEMBERSHIP OF NATO, ALTHOUGH HE REITERATED HIS ARGUMENTS ABOUT THE NEED FOR BOTH ALLIANCES TO BE DISBANDED IN THE LONG TERM, AND REPLACED BY A PAN-EUROPEAN SECURITY SYSTEM. IN TALKS BETWEEN TRADE MINISTERS IT WAS DECIDED THAT NEGOTIATIONS WOULD START ON A TRADE AGREEMENT, AND FORMAL MEETINGS ARE TO BE HELD IN PRAGUE ON 5-7 MARCH ON TRADE AND INVESTMENT PROTECTION. SINCE BAKER HAD RAISED US CONCERNS ABOUT THE ROLE OF THE CZECH SECURITY/INTELLIGENCE SERVICES, AND SALE OF CZECH MANUFACTURED ARMS AND EXPLOSIVES DURING HIS VISIT TO PRAGUE, THESE WERE NOT HIGH ON THE AGENDA FOR HAVEL'S VISIT HERE.
COMMENT

7. HAVEL WAS THE FIRST OF THE NEW EAST EUROPEAN LEADERS TO VISIT WASHINGTON. HIS ADDRESS TO CONGRESS WAS WELL RECEIVED (INTERRUPTED 25 TIMES BY APPLAUSE), AND ALTHOUGH IT LACKED THE PASSION OF WALESIA'S ADDRESS LAST AUTUMN, IT HAS BEEN SEEN BY PRESS COMMENTATORS AS AN CONVINCING PITCH FOR CZECHSLOVAKIA'S VOICE TO BE HEARD IN THE DEBATE ON THE FUTURE OF EUROPE. THE FACT THAT HAVEL DID NOT SEEK MORE US AID, AND THAT BAKER HAD RECEIVED ASSURANCES IN PRAGUE ABOUT CZECHOSLOVAKIA'S INVOLVEMENT IN ARMS AND INTELLIGENCE, HELPED ENSURE THE CELEBRATORY CHARACTER

OF THE VISIT. IT WAS ALSO A GOOD PERSONAL SUCCESS FOR HAVEL
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