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OA/ID Number: 13711
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Folder Title:
National Association of Broadcasters 4/2/90 [**OA** 6895] [2]

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Date

ROUTING AND TRANSMITTAL SLIP

TO: (Name, office symbol, room number, building, Agency/Post)	Initials	Date
1.		
2.		
3. HEROS.		
4. Yesterday.		
5.		

	Action		File		Note and Return
	Approval		For Clearance		Per Conversation
	As Requested		For Correction		Prepare Reply
	Circulate		For Your Information		See Me
	Comment		Investigate		Signature
	Coordination		Justify		

REMARKS

1240 A

Sent

DEAR MR. MEYER:

CORD MEYER
1112 NATIONAL PRESS BLDG.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20045

DEAR GIGI:

MS. GEORGIE ANNE GEYER
800 25TH ST., N.W.
20037

DO NOT use this form as a RECORD of approvals, concurrences, disposals, clearances, and similar actions

FROM: (Name, org. symbol, Agency/Post)

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5041-102 ☆ U.S. GPO: 1986—491-247/40009

OPTIONAL FORM 41 (Rev. 7-76)
Prescribed by GSA
FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.206

Richard Carlson's
Remarks
2/1/90

CLOSING
Press
Conf.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN. FRIENDS. THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR BEING HERE.

THE VOICE OF AMERICA MEANS SO MUCH TO ALL OF US.

I KNOW EACH OF YOU SHARE WITH ME GREAT PRIDE IN THIS INSTITUTION. WHAT WE DO HAS OPENED DOORS IN THE MINDS OF MILLIONS OF PEOPLE - BRINGING THEM A WORLD OF INFORMATION AND IDEAS.

BECAUSE OF THAT, WHAT I HAVE TO SAY IS VERY DIFFICULT. THIS IS THE TOUGHEST AND SADDEST DAY OF MY PROFESSIONAL LIFE.

TODAY, JUST MONTHS AFTER OUR STUNNING SUCCESS IN BRINGING INFORMATION TO ALL OF CHINA, ONLY A FEW SHORT WEEKS SINCE THE EUROPEAN REVOLUTIONS, VOA WILL GO DARK IN SOME PARTS OF THE WORLD.

I AM HERE TO TELL YOU THAT WE ARE GOING TO ABOLISH DIRECT BROADCASTS IN SIX IMPORTANT LANGUAGES. IN SO DOING WE WILL ELIMINATE 57 JOBS IN THE LANGUAGE SERVICES. THESE AREN'T JUST "SLOTS", OR "POSITIONS", THEY ARE <u>REAL JOBS</u>

HELD BY REAL PEOPLE. YOUR COLLEAGUES. MY COLLEAGUES.

THIS DECISION WILL INHIBIT OUR MISSION. IT WILL CRIPPLE OUR EFFECTIVENESS AT A TIME OF UNPRECEDENTED CHANGE - AND UNPRECEDENTED OPPORTUNITY - IN THE WORLD.

THE REAL TRAGEDY IS THAT OUR ROLE IN THE WORLD HAS NEVER BEEN MORE IMPORTANT THAN IT IS NOW. NOT SINCE THE END OF WW2, NOT SINCE THE CONQUEST OF FASCISM, HAS OUR TASK BEEN MORE INTELLECTUALLY COMPELLING OR NEEDED. YOU KNOW THIS IS TRUE. OUR AUDIENCE KNOWS THIS IS TRUE. YOU SEE THE RESULTS OF IT ALL THE TIME. YOU HEAR ABOUT IT EVERY DAY. NATAN SCHARANSKY SAID IT. ANDRE SAKHAROV SAID IT. SYUDIS IN LITHUANIA SAYS IT. SOLIDARITY SAYS IT. THOSE NAMELESS STUDENTS WHO SENT US BARBED WIRE SOUVENIRS FROM CZECHOSLOVAKIA, FROM ROMANIA, FROM HUNGARY, SAY IT .... THE VOICE OF AMERICA IS VITAL TO THE FUTURE OF THEIR LIVES.

YOU HELPED SHAPE THE REVOLUTION IN EASTERN EUROPE.

YOU LAID THE GROUNDWORK FOR THE CHANGES IN THE USSR.

YOU WERE A LIFELINE TO PEOPLE.

YOU FED THE INTELLECTUALLY HUNGRY.

YOU GAVE THEM FOOD FOR THE MIND.

AND WHAT YOU DID HELPED PULL THE RUG OUT FROM UNDER THE LAST GREAT EUROPEAN EMPIRE .... AND YOU DID IT BY TELLING THE TRUTH, THROUGH FAIR AND HONEST BROADCASTS.

AT THE VERY TIME THAT OTHER INTERNATIONAL BROADCASTERS ARE EXPANDING, WE WILL CONTRACT. WE WILL DO TO OURSELVES WHAT 30 YEARS OF SOVIET JAMMING WAS NEVER ABLE TO DO.

WE HAVE NO CHOICE IN THIS. BOB COONROD AND I, EVERY SENIOR MANAGER HERE, FRANKLY, HAS STRUGGLED FOR YEARS TO AVOID CUTS IN PROGRAMMING AND TO KEEP FROM CUTTING JOBS. IT SEEMS ALL WE DO THESE DAYS IS WORK ON THE BUDGET.

YOU KNOW WALT LAFLEUR, HEAD OF ENGINEERING. HE'S RESPONSIBLE FOR THIS VAST NETWORK OF RELAY STATIONS, TRANSMITTERS, ANTENNA FIELDS, OUR SATELLITE INTERCONNECT SYSTEM, AND KEEPING US ON THE AIR IN ALL THESE LANGUAGES EVERY DAY. HE SAID TO ME LAST WEEK, "WITH ALL I HAVE TO DO, I SPEND 60 PERCENT OF MY TIME TRYING TO FIND WAYS TO SQUEEZE MORE SAVINGS OUT OF WHAT I GET." THIS IS A PATHETIC SITUATION WE ARE IN.

OUR ASSIGNED REDUCTIONS FROM USIA ARE SO SEVERE WE HAVE NO CHOICE BUT TO CUT THE LANGUAGES AND JOBS I'VE INDICATED. MORE PIECE-MEAL SLICING WILL NOT WORK. WE'VE TRIED IT, IT'S STUPID, AND DEFEATING. IT WILL ONLY WEAKEN US FURTHER, ULTIMATELY TO A POINT WHERE OUR PROGRAMMING WILL FALL APART, ALONG WITH OUR CREDIBILITY.

IT IS IMPERATIVE THAT IF WE HAVE TO MAKE THESE CUTS, THEN WE MUST HAVE 37 SOLID LANGUAGE SERVICES, GOOD ONES, STRONG ONES, RATHER THAN 43 POOR ONES WITH NO AUDIENCE.

AMPUTATION OF AN ENTIRE LANGUAGE SERVICE IS TRAGIC, BUT IT IS A BETTER SOLUTION BY FAR THAN BIT-BY-BIT DISMEMBERMENT.

THIS BUDGET PROBLEM HAS CONSUMED US FOR THE FOUR YEARS I HAVE BEEN AT VOA. DURING THAT TIME I CUT $36 MILLION OUT OF OUR BUDGET. THERE HAS NEVER BEEN A CHOICE IN THE MATTER.

EVEN NOW WE NEED FOUR AND ONE HALF MILLION DOLLARS MORE FOR NEXT YEAR THAN WE HAD LAST YEAR JUST TO TAKE CARE OF INFLATION AND SALARY INCREASES. YET THE BUDGET REQUIRES WE OPERATE IN 1990 AT AN EVEN LOWER FUNDING LEVEL THAN WE HAD IN 1989.

PLUS, AS YOU MAY KNOW, A NEW LAW WILL REQUIRE THAT WE ESTABLISH A TIBETAN SERVICE, FOR WHICH WE DON'T HAVE THE FUNDS.

THIS ISN'T THE FAULT OF USIA. THIS IS A BIG AGENCY. THERE ARE MANY ELEMENTS COMPETING FOR FUNDS. THEY ALL BELIEVE THEY ARE WORTHWHILE. MANY PARTS OF USIA ~~ELEMENTS~~ ARE SUFFERING THE SAME DRACONIAN CUTS AS WE ARE. AND THE PROBLEM IS GOVERNMENT WIDE. I SUPPORT THE PRESIDENT'S BUDGET EFFORTS BUT IT IS GOING TO HURT FOR A NUMBER OF YEARS.

PRESENTLY WE ARE WORKING WITH A BUDGET OF ABOUT $170 MILLION FOR SALARIES AND EXPENSES - ABOUT $7 MILLION LESS THAN WE ASKED FOR AND NEED TO FUND CURRENT OPERATIONS.

THIS TERRIBLE EVENT TODAY - THIS "RIF", WHICH IS WHAT IT IS - HAS BEEN COMING FOR A LONG TIME.

LET ME QUICKLY LIST FOR YOU WHAT CUTS WE HAVE TAKEN SINCE THE BEGINNING OF 1987:

WE HAVE CUT 113 LANGUAGE PROGRAM HOURS.

WE HAVE TAKEN 75 HOURS OF ENGLISH OFF THE AIR EVERY WEEK.

WE HAVE REDUCED AIRTIME IN 15 LANGUAGE SERVICES.

WE HAVE ELIMINATED OUR DIRECT BROADCASTS IN THAI AND PORTUGUESE TO PORTUGAL. A TERRIBLE BLOW.

WE SLICED MORE THAN 30 JOBS OUT OF THE NEWSROOM. WE CASHIERED FIVE CORRESPONDENT POSITIONS. WE CLOSED ~~FOUR~~ FIVE NEWS BUREAUS: ROME, MEXICO CITY, HONG KONG, BOSTON AND HOUSTON. WE ELIMINATED A TOTAL OF 222 REAL JOBS.

WE SLASHED ADVERTISING, PROMOTION, TWENTY PERCENT OF TRAVEL. JUST LAST SEPTEMBER WE REDUCED OUR ARABIC, OUR RUSSIAN, OUR SPANISH AND OUR POLISH BROADCASTS BY 42 HOURS A WEEK.

THE PRESSURE ON ALL OF US HAS BEEN ENORMOUS. NO MORE SO THAN ON YOU.

YOU HAVE CARRIED ON AT HALF STRENGTH, SOMETIMES AT ONE THIRD STRENGTH, WITH NO MONEY AND NO HELP, FUELED ONLY BY ENTHUSIASM AND SENSE OF PURPOSE AND DUTY. I AM GRATEFUL TO EVERY ONE OF YOU FOR YOUR SACRIFICES.

YOU REALLY ARE VETERANS OF THE CRUSADE FOR TRUTH. AND AS VETERANS YOU SHOULD ONLY BE HONORED, NOT DISMISSED. THAT IS WHY THIS TASK IS SO DIFFICULT FOR ME.

/

I HAVE SPOKEN PERSONALLY TO EACH OF THE AFFECTED LANGUAGE SERVICE CHIEFS THIS MORNING. BOTH UNIONS HAVE BEEN NOTIFIED AS WELL: Norm Pawter + Gary Marco, their leaders.

THE LANGUAGE CUTS WERE MADE ON A PRIORITY BASIS HAVING NOTHING TO DO WITH THEIR INTRINSIC MANAGEMENT VALUE OR THE VALUE OF THE PEOPLE IN THEM. A COUPLE OF THESE SERVICES ARE AMONG THE VERY BEST WE HAVE.

WE ARE GOING TO ABOLISH THE FOLLOWING:

LAO, GREEK, TURKISH, SLOVENE, UZBEK AND SWAHILI.

A WORD ABOUT EACH OF THEM:

LAOS REMAINS A CLOSED SOCIETY. MEDIA IS TIGHTLY CONTROLLED BY THE GOVERNMENT. WE ARE THE ONLY SOURCE OF NEWS FROM THE OUTSIDE WORLD.

THE LOSS OF SWAHILI TO 50 MILLION AFRICANS WILL MEAN THE LOSS OF AMERICA'S VOICE IN KENYA, ZAIRE, UGANDA, AND TANZANIA, CRITICALLY IMPORTANT PARTS OF EAST AND CENTRAL AFRICA. THREE YEARS AGO WE WERE FORCED TO CUT OUR WEEKEND NEWSCASTS THERE FOR LACK OF FUNDS. RADIO MOSCOW HAS SINCE INCREASED THEIR BROADCASTING IN SWAHILI.

THE LOSS OF SLOVENE WILL DENY REFORM FORCES IN SLOVENIA AN IMPORTANT WESTERN VOICE IN

PERHAPS THE MOST CRITICAL YEAR FOR YUGOSLAVIA SINCE 1948.

ABOLITION OF GREEK AND TURKISH WILL KILL OFF AN IMPORTANT LINK TO AUDIENCES ALONG THE SOUTHERN FLANK OF NATO. WE ARE THE ONLY INTERNATIONAL RADIO IN TURKISH ON MEDIUM WAVE.

FINALLY, UZBEK. WE BROADCAST TO NOT ONLY THE REPUBLIC OF UZBEKISTAN, BUT TO AUDIENCES IN AFGHANISTAN, AND SINKIANG PROVINCE, CHINA. THERE ARE 30 MILLION UZBEK SPEAKERS IN THE REPUBLIC ALONE. AND OUR CROSS-REPORTING OF EVENTS IN THE CAUCUSES AND BALTIC STATES IS OF TREMENDOUS IMPORTANCE TO UZBEKS IN AND OUT OF THE USSR.

YOU'VE NOTICED THAT IN DESCRIBING THE LANGUAGE SERVICES, I'VE GIVEN REASONS IN EACH CASE WHY THEY SHOULD BE RETAINED. THAT IS BECAUSE, BY ANY STANDARD, THEY SHOULD BE. THEY SHOULD BE ON THE AIR.

BOB COONROD AND I WENT THROUGH THIS WITH GENE KOPP LAST NIGHT. HE AGREES WITH EVERYTHING I'VE SAID. SO DOES STAN SILVERMAN, THE USIA COMPTROLLER. + Henry Houthakker + Mike Pistor. THEY THINK THESE LANGUAGES SHOULD REMAIN ON THE AIR, TOO. GENE KOPP RECOGNIZES THE IMPORTANCE OF WHAT WE DO. <u>BUT WE ARE OUT OF ALTERNATIVES</u>.

UNLESS WE ARE HANDED A WINDFALL THESE LANGUAGES ARE DOOMED.

I WANT TO PAY TRIBUTE NOW TO THE PEOPLE WHO MAKE UP EACH OF THESE SERVICES, AND WHO HAVE BEEN SO IMPORTANT TO VOA.

EVERY ONE OF THEM - OUR 57 COLLEAGUES - HAS LOOKED ON HIS OR HER WORK NOT SIMPLY AS A JOB OR A CAREER BUT AS AN OPPORTUNITY TO SERVE THE PEOPLE OF THIS COUNTRY BY SERVING THE PEOPLE OF OTHER COUNTRIES.

IT IS A SAD DAY, AND A TERRIBLE IRONY, THAT YOU WHO LABORED HERE WHEN OUR WORK WAS POORLY UNDERSTOOD OR NOT APPRECIATED AT HOME WILL NOW BE FORCED TO LEAVE WHEN THE SEEDS OF WHAT YOU'VE SOWN ARE FLOURISHING -- AT A TIME WHEN YOUR EFFORTS ARE SO WIDELY RECOGNIZED BY THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

I AM GOING TO READ YOUR NAMES ALOUD OUT OF REGARD FOR THE CONTRIBUTIONS YOU HAVE MADE HERE.

(READ LIST AND LENGTH OF SERVICE)

I WANT TO SAY THIS ABOUT YOU.

YOU HELPED PEOPLE TO KNOW AND UNDERSTAND DEMOCRACY. YOU ~~PROMPTED~~ Promoted PEACE AND HUMAN

DIGNITY. YOU MADE THE IDEALS AND ASPIRATIONS OF THIS COUNTRY COME ALIVE IN THE MINDS OF YOUR LISTENERS.

YOU IMPROVED THEIR LIVES.

YOU SHOULD BE PROUD OF WHAT YOU HAVE DONE. YOU HAVE OUR RESPECT.

YOU REALLY ARE "THE VOICES OF AMERICA."

AFTER WE END, WOULD THOSE WHOSE NAMES I'VE READ PLEASE COME DOWN HERE SO I CAN SPEAK TO YOU PERSONALLY.

JAN BRAMBILLA FROM PERSONNEL IS HERE AS IS BOB COONROD AND SID DAVIS. WE HAVE ALREADY BEGUN TAKING STEPS TO DO EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO ASSIST YOU IN FINDING OTHER WORK. WE WILL DO IT AGGRESSIVELY. WE HAVE ALREADY BEEN IN CONTACT WITH RADIO FREE EUROPE AND RADIO LIBERTY WHO ARE OFFERING SUPPORT. AND WE HAVE NOTIFIED THE BBC. We Have Asked the Chief of BBC Personnel to come here from London + set up interviews.

OF COURSE WE WILL OFFER SPECIAL HELP TO THOSE OF YOU WHO AREN'T CITIZENS, INCLUDING HOLDERS OF J-1 VISAS AND THEIR FAMILIES.

CAROL WEISS OF THE AGENCY'S REFERRAL AND COUNSELING SERVICE WILL BE AVAILABLE TO YOU FOR HELP .... AS WILL WE ALL.

THANK YOU.

Wed be glad to Answer any Questions — and their is a roving Mike For that purpose

#

U.S. BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS

OFFICE OF EMPLOYMENT AND UNEMPLOYMENT STATISTICS

GAO Building, Room 2919
441 G St., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20212

FAX #: 202-523-4558

FROM:

Name Teresa Drennan 523-1172

Title Economist

TO:

Name Christina Martin

Title

Business Speechwriting Dept

City/State

Country

Fax # 456-6218

SUBJECT:

All Employees -- Radio and Television Broadcasting

Total Pages: 5 (including this page)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS
LABSTAT SERIES REPORT

002/005 BLS EMPL STAT 202 523 4558 07:55 03/16/90

SERIES EEU42483001 SIC 483-RADIO AND TELEVISION BROADCASTING ALL EMPLOYEES

YR	JANUARY	FEBRUARY	MARCH	APRIL	MAY	JUNE	JULY	AUGUST	SEPTEMBER	OCTOBER	NOVEMBER	DECEMBER
58	86.2	86.5	86.3	85.6	87.0	87.6	86.1	86.1	86.6	87.4	88.1	88.4
59	88.9	88.5	88.2	88.1	85.5	89.1	89.0	89.4	90.1	89.5	89.9	90.3
60	91.3	90.4	91.3	92.2	92.4	92.8	92.9	93.2	93.5	92.9	92.8	93.6
61	93.8	94.1	93.4	94.3	95.1	94.9	93.6	93.4	93.3	93.1	93.6	93.9
62	93.5	93.6	93.6	94.7	94.1	95.1	96.0	95.7	96.7	97.4	96.5	97.2
63	96.5	97.3	97.4	98.2	97.7	99.1	100.3	100.6	101.0	100.9	100.3	100.3
64	100.8	100.6	100.7	101.5	101.5	102.7	103.8	104.5	103.9	104.8	105.2	104.9
65	104.5	104.8	104.6	104.8	105.4	106.9	107.9	108.5	108.6	108.8	108.5	109.4
66	109.2	109.4	110.1	111.3	111.9	113.5	115.3	115.7	116.1	116.5	116.7	117.4
67	117.9	118.4	119.1	119.7	120.2	121.6	119.2	119.6	120.8	119.2	119.1	120.7
68	120.4	120.4	120.6	121.3	121.0	123.5	124.3	126.2	126.2	126.6	125.8	126.7
69	127.6	127.9	128.8	130.4	131.2	132.5	132.2	133.1	133.3	133.4	132.8	132.9
70	133.2	133.9	134.0	134.2	135.4	136.8	138.1	139.8	141.8	140.9	141.5	142.1
71	141.3	140.8	140.8	141.1	142.1	143.6	145.0	144.8	144.8	143.9	144.2	144.1
72	142.7	142.5	142.9	142.2	142.8	145.0	143.4	143.1	142.1	142.5	141.5	141.3
73	141.2	142.0	142.0	141.7	142.4	144.0	145.7	147.0	146.7	146.6	145.4	146.9
74	145.9	146.9	147.4	147.2	148.7	149.6	150.2	151.4	150.4	151.2	151.6	152.2
75	151.7	152.8	152.8	152.5	153.4	154.5	156.0	156.0	156.1	156.0	156.1	156.2
76	155.9	156.0	157.0	153.2	155.2	158.8	158.8	163.3	164.4	164.4	165.6	165.1
77	163.7	164.3	164.9	165.4	167.3	168.5	168.6	169.9	171.2	171.7	172.9	174.5
78	175.4	175.4	176.7	178.2	178.6	180.1	180.2	181.9	181.8	182.5	183.0	183.7
79	184.0	184.9	185.8	186.2	187.4	188.6	188.1	189.4	190.2	190.7	192.9	193.2
80	193.2	193.9	195.3	196.0	197.1	199.9	201.1	201.9	202.5	204.1	204.2	205.9
81	204.7	203.9	204.4	205.8	206.8	208.7	209.1	208.8	210.0	210.9	212.6	213.2

Extended Page 2.1

ANNUAL AVERAGE
86.9
88.9
92.4
93.9
95.3
99.1
102.9
106.9
113.6
119.6
123.6
131.3
137.6
143.0
142.7
144.3
149.4
154.5
159.8
168.6
179.8
188.5
199.6
208.2

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS
LABSTAT SERIES REPORT

SERIES EEU42483001 SIC 483-RADIO AND TELEVISION BROADCASTING ALL EMPLOYEES (CONTINUED)

YR	JANUARY	FEBRUARY	MARCH	APRIL	MAY	JUNE	JULY	AUGUST	SEPTEMBER	OCTOBER	NOVEMBER	DECEMBER
82	213.9	214.4	215.4	215.8	218.8	219.5	221.0	220.3	220.5	221.4	221.7	222.0
83	221.2	222.6	222.7	223.3	224.8	227.9	226.7	227.6	227.3	226.9	227.4	228.2
84	227.6	228.8	229.7	230.3	232.3	234.8	234.7	235.0	235.2	235.4	236.2	236.9
85	236.7	237.7	237.7	237.6	238.7	240.4	239.5	239.7	238.5	238.5	237.8	237.8
86	236.8	236.6	237.5	237.2	238.2	238.4	237.7	237.5	238.1	238.6	237.8	238.1
87	236.0	235.8	236.2	235.2	235.4	235.1	232.1	231.2	231.0	232.5	235.8	236.4
88	235.4	235.6	236.5	236.7	238.6	239.3	240.2	240.5	240.5	240.1	241.2	242.6
89	241.3	242.3	241.8	243.1	244.5	245.1	245.1	246.5	246.8	246.5	247.5	248.2
90	247.3 (3)											

3) PRELIMINARY DATA

003/005
BLS EMPL STAT
202 523 4558
03/16/90 07:56

Extended Page 3.1

ANNUAL AVERAGE
218.7
225.6
233.1
238.4
237.7
234.4
238.9
244.9

004/005
BLS EMPL STAT
202 523 4558
03/16/90 07:56

03/15/90

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS
LABSTAT SERIES REPORT

SERIES EEU42483301 SIC 4833-TELEVISION BROADCASTING ALL EMPLOYEES

YR	JANUARY	FEBRUARY	MARCH	APRIL	MAY	JUNE	JULY	AUGUST	SEPTEMBER	OCTOBER	NOVEMBER	DECEMBER
82	108.4	107.4	108.9	108.7	111.0	111.0	112.5	112.2	112.5	113.1	112.8	113.0
83	111.9	113.3	113.5	113.9	115.2	116.9	115.6	116.8	116.2	116.1	116.4	117.2
84	117.8	118.6	119.5	119.9	121.3	121.9	121.8	122.5	122.8	123.3	123.3	123.9
85	124.0	124.6	124.5	124.5	125.0	126.2	125.4	125.8	125.4	125.5	125.0	125.0
86	123.9	124.0	124.7	124.3	124.7	124.5	123.7	124.1	125.0	124.7	123.3	123.3
87	120.6	121.0	121.0	119.6	119.5	118.1	115.5	114.6	115.2	116.3	119.8	119.4
88	118.5	118.5	119.2	119.0	120.1	120.1	119.8	120.2	120.5	120.4	121.2	121.9
89	121.0	121.5	121.5	122.3	122.7	122.9	122.8	123.4	124.4	124.0	124.4	124.8
90	124.4 (3)											

3) PRELIMINARY DATA

Extended Page 4.1

ANNUAL AVERAGE
111.0
115.3
121.4
125.1
124.2
118.4
120.0
123.0

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS
LABSTAT SERIES REPORT

SERIES EEU42483201 SIC 4832-RADIO BROADCASTING ALL EMPLOYEES

YR	JANUARY	FEBRUARY	MARCH	APRIL	MAY	JUNE	JULY	AUGUST	SEPTEMBER	OCTOBER	NOVEMBER	DECEMBER
82	105.5	107.0	106.5	107.1	107.8	108.5	108.5	108.1	108.0	108.3	108.9	109.0
83	109.3	109.3	109.2	109.4	109.6	111.0	111.1	110.8	111.1	110.8	111.0	111.0
84	109.8	110.2	110.2	110.4	111.0	112.9	112.9	112.5	112.4	112.1	112.9	113.0
85	112.7	113.1	113.2	113.1	113.7	114.2	114.1	113.9	113.1	113.0	112.8	112.8
86	112.9	112.6	112.8	112.9	113.5	113.9	114.0	113.4	113.1	113.9	114.5	114.8
87	115.4	114.8	115.2	115.6	115.9	117.0	116.6	116.6	115.8	116.2	116.0	117.0
88	116.9	117.1	117.3	117.7	118.5	119.2	120.4	120.3	120.0	119.7	120.0	120.7
89	120.3	120.8	120.3	120.8	121.8	122.2	122.3	123.1	122.4	122.5	123.1	123.4
90	122.9 (3)											

3) PRELIMINARY DATA

005/005
BLS EMPL STAT
202 523 4558
03/16/90 07:57

Extended Page 5.1

ANNUAL AVERAGE
107.8
110.3
111.7
113.3
113.5
116.0
119.0
121.9

Remarks for Gene Kopp
VOA Awards Ceremony
March 13, 1990

Thank you Jan. I am so happy to be here today to participate in VOA's Annual Awards Ceremony. Director Gelb regrets that he is unable to be with us and sends his congratulations to the recipients and his best wishes to all of you.

Over the years I've had the pleasure and honor to have worked with VOA and come to know the spirit and dedication which prevails within this fine organization. I know that this is a special day for all of you to honor your colleagues and share in the recognition of their outstanding achievements. In addition to the specific individuals who are being honored today, each of you in this room should feel proud of your accomplishments in making VOA the preeminent broadcaster that it is. Your accomplishments are legion.

For so long, the importance of much of your work was conveyed to you through indirect means -- smuggled letters, word of mouth. If I had told you a year ago that the official government paper of the Soviet Union will soon praise you, and the President of Czechoslovakia will thank you and encourage you in your work, you would have thought I was mad. But such was the year that was. And such is the recognition of your work.

You, of course, have realized all along.

You know that access to information played a direct, immediate role in the recent changes that have swept the globe. You also know that it was a prominent factor in the efforts that led up to that change.

We are living in an inspiring age, an age in which many of our nation's ideals - freedom of expression, freedom of thought --are being realized by millions of people around the world.

You have worked hard, often in obscurity, and almost always with a very tight budget, to get the news out. If I may join the ranks of Vaclav Havel and Isvestia, and the millions of listeners from Bucharest to Beijing, I. too, would like to say thank you. Thank you for a job well done, and for the outstanding work that lies ahead.

INTERNATIONAL MEDICAL CORPS
MARCH 10, 1990

RICHARD W. CARLSON
DIRECTOR, VOICE OF AMERICA

My thanks to Congressman Hunter for his kind introduction. I am so glad to have been invited to speak.

Being here reminds me of a talk I gave a couple of years ago at an awards ceremony in New York. The host spent a little time talking about the state of affairs in the USSR and the Eastern bloc, and then, gesturing towards me, said, "and now we are going to hear the latest dope from Washington....."

I never figured out if that was premeditated or not.

I am so deeply honored to receive this award on behalf of the 3000 people who are the Voice of America. I receive it too, on behalf of these countless medical aid workers, relief personnel, diplomats, reporters and specialists among us - who are also the Voices of America.

We are living in an inspiring age, an age in which the ideals we as a nation hold supreme are being realized by millions of people around the world. In the last several months, there is such joy that comes from reporting much of the news.

It has been a very busy time at the VOA lately. What has been occurring in the USSR and Eastern Europe is nothing short of amazing. We are reporting on, and the world is witnessing, one of the most remarkable periods in the twentieth century.

I am tempted to say it is the most remarkable period, given the nature of what's happening. Dramatic events -- at least the ones which make headlines -- tend to be bad news, a crisis or disaster. Good news is often slow to come into focus, no matter how large it looms on the horizon.

The pace of good news since we first began to hear of glasnost and perestroika has been simply stunning. And it has changed not only what we report, but how we report it as well.

When I arrived at the Voice of America just four years ago, the Soviets were spending up to a half a billion dollars a year to jam our signals to keep their citizens from hearing the truth.

Now, the Soviets not only have stopped jamming VOA, the official government paper, Isvestia, has become one of our strongest supporters. People living in times of peace --Isvestia recently declared -- need the VOA as mediators no less than people who lived during the Cold War.

This shift from adversary to colleague has its personal twists. One of our announcers is a Hungarian journalist who defected to the west several years ago. She is now doing joint broadcasts with her former boss at Radio Budapest - he in Hungary, she in Washington.

Four years ago - indeed one year ago -- if you had predicted the events that allowed this to happen, no one would have believed you. One ends up almost nostalgic about yesterday.

One of the first glimmers of things to come occurred in August, 1988. It was the twentieth anniversary of the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia -- twenty years since tanks and artillery put an end to the hopeful Prague Spring.

The day of the anniversary, crowds gathered to commemorate their fading glimpse of freedom. And that evening, on the Voice of America, they heard the first western interview with the champion of their cause - the ousted leader Alexander Dubcek.

That day took even the most optimistic off-guard. A human rights activist said, "None of us, opposition or officials, believed that 10,000 young people would demonstrate on that day. And when the VOA correspondent broadcast his piece that night on Voice of America, people throughout the republic realized that something fundamental had changed."

People throughout the world realized something fundamental had changed when, in China the next spring, thousands of young people began demanding reform. Their numbers swelled to millions as they were joined by young and old, workers and peasants across the nation.

In Romania, at the same time, the people were thrilled to learn -- via Voice of America -- that six top officials dared confront Nicolae Ceausescu and demand reform.

The Romanian dictator had the officials arrested. The Chinese dictators did worse.

Yet, the very day a dream was dashed in China, a dream was realized in Poland.

On June fourth, the same day the tanks rolled into Tiananmen Square, Poles voted in their first fair election in more than forty years. The people spoke. And Solidarity won.

The pace of change in Eastern Europe accelerated.

In Berlin, the hated wall came down.

In Czechoslovakia, Dubcek was vindicated.

In Romania, a dictatorship was toppled.

In Lithuania, people voted to push their once free country closer to freedom once again. And just last week, Slavic voters in three Soviet republics demanded greater reform.

The wave of freedom was just that - a wave. And the courage and faith that made all this happen were bourne, in part, by information -- over-the-fence gossip, underground literature, by telephone, by fax machine. And by radio.

In the west, we swim in a sea of information - good, bad, indifferent. We get to make a choice. But much of the world has never even seen a telephone, much less used one. To them, radio remains a primary means of finding out about the world. And it is a handful of broadcasters -- VOA, and the BBC prime among them -- that offers a balanced view of what is going on.

Access to information played a direct, immediate role in the recent collapse of communism. It was also a prominent factor in the struggle that preceded it.

For so many, for so long, knowledge of the outside world and the truth of their own societies has been denied people by their rulers. Which is why, for nearly fifty years, VOA has provided news to people hungry for information.

Totalitarian governments used their media to spread lies, to jam the signals of western radio that spread news. The free flow of information is a very dangerous thing -- to a dictatorship.

The attempt to control what people think finds a chilling example in Romania's security forces. Ceausescu took young boys by the hundreds out of orphanages and raised them as slaves and killers in an isolated totalitarian world.

As bizarre as that is, it is the logical extreme of lies and jamming and isolation from information. But short of grotesque efforts like that, there really is no way to create an isolated world. Information has opened too many windows and poked too many holes in that Iron Curtain. What did it the most were underground newspapers and magazines, smuggled books, whispered conversations - and the international radios.

President Kennedy once told VOA to make information flow "across iron curtains and stone walls" Create an open market of ideas.

The U.S. Congress pays for VOA broadcasts with taxpayer dollars and gets a bargain in return. For two cents per listener each year, 127 million plus listeners tune in each week.

Isn't it incredible how Western all those Eastern Europeans sound in talking about freedom, democracy, free enterprise, environmental concerns? They didn't get those notions from their own media or text books. And they didn't get it from Western commercial media, which only speaks English, has little experience, limited audience and no financial incentive in many of these countries.

And isn't it incredible that they knew so much about what their governments were up to, even though the governments went to great lengths to keep them secret? They knew these things primarily from "the radios".

In the Soviet Union people are well aware of the problems the government causes them in their day to day lives. VOA, however, has given them the background on how those problems came about. 31 million people there -- Russians, Georgians, Ukranians, Estonians -- listen to us in 9 languages everyday.

For many years, the Soviet media portrayed the invasion of Afghanistan as a noble effort to help the poor citizens of that country. The Soviet people were supposed to believe that comely Afghan women were out greeting the soldiers with garlands in hand.

As many of you in this room know, Soviet news sources also claimed a "limited contingent" of Soviet troops had been "invited" to Afghanistan by the Afghan government. The troops were there to visit schools, build roads, teach crafts to children and provide medical assistance. Those were lies.

But two things worked to keep those lies from being effective. One was the uncensored news provided by international radio. Soviet citizens have cited VOA most frequently as their source of uncensored news about Afghanistan. The other was word of mouth initiated by returning soldiers.

From the beginning, VOA reported extensively on the war. We reported Soviet successes and Soviet failures, resistance victories and resistance defeats. And while we pulled no punches, we reported the news dispassionately.

For while atrocities were committed by Soviet troops, among our listeners in the Soviet Union were returning soldiers. No matter what one thought of their being in Afghanistan, these young men returned wounded: wounded physically, wounded psychologically and, sometimes, wounded mortally.

Many of the families of the dead were not told how or where their loved ones had died. A sealed metal casket accompanied simply by the information that they had given their lives in "patriotic duty" was what the government gave them. And the rest was a secret. But they knew anyway because we told them.

Those soldiers who survived returned home to learn they "had been teaching children and helping farmers'" not fighting a brutal and unjust war. These men became the other impediment to the official Soviet line, and the war itself. Their disillusionment was profound and it soon found common cause with the disillusionment of listeners to international radio.

The most celebrated leader of the anti-war movement in the Soviet Union was Andrei Sakharov. For speaking out against the war he was exiled to Gorky. But try as the government might to silence him, his message got out, and via Voice of America, his message got right back in - in English, Russian, Ukranian, Georgian, and so on.

By that same route, people in the Soviet Union heard the thoughts of dissident poets and playwrights, defecting soldiers and grieving mothers. And along with that information came the facts: the relentless, tragic facts of the war in Afghanistan.

By 1988, pushed repeatedly by these broadcasts, the Soviet media itself began to approach the subject with more candor. By then, it was too little, too late. Citizen disaffection was rampant and passionate. And as we in America found out, an unpopular war is likely an unwinnable war.

International radio brought the Afghan war right into the Soviet living room, where it grabbed the hearts and minds of millions.

A Soviet journalist recently called lying about the war "sheer stupidity" on the part of the Soviet press. But it was more than a political blunder to lie. Access to information is a matter of compassion, of morality. And it is a fundamental human right.

VOA tries to fulfill that right where others deny it.

Shortly after the invasion of Afghanistan, VOA went on the air in Pashto and Dari. Compared to what tanks and artillery did to the people of Afghanistan, the fact that the Soviets tried to control information there somewhat pales in comparison.

But providing information is the one thing that VOA can do to help. And so the Voice let people know what was going on: the scope of the war; the politics behind it; and perhaps just as importantly, what the rest of the world was saying.

Our Afghan listeners have told us often what that information meant to them. Many risked the consequences of writing from inside Afghanistan, others waited until they were safely beyond its borders. The other day, we received a letter from an Afghan who recently fled to Pakistan. He recalled how he took refuge with his family on a nearby mountain when the Soviets attacked the Panjsheer valley in the spring of 1982.

"We were all so worried in the darkness of the cave" he writes, "hearing explosions, knowing nothing about the future. We had no breakfast, no lunch, and no dinner. Let me tell you that the only thing which kept our morale high was listening to VOA's Dari service."

Another Afghan listener, now a refugee in Saudi Arabia, said: "For me, your programming is food for my soul."

News, of course, cannot staunch the wounds of battle, or save an innocent child from painful death. That is what you do, and it's a humanitarian act so basic, so profound, I am at a loss for words of praise.

I see that same impulse to help, however, among the people in VOA's Dari and Pashto services.

The staff of those services have had to put aside prejudices, passions and politics to do one thing, report the news straight. It may sound simple, but the temptation to do otherwise is very great. It is their country, and their people, who are being torn apart.

Yet however strong the temptation to encourage one side or one faction, it is always put aside. Radio Moscow does not, and it is a mistake.

What is true of the Dari and Pashto service is true throughout the Voice.

When tanks rolled into Tiananmen Square last June, the tragedy was felt by all all of us in this country. At VOA's China branch, where our broadcasters knew those students as listeners, as friends, as family, the pain was all that more acute.

Many in the China branch wept openly, but through their tears, they continued to do the only thing they could - tell what happened.

For virtually everyone at the Voice of America, theirs is not a job, not even a career. It is something they must do. My admiration for them knows no bounds.

Even still, these men and women are only part of something much larger.

This award is shared with the people whose courage helped set the stage for the astonishing events we report. And it is shared with the listeners who used the information we relayed to overcome deceit and treachery and oppression. It belongs to the Chinese students, and to Vaclav Havel. It belongs to Andrei Sakharov. It belongs to the courageous people of Afghanistan.

The Voice of America has been and continues to be their window to the world. That is our reason for being. We exist to communicate with all people, to offer them access to the news and truth, to bring them information about the United States and about themselves, to bring them the values of freedom and democracy.

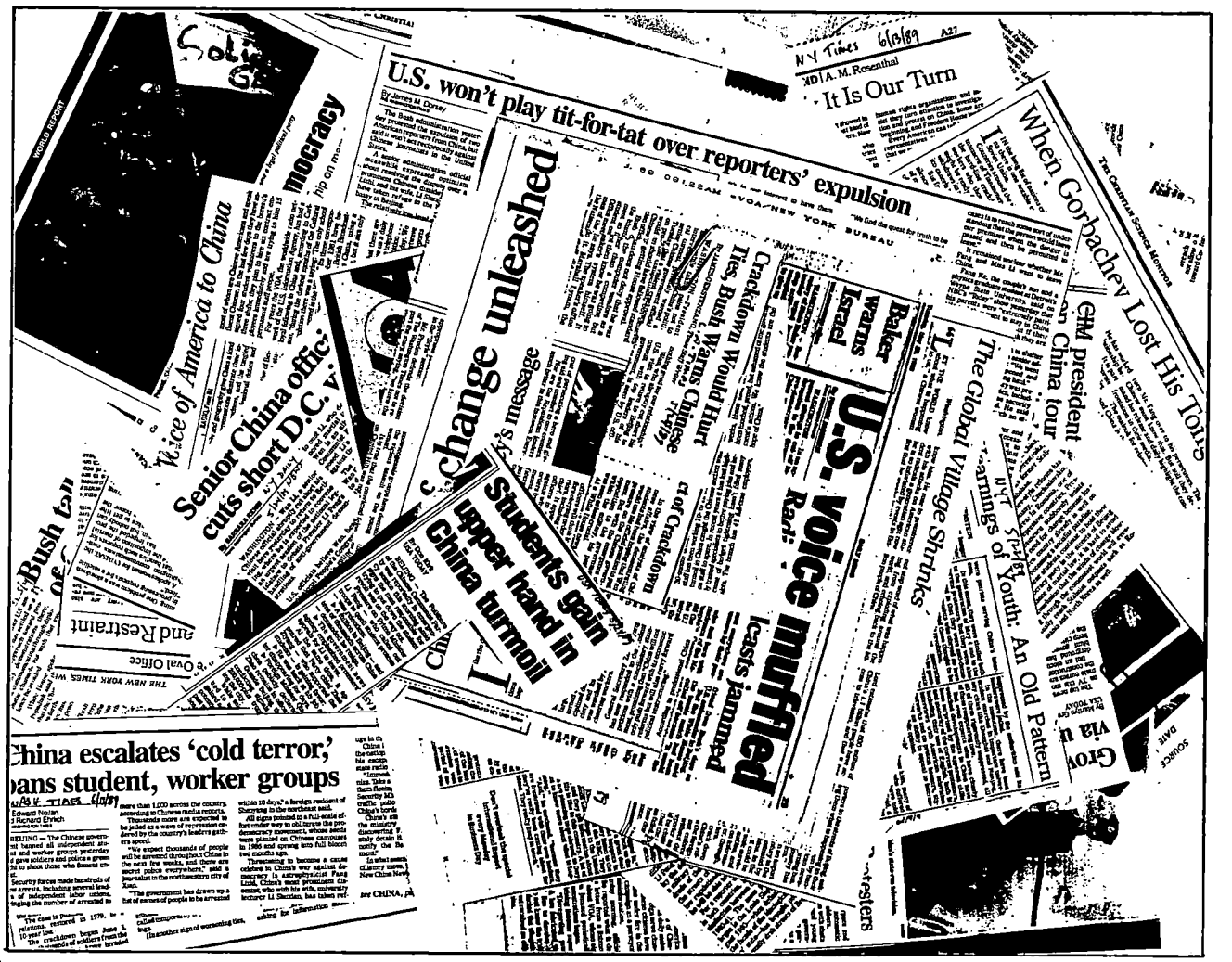
In Afghanistan, and throughout the world, the Voice of America brings hope and vision. We will continue to be a window to the world, for as long as such windows are needed.

Thank you. It was a great pleasure an a great honor to be here.

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VOICES ON VOA

SPRING 1989



VOA
VOICE OF AMERICA

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330 INDEPENDENCE AVE., S.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20547

RICHARD W. CARLSON
DIRECTOR

The Voice of America's impact in any single country is rarely as visible as it has been in China. From the beginning of the pro-democracy movement through the brutal crackdown in Tiananmen Square, VOA has been the preeminent source of news and information in China.

VOA also became part of the story, as this sampling of news articles demonstrates. Many Americans were introduced to VOA through the extensive coverage of our activities in the domestic press. The 3,000 journalists, technicians, and support staff at VOA deserve to be recognized for their outstanding work during what many have called VOA's finest hour.

Richard W. Carlson
Director

VOICE OF AMERICA REPORTS CHINA TURMOIL

HON. RALPH REGULA
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 14, 1989

Mr. REGULA. Mr. Speaker, all Americans watched the tragic events in China with a mixture of shock, sadness, and anger. However, in China, the official media has yet to accurately report on the massacre in Tiananmen Square and the subsequent turmoil. That is why as many as 300 million Chinese are listening to the Voice of America's broadcasts in Mandarin, Cantonese, and English.

Since the crisis began, VOA's reputation for accurate, balanced news has drawn a huge audience. Some estimate that VOA has as many as 400 million listeners on a daily basis, despite deliberate jamming of the Chinese programs.

VOA has added broadcast hours, opened telephone hotlines, and switched to all-news programming in order to keep the Chinese people informed of events that will determine their future.

I hope my colleagues will join me in commending the staff and leadership of VOA for their tireless efforts. Their ability to make some sense of the chaos has earned them the respect and admiration of listeners around the world.

I would also like to share the following article, "Signals of China's Hope and Turmoil" from the Washington Post.

SIGNALS OF CHINA'S HOPE AND TURMOIL AT VOICE OF AMERICA, BROADCASTING TO BEIJING BECOMES A PERSONAL MISSION

(By Jacqueline Trescott)

Signals of China's Hope and Turmoil

At Voice of America, Broadcasting to Beijing Becomes a Personal Mission

By Jacqueline Trescott
Washington Post Staff Writer

Inside the blue studio Anita K. Tong and Dah H. Lin read over the news script written in bold black Mandarin characters, eyeballed the wall clock and waited for the signal to start. Then, after a few bars of "Yankee Doodle Dandy," they spiritedly read news summaries slugged "China Unrest," "China/U.S. Evacuation" and "Hong Kong/China" to an audience estimated at 200 million people and growing by the hour.

Part of the Voice of America team now acknowledged as the main source of information for the Chinese about the ongoing crisis in China, Lin and Tong are radio veterans, sharing 42 years as American government broadcasters. On the air they are smooth, unruffled and focused. But inside their office cubbyholes, where the teapot is plugged in, the fan mail stacked up and

See RADIO, B12, Col. 1

ANNA CLOPET FOR *USN&WR*



Keeping abreast. *Protesters in Beijing depended on radios for news*

AMERICA'S VOICE IN CHINA

By 5 a.m., the Voice of America's China branch was already deep into another extraordinary day when VOA Director Richard Carlson strode in with thanks and boxes of doughnuts. But the main event that morning last week was yet to come. Shortly after 10, a frantic producer cued a technician; seconds later, its "Yankee Doodle" sign-on blaring, America's official radio network began video broadcasts from Washington, D.C., to China. For the first time in its 47-year history, VOA was beaming television images.

Impact journalism. For the 42 staffers in the China branch, every day is now extraordinary. From all over China, hundreds of listeners call collect, reporting Chinese jamming of VOA radio frequencies and each day's atrocities. Yet VOA's greatest impact is in simply reporting the news 11 hours a day to as many as 300 million Chinese listeners. A once benighted agency criticized for simplistic propaganda has become America's primary instrument in China. Such delicate impact journalism presents a dilemma. "We're supposed to be reporters," says VOA's John Harbaugh. "Now, we are involved in events."

The VOA response has been to take special care with content and format. The agency requires two sources to justify every item used. Executives ruled out a live call-in program, for fear they might be accused of feeding unrest. The care was evident as staff members worried over first hints of a Chinese purge of civilian opponents. Even with confirmation from a source who had proved reliable, they balked at a report that, if true, might save thousands of lives. "If anything would justify accusing us of interfering in China's affairs, it would be a false report on something like this," branch director David Hess said.

VOA personnel insist that the agency acts independently, but State Department officials have reinforced their caution. "They've made it clear: 'For God's sake, be careful,' " a staffer says. Nonetheless, the VOA dared to use television equipment owned by its parent organization, the U.S. Information Agency, despite congressional rules restricting USIA telecasts. It was well aware that most satellite dishes in China large enough to receive the beam belong to the military.

The greatest stress at VOA falls on the understaffed China branch. Most are ethnic Chinese, many still with families in China. To protect their kin, they use pseudonyms on the air; several are reluctant to appear on camera. Running on no more than 4 or 5 hours of sleep daily, they are torn between duty and sentiment. "I know I should not say it in the office," confides the woman who was VOA's first television broadcaster, fighting back tears. "But I just want to do what I can to help our people." ■

by Donald Baer

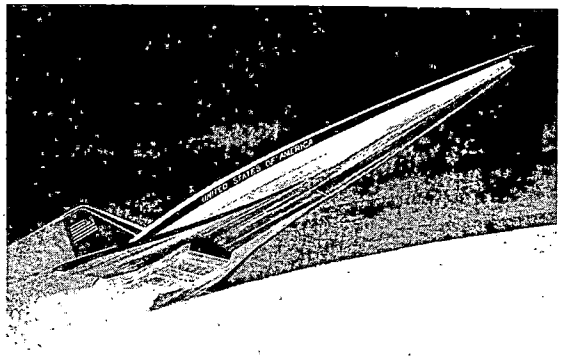
JUNE 24, 1989, VOL. 21, NO. 25, PAGES 1613-1672



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Washington Update

THE VOICE IN CHINA 1640

Under Richard W. Carlson, the Voice of America has gotten a shot in the arm from its role in giving the Chinese people news of the Beijing uprising.

Carol Matlack

VOA Finds Its Voice in China

By Carol Matlack

Seldom has the Voice of America (VOA) been able to demonstrate so vividly the importance of its mission. In the weeks since the crackdown on the pro-democracy movement in China, the U.S. Information Agency's (USIA) radio service has become the main news source in a country where government-controlled media are pretending that virtually nothing happened. VOA engineers have juggled frequencies and transmitters to evade Chinese government jamming of its signal. Its broadcasters in Washington have worked 12-hour shifts. One of its Beijing correspondents, Al Pessin, was kicked out of the country—one of the great badges of honor in U.S. journalism.



Richard A. Bloom

VOA director Richard W. Carlson
High marks for his agency's China coverage

The VOA is still cranking out 11 hours of news reports to China every day, along with expanded coverage of the China story in other countries where Western news reports of the crackdown were not widely available. "We really haven't had time to slow down and think about the long-term effects of the story on the radio service itself," said Diane Doherty, chief of the VOA news division.

But the showcasing of its role in the China crisis has clearly buoyed morale at the VOA, a 47-year-old agency whose role within the USIA had been played down under former USIA director Charles Z. Wick. With about 3,000 employees, a $170 million annual budget and an estimated 120 million regular listeners worldwide, the VOA is the USIA's biggest division. But Wick had heavily promoted other projects such as the WORLDNET television service, and the agency had dipped into the VOA's construction budget to finance other new programs, while an ambitious, $1.3 billion VOA modernization program announced early in the Reagan Administration was virtually scuttled for lack of funds.

"They tend to get robbed for other things within USIA," said a congressional aide who is familiar with the agency budget.

The China story highlighted some of the radio service's pressing needs. The VOA China section was short-staffed when the story broke because tight budgets had prevented the filling of some positions. And the VOA has had trouble broadcasting in some parts of China because a planned relay station in Sri Lanka has not been built—again, for budgetary reasons—and the VOA is forced to rely on a distant station in the Philippines.

VOA director Richard W. Carlson and his staff have not been shy about publicizing the VOA's activities in China, in interviews for U.S. television and newspapers. In recent testimony before the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on International Operations, Carlson told of visiting the VOA newsroom at 5 A.M. and finding a reporter weeping as he typed an account of the carnage in Tiananmen Square. Carlson, a former broadcaster and bank executive who became VOA director in 1986, wasn't sure he would keep the post after President Bush took office. But Bruce S. Gelb, Bush's choice for USIA chief, had decided before the China story broke that he wanted Carlson to stay.

Whether the VOA will be able to cash in on its China publicity remains to be seen. Subcommittees of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and the House Foreign Affairs Committee had completed their markup of the USIA fiscal 1990 authorization bill before Chinese troops moved into Tiananmen Square. Both panels had approved about $170 million in operating funds for the VOA, the same level as this year and roughly what the Bush Administration had requested.

But though the VOA had requested $89 million in additional money for construction, the House panel approved only $65 million and the Senate, only $36 million. Even if the House version prevails, VOA officials worry that as in the past, some of the money could be siphoned off for other USIA projects. During the current fiscal year, for example, $7.5 million in VOA construction funds was earmarked for startup of TV Marti, a planned television service aimed at Cuba. "The radio construction budget has been a sort of milk cow for other programs," said Joseph B. Bruns, the VOA chief of staff.

Rep. Mervyn M. Dymally, D-Calif., chairman of the Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on International Operations, has been sympathetic to the VOA. And the Senate Foreign Relations Committee has commended the VOA for its handling of the China crisis. "The students of the democracy movement reported that the VOA provided the best coverage" to audiences in China, the committee said in a report.

But in recent years, Congress hasn't looked too kindly on VOA requests for money—in part because the radio service, after receiving a dose of money to start its modernization program in the early 1980s, was slow to spend the funds. VOA officials blamed the delay on unforeseen problems in negotiations with countries where the projects were to be located. Still, the episode raised doubts about VOA management, and the modernization program was derailed.

For now, though, spirits are running high at the VOA. "People are energized," Bruns said. "We feel we're carrying out our mission very effectively, and we're getting recognized for it."□

Red Sox win third straight, downing White Sox, 8-4 - Page 41

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THIRST FOR NEWS IN CHINA



Globe staff photo/Stan Grossfeld

Students at Beijing University tune in a Voice of America broadcast, demonstrating a yearning for information they can not read in the government-controlled press. Other sources include notebooks, tape recorders and dissident student posters pasted on the sides of buildings. Meanwhile, thousands of students swept past police lines this morning in a march for democracy and freedom to celebrate the 70th anniversary of the first student movement in China. Stories, other photo, Pages 10 and 11.

Voice of America Has Won the Ear of China

By SHERYL WuDUNN
Special to The New York Times

BEIJING, May 8 — The real news does not travel fast in this Communist country, at least through official channels. So when the streets here swell with protesters, people all over China tune in the Voice of America.

During the turmoil of recent weeks, people in offices, factories and schools throughout China have clustered by the radio to listen to the latest episodes in the saga of student protest. At Beijing University, students huddle around posters that report the latest Voice bulletins, and the other day, hundreds of students crowded around a dormitory window listening to a dispatch.

The United States Government radio network hardly competes with China's Central People's Broadcasting station, which probably has the largest number of listeners in the world. But during times of unrest, China's news organizations tend to be silent about what many Chinese people are most interested in, sending waves of would-be listeners to the American competition.

"I always listen to V.O.A.," said Xi Rimo, a 28-year-old chemistry student at Beijing University. "Some news takes a long time to get to us, and some news we never hear at all. V.O.A. helps us understand what's going on in our own country."

In times of turmoil, Chinese people have always scrambled for access to foreign news reports.

The Voice of America has enjoyed a much wider audience than the BBC partly because it offers nine hours of news in Chinese every day, compared with two and a half hours at the BBC. While more Chinese tune in these days to the English-language news programs, the great majority still listen to Chinese programs.

Because it has some 60 million listeners in China, the Voice at times seems to have a greater effect on local politics than do China's own news organizations.

Perhaps the peak of the Voice's influence here came during nationwide student demonstrations in December 1986, when many people said the Voice was partly responsible for the spread of the protests from city to city, as people learned from the broadcasts what was happening elsewhere and decided to join in.

"Our listenership goes through the roof during protests," said David W. Hess, chief of the China branch at the Voice of America in Washington.

Because of the station's political influence here, its broadcasts have sometimes become an irritant in Chinese-American diplomatic relations. China protested the broadcasts during the 1986 student demonstrations, and five months ago during racial unrest in the city of Nanjing, the official People's Daily called a Voice report "nonsense." Last August the Foreign Ministry turned down a request for press accreditation from a Voice correspondent, giving no explanation.

So far the Government has not made any comment about the Voice's coverage of the protests, and last week it accredited a second journalist for the station's Beijing bureau. In addition, China's television and radio and newspapers now are reporting limited information about the protests, and so the Voice is not playing so pivotal a role.

Some Special Attention

Newsmakers sometimes give the Voice special attention. Indeed, in the middle of a demonstration, or a march on the Communist Party headquarters, when other foreign correspondents are stalking students to interview, the students are stalking the Voice reporter.

"Have you seen the V.O.A. reporter here?" a student demonstrator asked a foreign reporter recently.

Yet some students now seem disappointed with the Voice's coverage, complaining that it has not been as aggressive as before.

"We have very little information about what goes on in Beijing," said Zhang Z., a 24-year-old electrical engineering student who had come here from Fudan University in Shanghai. "Of course we listen to V.O.A., but V.O.A. has been rather moderate in its news reports of the student protests, not like in 1986."

The Voice of America insists that its coverage of this round of protests essentially has not changed, although it relied more heavily during the first week of unrest on news-agency reports.

 5/24/89

DAILY NEWS
220 E. 42d St. New York, N.Y. 10017

JAMES HOGE, *Publisher and President* F. GILMAN SPENCER, *Editor*
MICHAEL PAKENHAM, *Editorial Page Editor* JAMES P. WILLSE, *Managing Editor*

China: Let freedom ring

BLAME IT ON THE MICROCHIP, if you want to. Today, millions of Chinese are waging an as yet bloodless counterrevolution. A few short years ago, before the proliferation of inexpensive telephones, televisions and — yes — fax machines, it would have been almost impossible to imagine that the word could have spread to even a fraction of them.

Would hundreds of thousands have risked annihilation by the largest army on Earth if it weren't for the fact — and the knowledge of it — that the whole world was watching, through television, radio and swiftly transmitted print?

Indeed, would the seeds of that counterrevolution have put out even tiny shoots without nourishment for the last decade and more by ideas and truths from the Voice of America, the BBC and other "outside" communications dependent on electronics?

There are no answers to that technology-as-liberator puzzle, of course. There even is a mild irony in the argument that explosions of mass communication techniques in earlier eras fed the beasts of repression: the Nazi propaganda machine, the monstrous lie of Marxism as it swept into naive and neglected societies a generation and two ago.

BUT PUT ABSTRACT SPECULATIONS aside. Today there can be no doubt that very concrete changes are occurring in China. Massive and bloody repression still could prevent them from setting: The Chinese are no strangers to the slaughter of millions to solidify political control.

As if in answer to the nourishment question, the Beijing government has begun jamming the VOA again. Troops — prohibited from reading newspapers or watching television — hover in the countryside, with time on their side as Tiananmen Square becomes clotted with filth, its occupiers weary and ill.

And there are no clear imperatives as to how the non-Chinese world should behave. Mikhail Gorbachev, the Great Upstager, was in Beijing when it all came to a head.

That was a triple-decked irony: Russia and China had been at each others' throats, sometimes close to war, for 30 years and more. Chinese top man Deng Xiaoping had kept Gorbachev dangling for three years before letting him do his Richard Nixon act — and then a zillion Chinese students reduced the Red Supersummit to a parenthetical aside in the history of 1989.

What's the U.S. to do? What about other free nations?

In terms of direct effect, practically nothing. Even if the Communist leadership is mindless or tyrannical enough to drench the nation in blood, there's no effective military role for Americans, or for any other outsiders. There is little or no economic pressure to be brought to bear on the Chinese leaders.

AS THE REST of the Marxist world struggles openly toward rejection of collectivism and dictatorship, free nations will best serve the aspirations for liberty by example, not by intervention. In truth, the greatest force at play now is that of a free market — in goods, trade and, most important, ideas. To try to intrude on that, beyond making very general statements encouraging liberty, would be folly.

But whatever the next set of events, in China today there is a wondrous beauty. Frustration with the paralyzing stupidity of Marxism and outrage against tyranny, repression and corruption by the powerful: All have combined to create a massive movement.

Who possibly can doubt that that demand for liberty — economic, social and political — is the voice of the future? The voice of a global civilization is crying out that totalitarianism, again as ever a proven failure, is simply not to be tolerated.

VOICE OF AMERICA—STILL THE BEST BARGAIN IN AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY

HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 15, 1989

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, media reports tell of the explusion from Communist China of two American journalists for allegedly violating martial law restrictions and inciting counterrevolutionary activities.

One of those expelled is Alan W. Pessin, the bureau chief of the Voice of America, the international broadcasting service of the U.S. Government. Mr. Pessin has been covering China since 1984 and, according to the Chinese, engaged in "illegal newsgathering."

It should not be news when a totalitarian government expels an American journalist for doing his job. Totalitarian governments, like that of Communist China, have no conception of a free press.

But in one sense the expulsion of Mr. Pessin is good news. By that I mean that it reminds us of the importance of the Voice of America. In an age of high-tech gadgetry, of television by satellite, of fax machines and glasnost, the Voice of America may have seemed to some to be old-fashioned, a "relic of the Cold War" as some have said.

To the contrary—the Voice of America remains, as it has been since World War II, a voice of freedom, of solid, factual news, of opinion that is labeled opinion and of clear, authoritative, official U.S. policy. The jazz programs of Voice of America's Willis Conover have introduced millions in Europe and Asia to the best of American culture and, in doing so, have opened a window through which freedom of artistic expression could be glimpsed by those long denied such freedom.

If the expulsion of Mr. Pessin reminds us of the importance of the Voice of America, perhaps it was worth the price. We in the United States, who are used to freedom of information, and who take it for granted, forget how important a free flow of information can be to those who lack freedom.

I just want to congratulate the Voice of America, its director Richard Carlson and the entire staff. An organization whose representative is expelled for telling the truth to those denied freedom deserves the support and the applause of the American people. I hope our colleagues recognize the importance of this great American institution and that we provide the funding and support its needs. The Voice of America remains, what it has been for years, the best bargain the American people have in foreign policy.

Up Freedom! Faxes to the Rebels, Gunfire Via Cellular Phone

Viewpoint

By Michael Gartner

Save the newspapers from the past week. Your grandchildren will want them.

Never has there been a week when freedom spoke so forcefully in so many places. In China, of course. In Poland. In the Soviet Union. The world changes. The newspapers chronicle it all.

So save them. But remember to tell your grandchildren this: Those newspapers chronicle it all, but in these revolutions—the violent and the peaceful—the written word of the newspaper is almost irrelevant. These revolutions are being aided and abetted by the new technology. They simply would not have happened without radio, without television, without the computer and, incredibly, without the fax machine. The cellular telephone is playing a role, too.

The students in China are being fed facts and hope from campuses in the U.S. At Berkeley and Columbia and elsewhere, brilliant young sympathizers—Chinese and American and Chinese-American—send documents and articles and letters to their brave counterparts in China. The fax machines are, in a way, the fuel of the revolution: The faxed materials inform, encourage, embolden the young revolutionaries. They have become the wall posters of this generation. Never has there been anything like it.

While the students here in America provide the fax, the Voice of America provides the facts. Calmly and thoroughly, it broadcasts the news of the revolution. Tens of millions of Chinese apparently are tuning in their radios to get reliable, fast reports on the revolt in Tiananmen Square. The reports spur hope and support. It is the Voice of America at its best.

So fax machines abet the students. Radio informs the Chinese. And television informs—and appalls—the American public, including the president of the United States. Snapshots from historic events get engraved in our minds. For my father's generation, it's the newspaper photo of the flag-raising at Iwo Jima. For my generation, it's the newspaper photo of the young girl at Kent State wailing over the body of a student killed by the National Guard. For my daughter's, it surely will be the unarmed, white-shirted young Chinese man who stood defiantly in front of a line of tanks—and stared the tanks down.

That image, telecast over and over by American networks this week, cannot be erased. "I believe the forces of democracy are so powerful, and when you see them, as recently as this morning—a single student standing in front of a tank, and then, I might add, seeing the tank driver exercise restraint—I'm convinced that the forces of democracy are going" to triumph, George Bush told his press conference Monday morning. The man who can shape a nation's reaction gets his hope and outrage from the television screen.

And then, hourly, the networks break in with more news from the front, news telephoned from China in the same matter-of-fact way that you call your mother on Mother's Day. Phoning from the front the news as it happens. Ernie Pyle wouldn't believe it.

One reporter, a man from CBS, is roughed up and taken away as his audience listens. He is reporting by cellular phone, and we hear him hustled off midst the background gunfire. The phone apparently falls to the ground, and the line stays open for a while. We still hear shooting and then the disconnect signal. It's all done with the technological ease of a businessman calling in from his car.

Except, of course, for the gunfire. It's unforgettable. And eerie.

Then, the nightly news shows turn to the story from Poland, where there was an election, of all things, and where the Communists were battered. What do we see? Some somber members of Solidarity compiling the results in a cafe—on mini-computers. There they are, making history, overthrowing an ideology, winning a revolution of sorts—and certifying it by computer. While we watch from our dinner tables.

Finally, the news shows turn to the Soviet Union. There, the Congress of People's Deputies is debating right and wrong. A deputy lights into the KGB. President Mikhail Gorbachev offers to help the poor and cut defense spending. A professor gives up his seat to a rabble-rousing populist, and the populist immediately demands that the president annually stand for a vote of confidence. Otherwise, says Boris Yeltsin, "we may find ourselves captive of a new authoritarian regime."

Newspapers chronicle it all, but in these revolutions the written word of the newspaper is almost irrelevant. The revolutions are being aided and abetted by the new technology.

Remember, this is the Soviet Union.

And, incredibly, it's all on live television.

Nearly 30 years ago, in 1960, television changed the course of America. It happened on Sept. 26, the night Richard Nixon debated John F. Kennedy. "It was surprisingly dull, hardly a debate at all, and I thought Nixon had a slight edge in what little argument there had been," Russell Baker, who was covering the debates for the New York Times, writes in "Good Times," his new autobiography. (It's a wonderful book. Buy it.) "With no real blows struck, the event seemed a dud, and my story's lead said the two had 'argued genteelly.' "

But Kennedy had won a great victory. "I missed it completely," Mr. Baker writes, "because I had been too busy taking notes and writing to get more than fleeting glimpses of what the country was seeing on the screen. Most of the country had been looking, not listening, and what they saw was a frail and exhausted-looking Nixon perspiring nervously under pressure. It was a Nixon catastrophe.

"That night, television replaced newspapers as the most important communications medium in American politics."

Television then went on to bring us the horrors of Vietnam and to cause us to demand that the war be ended. Later, it brought us the Watergate hearings and helped us understand our own peaceful change in government. And now, it brings us revolutions—live from Tiananmen Square, live from a computer center in Warsaw, live from the Palace of Congresses in Moscow.

Uprisings in which the uprisers are armed with fax machines and computers, in which the reporters are armed with cellular telephones, in which a nation being torn asunder listens to the event over radio beamed in by satellite, in which policy makers set their policy after watching the gunfire from their livingrooms.

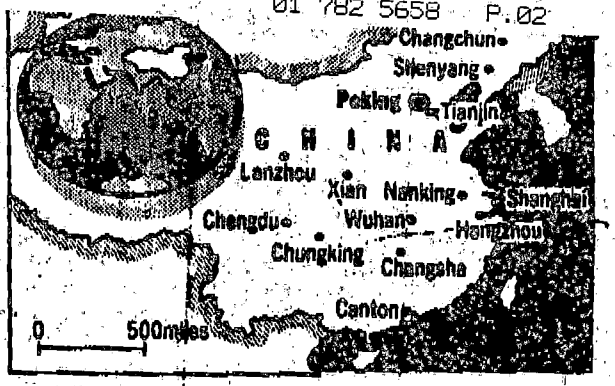
That's the world this week.

Stay tuned.

Mr. Gartner is editor and co-owner of the Daily Tribune in Ames, Iowa, and president of NBC News in New York.

SUNDAY TIMES
JUNE 4

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A nation in chaos: the trouble-spots outside Peking

Students defeat the state censor

● THE killing of students in Peking has provoked revulsion and fury throughout China, with rioting and strikes. Many cities have been paralysed by barricades of roads, rail and bridges.

Reaction to the massacre was most violent in Chengdu, capital of Sichuan, the home province in the southwest of Deng Xiaoping, the Chinese leader. During a clash last Sunday between students and police, more than 70 shops, including Chengdu's largest department store, were firebombed and vehicles set alight.

An American student in Chengdu said that, although no shots were fired by the police, teargas was used and between 20 and 30 demonstrators were beaten to death.

In Lanzhou, in the northwest, some parents received telegrams from university authorities in Peking saying that their sons, who were studying in the capital, had been killed in Tiananmen Square. A British teacher in Lanzhou said that the initial reaction of "absolute horror" quickly turned to anger, and factories were closed and streets blocked.

Fearing military action, many students later hid their identity cards or escaped into the countryside, after Jia Zhijie, the provincial governor, threatened to kill "rats" who were attempting to cut "vital communications lines and important (railway) bridges".

To counter the official media, which portrayed demonstrators as counter-revolutionaries, students throughout China were tape-recording news bulletins on the Voice of America (VOA) and the BBC, and rebroadcasting them to large audiences. Over 100 people a day telephoned eye-witness accounts to the VOA in Washington from China, Richard Carlson, its director, said.

When trouble started in Shanghai, China's most highly-populated city (14m) and the country's industrial base, one man telephoned to say: "A train is now on fire, burnt by a group of angry demonstrators."

It was confirmed that six people were killed when they lay down on the railway line to stop the Peking express, and one train was later set on fire.

"There has been butchery in Peking," shouted the demonstrators, and carried banners condemning the prime minister: "Li Peng must pay for spilt blood with his own blood."

On Friday, another demonstration, by 50,000, increased the risk of a crackdown by the authorities, for Shanghai, western diplomats pointed out, is the key city which will decide whether the unrest takes root in China.

In Wuhan, in central China, earlier in the week, 2,000 demonstrators blocked the main railway bridge over the Yangtse river which links north and south China. Ten police vans were set on fire and 26 government vehicles were tipped into the river. In Nanjing, a million people protested.

Two incidents illustrate the difficulty in suppressing news embarrassing to the authorities. A Chinese telephone operator put through a free call to the BBC in London from an informant anxious to provide details. Another operator connected a small boy to the VOA in Washington and pleaded: "Please, listen, he has so much to tell you."

Tanks have blocked the four gates to the city of Xian, capital of Shaanxi in central China. In Changsha, in the south, students and workers staged a funeral march, and visited factories to circulate news of the massacre. In Shenyang, a woman witness to the Peking killings also toured factories.

In Hangzhou, in Zhejiang province, trains were blocked. In Changchun, in the northeast, the mayor warned that protests could paralyse the economy. The port city of Tianjin, east of Peking, was facing disruption. Harbin, in the north, reported chaos. In Chungking, in the west, many students were arrested, while in Canton, in the south, their colleagues left their campuses fearing raids by the military.

Although barricades are being dismantled and normality of sorts is returning to most cities, Ian Orr, the British consul in Shanghai, reflected the nationwide mood of fear, anger and uncertainty: "Things can never be the same again."

Amit Roy

COMMENDING VOICE OF AMERICA

(Mr. JONES of Georgia asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. JONES of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, at a recent memorial service in Atlanta for the victims of the Beijing massacre, a number of Chinese students stressed to me the vital importance of the Voice of America in the Chinese struggle for greater freedom.

Civilized people around the world have watched the tragic events in China with sadness and outrage. Now the Chinese Government is engaged in an all-out propaganda offensive to rewrite history.

But, "The truth will set you free." That is why perhaps as many as 300 million Chinese are listening to the Voice of America's broadcasts in Mandarin, Cantonese, and English. With all other sources of information deliberately distorted, VOA has become the premiere source of news in China. The Chinese people respect VOA. They trust VOA to bring them an honest account of events in their own country. VOA has now extended broadcast hours, added a medium wave signal, opened telephone hotlines, and switched to all-news programming in order to keep the Chinese people informed of events that will determine their future. In response, the Chinese Government is jamming VOA, has issued bitter denunciations of VOA coverage, and yesterday expelled VOA Beijing Bureau Chief Alan Pessin. But the spirit of freedom cannot be silenced.

This crisis demonstrates the importance of international broadcasting. I hope my colleagues will join me in commending the staff of VOA for their tireless efforts, which have earned the respect and admiration of listeners around the world.

Statement of Richard W. Carlson
Director
Voice of America

before the
Subcommittee on International Operations
Committee on Foreign Affairs
House of Representatives
June 15, 1989

Chairman Dymally, Ms. Snowe, Gentlemen:

I want to thank you for inviting me to speak about the Voice of America -- and the China crisis.

Before I talk about our response at the VOA, and our broadcasts, let me first pay tribute to the extraordinary staff of the Voice of America. As you know, we are the largest single part of the USIA. We have about 3,000 people working around the clock for VOA, and the delivery of its news and information.

Practically all our employees have been involved these past three weeks in efforts that have gone far beyond the call of duty. These are government employees. And they are an extraordinary lot of people, in intellect, in energy and sense of mission. Their efforts have been tireless and have kept tens of millions of Chinese listeners truthfully informed of events in their own backyards, and almost as importantly, informed of reaction in the rest of the world.

Our Chinese broadcasting service -- with great intelligence and sensitivity -- has fulfilled its responsibility to directly feed the minds of millions of China's intellectually hungry. Our Chinese branch has complex emotional and historic ties to China. Ties of the heart, of the mind; yet they have acted consistently like the journalists they are, with reports free of bias, free of rumor, and loaded with fairness and honesty and balance.

The writers, editors, and broadcasters in the VOA newsroom, in current affairs, and in our Policy shop, have given us (and, hence, the world) millions of words of copy that has been accurate and balanced. Our technicians and engineers have found creative and assertive ways to bring in more frequencies and better signals to carry our programs through these weeks of jamming.

Our reporters in China -- in English, in Russian, in Chinese -- have carried some of the heaviest personal burdens. Some have literally worked 24-hour shifts to bring China's story to the rest of the world in 43 languages and, most importantly, to the Chinese people themselves. This handful of reporters deserves praise as journalists and as Americans. Originally I planned to name them. We all know Al Pessin's name. He was kicked out of China yesterday. I decided last night not to name the others. It will just make it harder for them. I also intended to cite their personal bravery in all this. They have been brave. They faced real personal danger, as have many Western correspondents. But they are reporters. They accept these risks in the pursuit of important work. And I figured they would be embarrassed if I called them heroes, knowing what they know, and what we know, of the incredible heroism of thousands of nameless Chinese men and women who faced tanks and bayonets and machine guns with nothing for weapons but words and courage and a desire for democracy. How humbling this experience has been for those who have watched the tapes and read the words describing the heroism of those people -- and how saddening it is to watch a massive propaganda campaign trying to convince people that what happened didn't happen at all.

The Chinese are trying to rewrite history -- to turn horror into patriotism, repression into freedom. China is using its press for pacification and unification, not information. Chinese television says 300 people died in Tiananmen Square, mostly soldiers, all victims of a counterrevolutionary cabal. Some reports say not one student or civilian died. Students and dissenters are being arrested, beaten, and forced to "confess" on national TV. Schoolchildren are implored to inform on their parents and friends. We have seen this behavior time and time again in repressive, authoritarian states. It is in those times when accurate information becomes the most sought-after, the most expensive, and ultimately, to the authorities, the most dangerous commodity. It is a situation in which the Voice of America demonstrates its value as a national resource.

When the tanks rolled into Beijing, the role of VOA changed from that of an important source of daily news to millions of Chinese to an intellectual lifeline for a vast nation. Denied the truth by their own leaders, the Chinese people turned to the Voice of America. Our audience -- estimated by the Chinese government at 60 million in regular times -- has mushroomed to 100 million or more. Some have put our listenership in Mandarin much higher than that. I have heard as much as 300 million, although we have no way to verify that. Since May 21, the government has been jamming our Mandarin broadcasts, making listening more difficult and tedious. Yesterday morning, the government tried to further choke VOA by expelling our Beijing bureau chief, Al Pessin.

VOA has responded by using every available resource of people and technology:

First, only hours after the shooting began in Tiananmen Square, we increased our Mandarin broadcasts by more than 25 percent -- to eleven hours daily. The already understaffed Chinese Service has been working overtime to keep up with all the information. We also switched to an all-news format of bulletins, correspondent reports, world reaction and interviews. We threw out all of our cultural and non-news programming.

Second, we continued to add frequencies and transmitters in an effort to counter jamming. We're also using a one-million watt medium wave transmitter to reach the southern coast of China. Jamming is more than a nuisance. To some extent it has been partially successful, but we know our programs are getting through.

Third, we opened up new avenues of communications with our listeners in China. Until last weekend, when the Chinese authorities began to crack down on telephone operators, VOA was getting nearly 100 calls a day from China. Many were plaintive cries for help in a seemingly hopeless situation -- "more hours," "more news," "more U.S. support!"

Fourth, we broadcast editorials reflecting the U.S. support for those seeking more democracy and revulsion at the slaughter in Tiananmen Square.

Finally, with the cooperation of our colleagues at the USIA and its television service, we began sending video images of VOA radio broadcasts by satellite directly to China. An estimated two thousand satellite dishes are dispersed throughout China. Most belong to military units across the country, others to universities and other agencies. Obviously, we can't reach a mass audience with this program. But we hope it will allow VOA to get around the jamming in some parts of the country.

We are not planning to stop here. For the short term, we are now hiring additional staff to keep the expanded Chinese radio broadcasts on the air. We're going to use VOA's considerable news resources to continue getting accurate information from China and sending it back in. And we are going to produce more programs on the evolution of democracy. All this will be done in the FY 1989 budget, which is already stretched to the limit. For the long term, we will continue construction of the new relay station in Thailand, which will help coverage of parts of China. Future funding for this station is somewhat unclear. We are also looking for other ways to expand our reach into China.

All of this would be useless if VOA did not have the trust and respect of listeners around the world. A tradition of responsible journalism and a stubborn adherence to the facts has built our reputation in China and beyond. We have vast credibility; the internal Chinese media have little. Reportedly, Beijing television was broadcasting a Walt Disney cartoon about talking fish when the tanks rolled across Tiananmen Square,

Last week, we received a call from Wuhan that angry protesters were blocking a major bridge in that city. The observer relayed vivid images of a city torn asunder by the actions of its leaders in another city. And the caller's report turned out to be accurate. But, as with all our news reports, we waited until we got two independent sources to confirm the protest. Six hours later, we had not only the news bulletin, but an eyewitness account of the dramatic events. We've not tried to be first by minutes with reports. We've tried to be first in accuracy.

It is important to remember that VOA is not just a "fireman." Like any news organization, we were partially galvanized by this crisis, with one thought in mind -- get a fair, honest story out to the listeners. But "business as usual" at VOA has as much impact as our broadcasts to China during the very same time. To Cuba and Vietnam, two countries which have supported Beijing's brutal crackdown, we are providing eyewitness accounts of the events -- in Spanish and Vietnamese. To Poland, where unprecedented elections threaten to topple the Communist government, VOA portrays the American model and brings news of solidarity -- in Polish. And to Iran, convulsing after the death of Ayatollah Khomeini, VOA in Farsi and English has been an important source of current events. A strong commitment from Congress and the American people will ensure that we have the ability to respond to a country in turmoil -- as we did to Haiti in 1988, in Creole and French. As we are doing in China now, and as we may someday have to do in South Africa where, frankly, we have a poor signal.

Let me close by saying that last week I paid an early morning visit to the Chinese Service to congratulate the staff for their hard work during the previous night. I was touched by the sight of a broadcaster sitting and crying at his computer as he typed a story about the Square being cleared of the dead and dying. Day after day, hour after hour, men and women like him at the Voice of America Chinese Branch put aside their heartfelt passion, their fears for friends and relatives in China, to become the Voice of Truth, the Voice of Democracy. That is what the Voice of America is.

ON MY MIND | A. M. Rosenthal

Now It Is Our Turn

The students of Beijing showed in Tienanmen Square what kind of men and women they were. Now t is our turn.

In decency, Americans who heered as Chinese revolutionaries ighting for common liberties almost oppled a tyranny will now have to ask themselves a question.

Is there anything we can do to help the hundreds of demonstrators being arrested, beaten and thrown into cold and narrow isolation cells, there to be broken in body and soul?

Yes, and the first step is to rid our minds of the clichés, condescension and callousness that created the peculiar American double standard toward the Communist rulers of China.

The Nixon-Kissinger decision to establish relations with the Chinese Government was correct. Afterward, all the years of hypocrisy and moral blindness about the reality of that Government have been sickening.

Lack of information is not the problem. American administrations yawned at reports of suppression of basic freedoms in China, even when they were published by the State Department. So, much too often, do American journalism and business.

The Chinese Communists have become chic for the chic-minded. Just about the time of the massacre in the square, Women's Wear Daily published a whole supplement, in color, about how clothes styled after Red Guard uniforms were becoming deliciously fashionable among the American trendy. Yes, Mao's very own murderous Red Guard.

In some part, the cuddliness toward the Communists of China grows out of Western racism — conscious or unconscious does not make much difference. Just let the Communists give the people more food and clothes and watch them sing and swing. They won't care about that little extra we like so much ourselves — freedom.

Money counted. American and other Western businessmen got all excited at the thought of Chinese consumers. A billion of them, a billion!

And of course, geopolitics. The United States saw China largely as a weight against the Soviet Union, and a site for electronic intelligence stations.

So Washington kept silent about the Chinese massacre of Tibetans and the destruction of their nationhood, religion and culture, lest the Communists be annoyed. Is this not an American shame?

Once we decide the era of hypocrisy is over, we can begin to help.

Individual Americans can help the Chinese prisoners as they have helped Soviet prisoners. They can get involved in churches, synagogues and human rights organizations and insist they turn attention to investigation and protest on China. Some are beginning, and Freedom House leads.

Every American can tell his elected representatives and President Bush that we want to help the imprisoned — and not the prison guards.

Chinese like Deng Xiaoping have shown they are ready to destroy the economic well-being of the country rather than risk open political expression. They have declared war on their people and American opinion.

So be it. Advanced age, the economic collapse they are inviting, dissension in the military and the wrath of the Chinese people — these will end their rule one day not too distant.

How to help the people of China.

Meanwhile, Washington should consider the present Chinese regime as temporary, and politically hostile, and do what it can to shorten its reign. That is the most important help we can give to the Chinese people.

Our interests lie with those Chinese in and out of Government who have been fighting for political freedom against those who think factories are enough.

Washington should help the silenced democratic revolutionaries fight the new Big Lie, the intensive effort of the Beijing gang to paint the democrats as thugs. The valuable Voice of America should be beamed louder and longer at China.

American money and support should go to the Chinese dissidents and to any democratic groups allowed to work in public. The help of our allies and friends will be particularly important to make protest and action international.

Economically, the United States should lead the West and Japan into freezing all policies that help keep the Beijing regime alive. That includes international credits, and government insurance of business operations.

All special privileges — such as tariff breaks, import and export advantages and high-technology permits — should be suspended by the United States and all democratically minded nations.

Suspended, not canceled, waiting for a new Chinese Government, and speeding the day. □

The Associated Press.

*1152 AP-VOA-China,0493
VOA Beams TV Signal To Chinese

JUN 9 A12:54

WASHINGTON (AP) _ In response to the Chinese crisis, the U.S. government's Voice of America is beaming television signals to the People's Republic, the first time it has ever taken such a step, the director said Thursday.

The signal is going directly to about 2,000 satellite dishes operated largely by the People's Liberation Army, although there is no way to tell whether the transmission is being watched by the military or passed along other channels, said VOA director Richard Carlson.

The U.S. Embassy is receiving the signal "loud and clear" on a satellite dish in Beijing, he said. The transmission began Tuesday.

The broadcast of news to the military is significant because of reports that units backing the pro-democracy demonstrators may have exchanged fire with units supporting the crackdown.

"We are sending a television signal that is available to every major military installation in China," Carlson told The Associated Press in a telephone interview. The signal originates in the United States and bounces of

satellites over the Indian and Pacific Oceans, covering all of China.

"It makes available to the Chinese military information about what is goin on in China, information that may not otherwise be available to the Chinese military," he said.

Television and radio sets are not built to receive direct satellite signals

The transmissions must be received by satellite dishes and re-broadcast in a signal accessible to individual receivers, said Carlson.

The VOA, which broadcasts radio programs in many languages around the world including transmissions targeted at communist nations, has never used a television signal before, said Carlson.

"It seemed like the right thing to do," said Carlson, who made the decision and informed a special State Department task force monitoring events in China. "The State Deparment is aware of it. No one has objected."

The VOA normally beams eight hours of radio broadcasts daily in Mandarin to China, but increased that to 11 hours in response to the student demonstration in Beijing.

"Chinese authorities have said that we have a regular listening audience o 60 million. We believe that we are over 100 million now. We are clearly the most pervasive non-Chinese source of news in the country," said Carlson.

VOA's television image shows a broadcaster reading the news, as the Chinese-language script scrolls across the lower part of the screen. VOA has not attempted to broadcast television images of the demonstrations or the aftermath.

During the unrest, said Carlson, Chinese authorities have tried to jam VOA Chinese radio broadcasts. They have not tried to jam VOA's English language broadcasts.

VOA maintains a bureau with two correspondents in Beijing, and uses other Western news services, which have been reporting a different story than the official Chinese media.

"The Chinese media have been very dishonest about the student demonstrations and the role of the military," said Carlson.

AP-NY-06-08-89 2231EDT

COMMENTARY

CORD MEYER

WASH. TIMES
6/9/89

Two paths from chaos

As the smoke clears from blood-stained Tiananmen Square and commanders of rival armies jockey for position on the outskirts of Beijing, the shadow of potential civil war lengthens across China, and no one can predict with any assurance what the future holds.

One thing is certain. The decision of octogenarian hardliners Deng Xiaoping and Yang Shangkun to shoot down the student demonstrators has changed the political map of China as dramatically as Ireland was transformed by the fatalities of the Easter Rising against the British in 1916.

Legendary heroes have been created, like the young man who stood up alone against a column of tanks.

Reasonable student demands for press freedom and action against corruption were met with gunfire and a great chasm has opened between the large majority of the Chinese people and the Communist Party that presumes to lead them.

Moreover, the ominous military maneuvering between competing armies proves that the party and army leaderships are deeply divided. Seven prominent generals are already on record as opposing the repression of the students, and the general secretary of the party, Zhao Ziyang, appears to be under house arrest for questioning Mr. Deng's judgment.

Weakened by massive popular opposition and split by its own internal divisions, the Communist Party of China faces enormous economic and political problems for which it seems to have no credible solutions.

The decision by the American Embassy to advise American citizens in the Beijing area to leave constitutes an official warning that civil strife is a real danger.

The turmoil is by no means confined only to Beijing. With many official newspapers temporarily suspended and the government radio heavily censored, the Voice of America broadcasts in Mandarin are reaching an audience estimated at more than 200 million with 11 hours a day of current news.

While Radio Beijing confines itself mostly to music, VOA has in effect become a unique two-way means of communication with the Chinese people. Broadcasting on seven frequencies that are only partially and ineffectively jammed, VOA carries throughout China the news of what is happening in Beijing. At the same time more than 50 calls a day from China on telephone lines that remain open feed into VOA the news of new demonstrations and strikes in the major Chinese cities.

VOA officials report that the Chinese telephone operators are particularly helpful in getting the calls through so the whole country can be kept abreast of developments. In addition, the students have built a sophisticated, countrywide network of fax machines that keeps them currently informed despite censorship and jamming.

When asked to speculate on what happens next, U.S. officials see two conceivable outcomes.

They think the possibility of a reassertion of control by the Communist Party depends on the removal of the top two or three levels of party leadership so that new cadres who were not involved in this massive social failure can take over.

The second alternative is a military solution along the lines of what was accomplished in the summer of 1968.

In the middle of the chaotically destructive Cultural Revolution, the commanding generals took over power in their respective military regions and upon Mao's death passed it back to the central party apparatus. However, factional strife that now threatens to break out within the army would rule out the availability of this solution.

Moreover, even if new and younger Communist Party leaders who bear no responsibility for the massacre of the students take over, they will no longer be able to govern in the old way. The student demands for a free press and an end to official corruption will have to be met more than halfway if recurrent revolt is to be avoided. Demands for a multiparty system will begin to be heard, as they are in Taiwan, and an awakened China will have a chance to move into the modern era.

Given the complexity of the problems and the magnitude of the stakes, President George Bush has made the right move in suspending military sales to China. It is a just rebuke and also an implied promise that if it mends its ways this aid could be resumed.

Cord Meyer is a nationally syndicated columnist.

TRANSMITTED FROM ATIN ASSIGNMENTS, I-U, 05.23.89 15:28 P.01 *

EAP DESK

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release May 23, 1989

STATEMENT BY THE PRESS SECRETARY

The President today met with Wan Li, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, from 2:30 p.m. to 3:30 p.m. Following the plenary meeting, Wan Li visited the residence to greet Mrs. Bush.

The Chinese leader briefed the President on the outcome of the recent Sino-Soviet Summit and on the student demonstrations in China. "We are strongly committed to Democracy around the world," the President said. "It is the underpinning of our being as a nation. I urge non-violence and restraint in your present situation. I urge that Voice of America not be jammed, and that reporters be given open access."

The President told Chairman Wan that he remains personally committed to expanding the normal and constructive relations the United States enjoys with China. The world has a stake in China's economic progress, national security, and political vitality. The United States hopes to see the continuing implementation of economic and political reforms, which undoubtedly will also help advance these goals.

# # #

China crisis in thoughts of VOA news director

By SUSAN RAYFIELD
Sunday Staff Writer

BRYANT POND — It's a long way from Maine to Beijing, China. But not, it seems, for Voice of America director Richard Warner Carlson, currently relaxing with his family at their island summer home in Christopher Lake.

Carlson, 48, may be taking time off after working long hours these past weeks, but China is on his mind.

During the recent crisis there, the U.S. government-run international radio network broadcast Chinese news from its headquarters in Washington D.C. to the world and to the Chinese, virtually around the clock.

Just Thursday, Carlson testified about the massacre before the House Foreign Affairs Committee's International Operations Subcommittee, of which Congresswoman Olympia Snowe is the ranking minority member.

He asked to go first; he had a plane to catch.

"Are you off to Beijing?" someone asked.

"No. I'm going to Portland, Maine," replied Carlson, with a grin.

He missed his plane, as it turned out, but by Friday evening he was enjoying a steak and lobster dinner with one of his sons at the Boiler Room, a local eatery in Bryant Pond. "I promised I'd be here for Father's Day," he said.

For Carlson, it was a welcome lull from world affairs.

Worldwide audience

The Voice of America broadcasts in 43 languages to reach an audience of 200 million, in more than 100 countries around the world. Over the past few weeks its correspondents covered, among other things, the death of the Ayatollah Khomeini in Iran, elections in Poland, and a gas explosion in the Ural Mountains.

But nothing gripped Americans as much as the events unfolding in China, where the People's Army moved to suppress a seven-week-long pro-democracy student uprising there.

See CARLSON, page 12A



Richard Carlson, Voice of America news director, talks about the radio network's role in China during the recent rebellion.

GINA FERAZZI/Sunday photographer

Carlson

In an interview with **Sunday**, Carlson described how VOA correspondents dodged bullets and "ran for their lives" as tanks rolled into the square. Many were helped by Chinese citizens, he said.

Prior to the attack, a female American-Chinese correspondent had asked to be replaced, after the two men who had been following her for days, arrested her, laid aside her tape recorder, and gave her a lecture on the responsibilities of journalists to "be correct."

Last week, veteran VOA correspondent Alan Pessin was one of two journalists expelled from the country, charged with violating marshal law by broadcasting "fraudulent stories and false reports."

"Pessin told me the only fraudulent report he was aware of was the one they were making (against him) right there," Carlson said.

Chief correspondent for the VOA's Beijing bureau since 1987, Pessin speaks fluent Chinese and files his stories in both Chinese and English. The English report is broadcast around the world. The Chinese version is broadcast back to China.

The Beijing bureau is one of 30 Voice of America bureaus worldwide, with 3,000 employees. "In times of crisis, we are often the only international broadcaster sending any signal," Carlson said.

Dispenser of truth

In China, the network is the primary broadcaster, on the air 8½ to 11 hours a day to reach more than 60 million listeners with news reported in both standard Mandarin and Cantonese. According to Carlson, broadcasts during the crisis may have reached as many as 400 million.

Newsweek magazine, in reporting on media efforts in China, described the Voice of America as "by far the most effective dispenser of truth," and that it responded to the massacre with "some of its finest hours."

"VOA newscasts are traditionally used as wall posters," Carlson explained. Student scribes cluster around boom-box radios taking notes to turn into posters to be hung all over the cities. After the electricity is shut off at 10 p.m., he said, a common sight is 200 to 300 students with blankets and candles, huddled around a battery-operated radio listening to late-night VOA news.

During the occupation of Tiananmen Square, students set up loudspeakers on each of its four corners to hear the VOA's news reports, and to get the outside world's reactions to what was happening there.

At some point, jamming became a problem as the Chinese government sought to black out foreign broadcasts.

"Dan Rather reporting to Americans may irritate the Chinese," remarked Carlson, "but we tell the Chinese what's going on. That's really irritating!"

To combat the problem, the VOA, experienced in evading jamming after years of transmitting to the Soviet Union, increased its frequencies and strengthened its signals, putting on a one million watt a.m. radio transmitter in the Philippines. (In the United States, the largest commercial radio station transmitter allowed by the Federal Communications Commission is 50,000 watts).

"We started receiving a hundred calls a day," said Carlson. Like the woman in Wu Han, reporting the seizing of a bridge over the Yangtse.

"We didn't broadcast that," the VOA director noted. "We're not interested in being first by a matter of minutes, we're after accuracy."

Medieval news

Last week, VOA cameras in Washington began sending the station's first TV news program, via satellite, to some 2,000 dish antennas in China.

In totalitarian societies, Carlson noted, people don't have information about events even in their own cities, unless they see it first hand.

"They don't know if their leaders are married, let alone how much money is spent on the military. There are millions of Chinese who don't yet know that Mao Zedong is dead. It's medieval.

"That's why we have an enormous responsiblity to be right," Carlson said, "not just report rumors."

According to public law governing the network, the Voice Of America is mandated to present news and information that is "unbiased, balanced, fair and honest."

"We don't color news to suit the interests of the U.S.," Carlson maintained. "We believe the credibility of the U.S. and Democracy stands on its own — we don't need to gild the lily to sell it."

By contrast, he noted, while government tanks rolled over the student-occupied tents in the square, Chinese television was running the Walt Disney cartoon "Mr. Limpet," starring Don Knotts.

Creative newsgathering

There were at least 60 American reporters in China during the recent upheaval, along with another 100 technicians.

Today, the VOA staff at the Beijing bureau is down from four or five to two. They're moving from hotel to hotel, according to Carlson, who noted that electronic surveillance is "very heavy."

"We tell them: be creative, be careful, and don't break the law. But marshal law is such that, if followed to the letter, no reporting would be possible."

When Associated Press reporter John Pomfret was expelled recently, Chinese officials presented him with a whole series of conversations he had had with people. "He was shocked," Carlson reported. "They had tapped his phone and recorded him elsewhere. He had no idea."

According to Carlson, Americans expect that sort of thing in the Soviet Union — it's so gray, drab and economically depressed. "And KGB thugs are in front of every hotel."

The feeling is different in China, he maintained.

"You don't see policemen on every corner. You see a million chinese in Tiananmen Square on Sunday, pedalling their bicycles, with a bird on their finger. You see colorful clothes and lots of kids."

One never would expect heavy surveliance, but in point of fact, there is.

These days, the Chinese government is trying to rewrite history, he said.

SUNDAY



Voice of America Beijing bureau chief Alan Pessin embraces his wife Audrey as he departs Beijing's Capital Airport Saturday. Pessin was expelled by Chinese authorities for alleged violations of martial law imposed during the recent student protests. AP photo

The students, called "heroes" at first, are now "counter-revolutionaries." Where the Red Cross claims over 3,000 died, the Chinese propaganda machine lists 300, of which 283 were soldiers.

"That doesn't say too much for the military," Carlson commented.

Recently he entertained the director of Radio Beijing and her top executives at his Washington, D.C., home. The group expressed a desire to be truthful, said Carlson, to learn good journalism, and to move the country forward.

"Now they carry all these lies. I grieve for them. I believe they were sincere. They must be anguished over this."

SUNDAY

ATLANTA JOURNAL

Chinese Turn To the Voice Of America

Chinese Tune Into Voice of America For Latest News of Unrest, Fatalities

By Bob Dart
Journal-Constitution Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — In a radio studio at the base of Capitol Hill, an announcer speaking Mandarin into a microphone informed millions of Chinese listeners Wednesday about what was going on in their country.

In the global media village, news sometimes travels by electronic back alleys.

The U.S. government's Voice of America (VOA) is broadcasting overtime to overcome jamming and tell the story of unrest in China to news-hungry people there.

The route is circuitous: Correspondents inside China send out their accounts, reports are compiled in VOA headquarters in Washington, microwaved to a relay station in Greenville, N.C., bounced to other such stations in the Philippines, Greece and Thailand and finally sent back into China.

Completing this almost surreal system of communications, the VOA is getting about 100 phone calls a day from listeners in Beijing and elsewhere in China. This "feedback" from Chinese listeners includes everything from news tips to reaction to programming, said Richard Carlson, VOA director.

A makeshift, high-tech news network of VOA and British Broadcasting Corp. (BBC) radio reports; long-distance phone calls and fax messages put through by sympathetic operators; and Hong Kong television programming has evolved because the Chinese people distrust their government-controlled media.

The VOA monitors Chinese radio and TV, whose audiences were told Wednesday that about 300 people had been killed in the aftermath of an uprising in Beijing and that most of the dead were soldiers. The Red Cross, Mr. Carlson notes, was reporting at least 3,000 deaths, mostly civilians.

"The Chinese are pretty sophisticated listeners. They know when they're being [fooled]," Mr. Carlson said.

"The only way the people of China can find out what's happening in their world is through the Voice of America and BBC," said Sen. Paul M. Simon (D-Ill.), who has urged the VOA to increase its broadcasts.

State Department spokeswoman Margaret D. Tutwiler announced Wednesday that the VOA has increased its daily broadcast hours in Mandarin, the chief Chinese dialect, from nine to 11 and also is beaming in satellite TV broadcasts that can be received on 2,000 satel-

lite dishes inside China.

Mr. Carlson said the VOA also is broadcasting in Cantonese, another Chinese dialect, for 90 minutes a day and in English 24 hours a day. The radio broadcasts come in over an assortment of shortwave and medium-wave AM frequencies. The TV broadcasts show only an announcer reading the radio report.

"There are 43 people working at the VOA on these radio and TV broadcasts, both here and in China," Ms. Tutwiler said.

"We don't put any spin on this news. We're required by law to provide a fair, unbiased report ...," Mr. Carlson said. "We take very seriously our responsibility to provide forthright and candid information to the Chinese people."

According to Ms. Tutwiler, there is sporadic jamming of the VOA frequencies.

The jamming started near the end of May as the world tuned in to the unrest in China, Mr. Carlson said. "Before that, we hadn't been jammed in China since 1978."

However, some VOA reports are getting through. Mr. Carlson estimated the Chinese audience at 100 million or more. The VOA even is broadcasting directions for constructing a homemade anti-jamming device.

There reportedly has been a run on shortwave radios in stores in several major Chinese cities.

'We don't put any spin on this news. We're required by law to provide a fair, unbiased report . . . We take very seriously our responsibility to provide forthright and candid information to the Chinese people.'

— Richard Carlson
Voice of America director



Sen. Paul M. Simon

"This is wildly important" to the Chinese, Mr. Carlson said of VOA reports. First, it provides an account of what is happening inside their country. "Secondly, it gives them reaction from the outside world" about these extraordinary events, he said.

Among the VOA staffers, there's a "heightened sense of mission," he said. Overlapping shifts of Mandarin-speaking announcers are working 12-hour days.

"This place is throbbing along," he said.

UP120
R I
BC-CHINA-VOA:705PED 5-22
VOA REPORTS JAMMING OF MANDARIN FREQUENCIES
WASHINGTON (UPI) -- THE VOICE OF AMERICA REPORTED THE JAMMING OF SOME OF ITS OF MANDARIN CHINESE BROADCASTS TO CHINA MONDAY, SAYING "THE JAMMING IS OF A TYPE CHINA HAS USED AGAINST TAIWANESE BROADCASTS IN THE PAST."

"VOA WILL CONTINUE ITS MONITORING TO DETERMINE THE EXACT NATURE OF THE INTERFERENCE AND ITS SOURCE," SAID THE WASHINGTON-BASED, GOVERNMENT-RUN RADIO NETWORK IN A STATEMENT.

THE STATEMENT SAID, "VOICE OF AMERICA DIRECTOR RICHARD W. CARLSON SAID THAT THERE WAS PURPOSEFUL JAMMING ON 3 OF 5 VOA MANDARIN CHINESE FREQUENCIES AS OF 8:20 A.M. EDT THIS MORNING."

"THE VOA MONITOR IN HONG KONG REPORTED THE JAMMING OF TWO FREQUENCIES (11965 AND 7285). NO JAMMING HAS BEEN NOTED IN THESE FREQUENCIES PREVIOUSLY," IT SAID.

"THE JAMMING OF MANDARIN ON A THIRD FREQUENCY (15410) WAS LATER CONFIRMED BY VOA MONITORS IN ISLAMABAD (PAKISTAN) AND HELSKINKI (FINLAND)," IT SAID.

"ONE JAMMING SIGNAL WAS TENTATIVELY DETERMINED TO BE ORIGINATING FROM SOUTH CHINA," THE STATEMENT SAID "THE JAMMING IS OF A TYPE CHINA HAS USED AGAINST TAIWANESE BROADCASTS IN THE PAST."

THE REPORT CAME ON A DAY ABOUT 40 PEOPLE WERE INJURED IN THE FIRST MAJOR VIOLENCE IN A MONTH OF PROTESTS IN CHINA'S SURGING PRO-DEMOCRACY MOVEMENT, WHICH ESCALATED DURING SOVIET LEADER MIKHAIL GORBACHEV'S VISIT.

VOA SAID CHINA BEGAN JAMMING ITS MANDARIN BROADCASTS "AND TO A LESSER EXTENT VOA ENGLISH IN 1956," BUT STOPPED THE ACTIVITY IN 1978.

UPI 05-22-89 10:13 PED

TV Marti

Breaking Fidel Castro's information monopoly

By RICHARD W. CARLSON

THE Voice of America (VOA) is only a few months away from the first broadcast of TV Marti, the proposed television service to Cuba. Last year Congress provided $7.5 million to run a 90-day test broadcast of news, information, and entertainment programs. If the test proves successful, Congress and the Administration have proposed $16 million a year to fund TV Marti.

The reason for TV Marti is simple. We believe that the Cuban people have a right to see and hear information denied them by their own government. In a recent speech, President Bush described TV Marti as a way to "break the monopoly on information that Castro has held for 30 years."

As *glasnost* spreads in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, as millions in China seek democracy, Fidel Castro's Cuba remains impermeable to reform. Political dissent still leads to prison. Freedom of expression is nonexistent. The Castro government has a firm grip on all newspapers, magazines, radio, and television. The only uncensored, non-ideological information available to the 10 million people of Cuba comes from outside the island, much of it from Radio Marti, the surrogate station run by the VOA.

Voice of America standards

TV Marti will be Radio Marti with pictures. Its accurate, balanced news and information will meet the highest VOA standards. If TV Marti is only half as successful as Radio Marti, it will fulfill its mandate. After four years on the air, Radio Marti has become the most popular radio station in Cuba.

That a U.S. Government station, broadcasting from studios in Washington, has twice the audience of the next-most-listened-to station in Cuba is a testimony to Radio Marti's credibility and to the hunger of the Cuban people for uncensored information. When asked to explain the rise of a courageous human-rights movement in such a tightly controlled society, Cuban dissident Ricardo Bofill said, "It's quite simple. It can be traced to May 20, 1985, when Radio Marti went on the air."

Like the television proposal, Radio Marti initially received a hostile reception from some in the U.S. media and Congress. Before Radio Marti started broadcasting, news stories warned of U.S./Cuban "radio wars" and military conflict. Editorials called Radio Marti "the dumbest idea since the Edsel" and "a meritless redundancy." Critics claimed that the station would be the mouthpiece of ideologues and anti-Castro Cuban refugees in Florida. They said that it would mire in Cuban-exile politics. Today, these same people praise Radio Marti and recognize the broadcasts for what they are: a demonstration of America's commitment to the free flow of information and an intellectual lifeline for millions.

TV Marti is surely the most closely watched television startup ever. Six Government agencies, six congressional committees, the National Association of Broadcasters, private consultants, and other interested parties are all keeping an eye on the gestation and birth of TV Marti.

Safeguards against interference

So too are the Cuban people. Cubans are eagerly purchasing videotapes and saving for VCRs to tape TV Marti programs, including American movies and entertainment shows. This may not be motivated solely by optimism, but perhaps by a desire to avoid the wrath of neighborhood watchdogs for the Defense of the Revolution and to be able to tape TV Marti for discreet, late-night viewing.

Every possible safeguard will be taken to prevent interference with existing U.S. and Cuban TV stations. As a precaution, Congress is expected to provide funding to compensate U.S. broadcasters in the event that either TV Marti or Fidel Castro interferes with domestic stations. It is interesting to note that the apocalyptic vision of widespread Cuban retaliation against Radio Marti — which pundits predicted in 1985 — never materialized. In fact, no compensation claims were filed with the FCC for Cuban interference that occurred after Radio Marti went on the air.

No doubt Havana's agitation over TV Marti can be traced to Castro's respect for the medium's power to help shape opinion — especially when TV brings unsettling images of democracy and free expression. Should Castro attempt to jam or disrupt TV Marti, he will vividly demonstrate to the world Cuba's flagrant disregard of the basic rights of its people.

No miracle solution

TV Marti is no miracle solution to the repression and fear in Cuba. But, as Ed Murrow said, "No computer clicks, no cash register rings when a man changes his mind or opts for freedom. . . . [A]bove all, it is what we do, not what we say, that has the greatest impact overseas."

By extending to Cuba our respect for intellectual freedom, the United States again exposes the hypocrisy of Castro's 30-year dictatorship. The success of Radio Marti proves that we can do it calmly and reliably. TV Marti will go one step further, using the most powerful medium ever developed.

Richard W. Carlson is the director of the Voice of America.

In China, Radio Is Still King

NY Times 5/15/89

By Ong Linh

While media critics debate the potential effects of global television in the emerging so-called global village, little is said of the power of global radio by such established services as the British Broadcasting Corporation and Voice of America.

As in World War II, the power of international radio stations is manifesting itself. Hundreds of millions of mainland Chinese people have tuned in to obtain information about the large-scale student protests in China.

As the stakes have increased for both the students and Government, the broadcasts have played an increasingly important role in gaining popular support for the demonstrations on behalf of democracy.

Because Beijing controls the mass media, the student movement has resorted to printing an underground newspaper, pasting up poster essays and making speeches at university campuses, in public squares and in the streets of such cities as Beijing, Xian and Changsa.

However, none of these methods can approximate the Government's ability to reach a mass audience through the state-owned television, radio and print media. Neither can they convey adequate information about demonstrations and other events in various cities.

With good reason, students have turned to global radio networks to get their message out and to receive information.

First, radio sets are abundant in China. Second, the transmitting power of global networks such as the BBC and Voice of America is so strong it virtually blankets the entire country. Third, since World War II, both the BBC's and United States broadcasts have had a large following in China because they are in Mandarin and because the networks are perceived as truthful vehicles of information.

The BBC and Voice of America play a major role in student protests.

Even though these networks tend to be biased toward the perspectives of their respective governments, the facts presented are gathered by various established news agencies, which validates their veracity.

According to various news stories published in the New York City media, the Voice of America is the main source of reliable political information for the people of China. Furthermore, the Voice has reported that Chinese students in the United States have voiced support for students back home.

Since the Government's "open door" policy came into effect in the late 70's, the information flow out of China cannot be controlled by the Government without serious international implications regarding China's future political and economic intentions. Thus, while the Communists have clamped down on the information flow inside the country, foreign correspondents covering the student protests have been left uncensored.

The Chinese people's sensitivity to the free flow of information, sharpened by students' demonstrations, may well be heightened by the coming summit meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and Deng Xiaoping. □

Ong Linh, an overseas Chinese, is a graduate student in a media program at New York University.

TRIBUTE TO THE VOICE OF AMERICA

HON. GUS YATRON
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 7, 1989

Mr. YATRON. Mr. Speaker, I ask my colleagues to join me in paying tribute to the Voice of America for the way it has represented the American ideals of freedom and democracy during the extraordinary events now taking place in China.

Over the past few weeks, the world has been captivated by the courageous students in Tiananmen Square and their counterparts throughout China. Americans watch their emotional appeals for democracy as they happen, thanks to satellite technology and our free press. But the Chinese do not yet have that freedom. They turn to VOA, a radio station broadcasting from halfway around the world, to find out what is happening in their own backyard. VOA's accurate and balanced news reports have earned the respect and admiration of more than 100 million Chinese listeners who want to know what the rest of the world is saying about China not the latest official news from Beijing. The Chinese Government considers VOA so important to the burgeoning democracy movement that it has started jamming VOA broadcasts for the first time in more than 10 years.

The evidence of VOA's impact can be found in large cities and small towns throughout China. Foreign correspondents report that bustling Tiananmen Square quiets to an eerie hum as the VOA broadcasts begin. Students painstakingly transcribe the VOA news bulletins on large posters for those who can't get to a radio. As the prodemocracy movement built up momentum, the Washington Post reported, a young Chinese worker from the countryside told of hearing two versions of the events in Beijing—one from the Central People's Radio and one from the Voice of America. The two accounts were so startling in their differences that he decided to make the 4-hour trip to see for himself. Once he got to Beijing, he realized the VOA coverage was accurate and he stayed to march for freedom of the press. VOA officials have heard hundreds of similar stories since the students took to the streets.

VOA did not garner this huge audience by chance or due to the recent turmoil. It has earned the respect of listeners in China and around the world through a tenacious adherence to the facts. The VOA is required by law to be accurate, objective, balanced, and comprehensive in its news reporting. As events in China unfolded, dedicated VOA journalists worked around the clock to confirm the latest news from Beijing, Shanghai, Guangzhou, and elsewhere. VOA correspondents in Beijing have sacrificed any thought of sleep to provide eyewitness accounts of the activity. And perhaps most important, VOA relayed news of the demonstrations in 42 other languages to hundred of millions of listeners around the world, thus ensuring that Tiananmen Square will become a global symbol of hope and freedom.

Mr. Speaker, I hope my colleagues will join me in saluting the hardworking staff and leadership at the Voice of America for a job well done.

Chinese jam transmissions from Voice of America radio

BALT. SUN 5/23/89

WASHINGTON (AP) — Chinese authorities began jamming Voice of America broadcasts on several frequencies yesterday in an apparent bid to deprive pro-democracy demonstrators of one of their main sources of information.

It was the first instance of Chinese jamming of VOA transmissions since before diplomatic relations with the United States were restored in 1979.

Richard W. Carlson, director of the VOA, said the jamming was detected yesterday morning on three of five frequencies used for Mandarin language broadcasts beamed to China.

[Meanwhile, the *Los Angeles Times* reported, the three major broadcast networks and Cable News Network, hampered by a ban on live broadcasts from China, continued yesterday to ferry out footage of the protests in Beijing that news crews taped despite severe martial law restrictions.

[Network reporters in Beijing still were able to report live by phone yesterday.]

5/25/89

EDITORIAL

NEW YORK POST

Founded by Alexander Hamilton in 1801

PETER S. KALIKOW Publisher and Chairman
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ERIC BREINDEL Editorial Page Editor
DICK BELSKY Metropolitan Editor
STEVE CUOZZO Assistant Managing Editor
DOUG FEIDEN City Editor

Eleven good jurors and true

Few New Yorkers would feel entirely comfortable sitting in judgment upon Gene Gotti and John Carneglia — not least because they are allegedly associates of Gene's brother, John, reputedly the city's most powerful mob chieftain.

Congratulations are therefore in order to the members of the Brooklyn federal jury who this week convicted Gene Gotti and Carneglia of running a multimillion-dollar heroin ring.

The jury's conduct is all the more commendable in view of the fact that, only hours before the verdict, Judge John R. Bartels dismissed one juror who claimed that he had been threatened in connection with the case.

While the dismissed juror's allegations have yet to be fully investigated, his claims are altogether credible. Proceedings against Gene Gotti and Carneglia have twice ended in mistrial. On the first such occasion, a panel of nine federal judges determined that there was persuasive evidence of jury-tampering. The second trial ended in a hung jury.

During the first trial, federal prosecutors claimed that the identities of five jurors — whose names had been kept secret by the court — had been obtained by Gene Gotti *et al.* "for the purpose of fixing the case."

In the latest incident, the juror in question also claimed that his identity had become known. He says two men approached him outside his home and told him: "You are on the Gene Gotti jury trial." That he felt threatened is hardly surprising.

Judge Bartels' decision to allow the remaining 11 members to proceed with their deliberations seems certain to be cited as grounds for appeal. But it is worth noting that, before the juror was dismissed, Judge Bartels had been informed that the jury had reached "an informal unanimous" verdict of guilty. They were, however, unable to reach a "formal" verdict because of their colleague's stated fears.

Federal authorities take stringent measures to protect jurors in organized-crime cases. Lamentably, as far as the Gottis are concerned, there's reason to suspect these measures are not stringent enough. Thus, to those who hung in there and voted, special thanks are due — these are 11 exemplary citizens.

Don't still the voices of freedom

The demonstrations in China are giving Americans valuable insight into the importance of broadcasts by U.S. government-funded radio stations — Voice of America (VOA), Radio Free Europe (RFE) and Radio Liberty (RL) — to the communist world.

VOA broadcasts have been a primary source of reliable, unbiased information for the Chinese pro-democracy movement. The VOA has kept the protest organizers abreast of events in China and up to date with the outside world's reaction to the demonstrations.

Thus, it is no surprise that the martial law decree, which put China's media under military control, was accompanied by the jamming of VOA transmissions to China (British Broadcasting Corporation transmissions are also being jammed).

The jamming of radio broadcasts contravenes China's obligations under International Telecommunications Union regulations. It also runs counter to Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948.

President Bush would do well to urge Beijing to halt the jamming. Meanwhile, Congress would be wise to take note of the unwitting compliment China — by jamming the broadcasts — is paying to the U.S-funded overseas broadcasting operation.

Over the past few years, the VOA's appropriation ($169.7 million for 1989) has failed to keep pace with inflation. As a consequence, it has been forced to cut 120 weekly broadcast hours from the schedule. The advent of Gorbachev and *glasnost* might well tempt legislators to trim back funds for international broadcasting. This would be a mistake. Events in China demonstrate that the radios still have a vital role to play in helping peoples under communist domination gain a greater say over how they are governed.

The Daily Herald
Opinions

June 8, 89
P. D4
Daily Herald
- Provo, Utah

Utahns can help people in China

Herald comment

China, a country with a history of rule by force and intimidation, has pulled weapons on its own people and found a foe willing to fight back.

Part of the reason is the Western world's (particularly America's) support of the students, and advanced communication that is bringing word of military oppression back to the Chinese people, further fueling their resolve for democratic reform.

Maybe you read this report:

A proud veteran of the people's Liberation Army watched troops take on a 12-year-old girl in Beijing. Soldiers kicked the girl in the chest, crushing her heart.

"They just kicked and kicked her and she died there across the street from me. We wanted to pull her body away but they shot at us," said Li Tieguo.

Such brutality has stunned the Chinese people, the true measure of which can only be felt by those in Beijing. But as tanks roll and thousands of troops move in, such an event points to the very personal nature of what could become one of the most significant revolutions in history.

The students who began the push for democratic reforms did not want to overthrow the government. They sought an end to government corruption through peaceful means.

The government has tried to stop this movement. There is no report of violence on the state-run news programs. There has been no recognition of the movement nor appearance by any government leader since May 25. Disorganized government leaders called on the military to bring an end to this student-led movement — quickly and quietly.

But no one is being quiet.

Government leaders have been unable to stop the flow of information to and from Beijing, despite control of China's broadcasting services. The Voice of America and advanced versions of the FAX machine are carrying reports of the carnage across the country.

The Chinese have cut satellite transmissions from Beijing, but that has done little to stop information flowing into the United States.

Newsmen send videotape to Hong Kong which in turn is transmitted to the United States. Additionally, phone hook-ups have provided live interviews from Beijing's war zones from eye-witnesses. A well-organized effort to stop the student-led movement would surely include eliminating the quick flow of information, but this hasn't happened.

The fighting is tragic. People are dying. But they will not die for nothing if Americans — Utahns — are willing to help.

The Voice of America is keeping Chinese informed of military action in Beijing. Students and citizens in China's provincial cities are listening closely to news accounts, getting an accurate picture of what is happening in China.

Monetary contributions to Voice of America, therefore, can have a direct impact on increasing the freedoms of a billion people. Contributions can be sent to:

Voice of America — USIA
330 Independence Ave., S.W.
Washington D.C. 20547

Radio Free Europe is another source dedicated to providing a free-flow of news. It can be reached by writing to:

Radio Free Europe —
Radio Liberty Inc.
1201 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

Finally, a show of support from Americans can have an impact on government leaders, particularly leaders trying to increase ties to the West. Letters of support for democratic reforms, and of outrage over the massacre of the Chinese, can be sent in care of:

The People's Republic of China —
U.N. Mission
United Nations
New York, New York, 10017

U.S. voice muffled

Radio broadcasts jammed

By FRANK JACKMAN
News Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — In an apparent attempt to cut off information to the throngs of pro-democracy protesters, China resumed jamming of Voice of America broadcasts for the first time in 11 years, the VOA said yesterday.

Disclosure of the new jamming came as Secretary of State Baker urged "there be no resort to violence or bloodshed on the part of both sides." Baker spoke following reports of at least one clash between protesters and troops.

VOA officials said Mandarin-language broadcasts had been muffled on three of five shortwave frequencies beamed at China, where the agency has an estimated audience of 100 million. The audience can number as many as 200 million during major events such as the protests in Tiananmen Square.

Demonstrators have been quoted as saying the U.S. government's VOA and Britain's BBC were major sources of information on the unrest in Peking.

China began jamming VOA in 1956 and stopped in 1978, the VOA said. The new jamming was described as the type used in the past against broadcasts from Taiwan.

Meanwhile, President Bush and top officials continued to speak cautiously about the push for democracy that set off the turbulent political situation in China.

Bush said the popular uprising showed that "totalitarian systems everywhere are under pressure by their people."

Baker, who met here with Wan Li, chairman of the National People's Congress, said he told the Chinese official that the U.S. "appreciated the restraint which, at least so far, the government of the People's Republic has shown."

Baker said he did not get into detail with Wan about the uprising because the Chinese elder statesman has been out of his country since May 12.

Originally, Wan's visit was to be a largely ceremonial affair. The only item on his agenda in Washington was a tennis match with Bush, a friend from Bush's days as U.S. ambassador in Beijing.

But the White House said the tennis match had been called off because "it would not be appropriate under the circumstances."

The Bush administration has drawn criticism for not speaking up more forcefully on behalf of the protests.

But Rep. Lee Hamilton (D-Ind.), a member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, praised Bush's "measured" statements on China.

"The leverage that the United States has in this situation is really not very great," Hamilton said. "We don't have military options, we really do not have economic options."

The Global Village Shrinks

Washington.

"LET THE WORLD know about what is happening to us," a Chinese woman pleaded to foreign reporters as government forces fired at protesters in

Ernest B. Furgurson

Beijing. "Let the whole world know that our government has gone mad."

In one of journalism's proudest moments, those reporters and cameramen have kept faith with the Chinese people. Their reports have united most of the world in indignation, and even driven domestic political opposites together in revulsion at what has happened in China.

That Sen. Jesse Helms would ever be heard speaking up for student demonstrators who toted portraits of Mao and sang the "Internationale" boggles the minds of those who know him. He rose to prominence with his attacks on American student radicals a generation ago; now he is so infuriated by events in Beijing that he speaks in unison with Rep. Stephen Solarz of Brooklyn, demanding U.S. action against the Chinese government.

They speak, and other politicians here and around the world speak, and President Bush eventually reacts — with great care. And what drove all of them was the massacre of the Beijing protesters before the eyes of the world.

Minutes after Mr. Bush announced his steps in reaction to the crackdown in Tiananmen Square, Chinese students here faxed the text of his remarks to Beijing to bolster their suffering colleagues.

The global village shrinks, and not even the heart of the Middle Kingdom is protected against the near-instantaneous flash of information. The bullets of the Peoples Liberation Army cut down thousands of protesters, but they could not stop word of what was happening from exploding around the world, and echoing back to the billion people of China.

Words, and pictures.

Who can ever forget the image of the lone student protester facing down a column of tanks in mid-Beijing? The main message the world had gotten before was that the mass of Beijing's people was aroused; what impressed most was their numbers. This insanely brave young man showed that the mass was made up of individuals, individually daring death.

One wonders whether he would have dared, whether the mass would have dared if there had been no cameras, no foreign reporters to record what they were doing. They were demonstrating before the world, knowing that the world would reflect their bravery back to Chengdu and Shanghai, and to thousands of Chinese villages from the Siberian border to the tropical Gulf of Tonkin.

Former ambassador Winston Lord estimates that 800 million of China's 1.1 billion people have access to television, and that it has been the single greatest force behind today's great upheaval there. The many thousands of overseas Chinese who have visited the homeland, displaying their prosperity in contrast to the austerity of life in China, have had an impact. So have the Chinese students allowed to study abroad, who have returned with ideas of how much better life could be.

Those influences were at work before the people's revolt, and helped inspire it. Since the masses filled the broad central square of the Chinese capital, and since the army was sent in to crush the masses, the government there has clamped down on official press and broadcast reports. International radio — particularly the Voice of America — has become the major channel of truth, sending reports from Beijing back to Beijing and the provinces beyond. Chinese push up to foreign reporters in the streets of Beijing, asking them what is happening in their own city. "Our media is run by bandits," one told an American newsman as they stood by a burning bus. "News about our own country has become another import item."

Indeed. News has been an import item for nearly half a century in the Eurasian land mass dominated by the Soviet Union and China. In the days of Mao and Stalin, it could be embargoed. Today, economic survival depends on modernization, and modernization depends on information. The news flows over, through, around government barriers.

As they prepared to crack down on the Beijing masses, China's rulers issued restrictions on the foreign press. But they dared not enforce them; they could not, without deporting every foreign reporter and cameraman. That would be closing China again, admitting that the effort to rejoin the world has failed. If it happens, we will know how desperate the situation has become.

B. Sun
June 7, 1989

From: NEWSTAB
Delivered: Wed 14-June-89 7:31 EDT Sys 197 (65)

VOA DIRECTOR OUTRAGED AT EXPULSION FROM CHINA

By David Lawsky

WASHINGTON, Reuter - The director of the Voice of America expressed outrage Wednesday that a VOA reporter was ordered to leave China within 72 hours.

"We are outraged and disappointed" at the expulsion of the reporter, Alan Pessin, said Richard Carlson, director of VOA.

"They're trying to jam us intellectually as well as technically," he said in a telephone interview. "Neither approach is going to work."

Pessin, Beijing bureau chief of the U.S. government-funded VOA, was ordered out of China Wednesday along with Associated Press reporter John Pomfret.

VOA staff in Beijing said Pessin was told the reason for his expulsion was because he broke martial law restrictions on foreign news reporting and had been "spreading rumors and instigating counter-revolutionary rebellion."

"I certainly deny that we've been spreading any rumors. Our coverage has been precise and very careful," Carlson told Reuters.

In addition to its several correspondents in Beijing, VOA beams news into China on a multitude of frequencies on radio and television.

The Chinese government has jammed those frequencies but not obliterated them, Carlson said.

"They want to wipe out our signal," he said. "They're trying to revise history and the VOA is the primary source of information for millions of Chinese and the Chinese government doesn't like that.

"So this is another way of trying to get at us."

Carlson said Pessin was called into the foreign affairs office of the city of Peking at 3:30 a.m. EDT (4:30 p.m. China time) and told he had 72 hours to leave the country.

"He was accused by them of spreading false rumors in violation of the martial law," Carlson said.

Carlson speculated that Pessin and Pomfret were ordered expelled because they both speak fluent Chinese.

Carlson said Pessin tape-recorded the exchange with Chinese officials but was not allowed to remove the recorder from the office.

Instead, Pessin telephoned a colleague and explained what had happened, then surrendered his tape.

VOA broadcasts on medium wave to China from the Philippines with a one million watt transmitter. It also broadcasts on short wave.

Within the last week, it has also started sending a television signal to China on satellite, showing the radio announcers reading.

Carlson said the signal is going to 2,000 satellite dishes in China. He said about 1,700 dishes are in the hands of military units and the others are in government buildings and universities.

In New York, an Associated Press spokesman said there would be no comment on Pomfret's expulsion until later in the day.

Chinese state television said Pomfret was ordered to leave China because he obtained "state secrets by illegal means" and had frequent contact with leaders of illegal organizations during the martial law period that began on May 20 during anti-government protests in Beijing.

6/6/89 USA Today

Growing numbers hear news via underground grapevine

By Marilyn Greene
USA TODAY

The top news stories on China TV this morning were on male nurses and corruption in the construction industry.

But an electronic news underground has blossomed to blunt government efforts to keep citizens in the dark about the news in their country.

The official Chinese media blame "a handful of ruffians" for the massive uprising, and depict the bloody military response as necessary to "safeguard social order."

A grapevine of computers, phones and facsimile machines is buzzing alongside the U.S. government's Voice of America to feed a news-starved population.

Short-wave sets are reported sold out in three major cities, a sign that China's government is failing in attempts to jam VOA and reports from the British Broadcasting Corp.

Like forbidden fruit, VOA's short-wave broadcasts pique listeners' interest, says VOA director Richard Carlson.

"We're the greengrocers for people who are intellectually hungry." He says the estimated 100 million Chinese audience has possibly doubled since student protests began.

The media battleground:

▶ New York-based *China Spring* magazine — banned in China — is receiving four calls per hour with news from people in China or just recently returned. Director Samson Ling says the news goes out by facsimile machine — and back into the underground in China.

▶ *China Spring*'s sister organization, the Chinese Alliance for Democracy, has raised more than $50,000 from donors in Hong Kong and the USA. Members smuggle the money into China to purchase machines and copiers.

▶ VOA circumvents jamming with sophisticated transmitters and a million-watt morning broadcast. Programs include news reports and statements of support from Chinese abroad. "We're getting calls from all over China saying they hear us," says David Hess, of VOA's Chinese service.

▶ Columbia University electrical engineering student Yuan Jiang masterminded a computer network — "it's like a mailbox" — linking Chinese students in North America, Australia, Japan, Great Britain, West Germany and Norway.

In coming weeks, says *China Spring* editor Mike Young, donations to China's students will include something money can't buy: blood for transfusions.

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Chinese Jam Voice of America
By GEORGE GEDDA
Associated Press Writer

WASHINGTON (AP) = Chinese authorities began jamming Voice of America broadcasts on several frequencies Monday in an apparent bid to deprive pro-democracy demonstrators of one of their main sources of information, a U.S. official said.

It was the first instance of Chinese jamming of VOA transmissions since before diplomatic relations with the United States were restored in 1979.

VOA Director Richard W. Carlson said jamming was detected Monday morning on three of five frequencies used for Mandarin language broadcasts beamed to China.

Meanwhile, as the first reports circulated of violence between the government and the demonstrators, Vice President Dan Quayle expressed hope that the situation will not become violent.

Quayle spoke at the start of a meeting with Wan Li, head of the Chinese People's Congress. Wan, who later met with Secretary of State James Baker, declined comment on the situation despite persistent questioning by reporters.

Wan and President George Bush are to meet Tuesday.

In other developments Monday:

--Bush came under pressure from a coalition of conservative organizations and the Americans for Democratic Action, a liberal grouping, to take a firmer stand in support of the demonstrators.

--Former Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger, on the other hand, praised the moderate approach of the Bush administration and said that a more meddlesome policy could backfire.

Overall, the administration's policy toward the unrest has been one of caution. Although Bush and other officials have expressed support for fundamental freedoms, they have generally refrained from criticizing the Chinese authorities. The State Department, however, did express regret last Friday after troops were called in to deal with the demonstrators.

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Rowland Evans and Robert Novak

China: Lust for Revenge

Strong private signals to the White House from Beijing's blood-stained hard-liners seeking "stability" in U.S.-China relations are contradicted by the Politburo's public lust for revenge, starting with the police roundup of prodemocracy students and leading to probable show trials and public executions.

Popular demands for a wide array of U.S. moves against Beijing in response to the June 4 massacre were running high even before the ruthless student crackdown. Except for barring military sales, President Bush has been reluctant to impose sanctions that might destroy the carefully nurtured link with Beijing. The administration has also tentatively agreed with U.S. allies to discontinue high-tech exports and discourage private investment. The July session of the Joint U.S.-China Trade Commission has been quietly postponed.

But the ante for retaliation is being raised above these modest steps. Some 20,000 exchange students may choose U.S. asylum, and the crackdown has reached the Voice of America. Add to this the death penalty for "guilty" students privately predicted here, and supreme Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping seems bent on destroying any chance of getting what he is privately appealing for: what one official here calls "an even keel" with the United States.

That infuriates liberals and conservatives alike. "More must be done," liberal Democratic Sen. Paul Simon told us, "and if President Bush doesn't do it, Congress will." That comports with demands of the Center for Security Policy, a conservative think tank, that the United States "cannot afford to make stability—a code word for the maintenance of the status quo and business as usual—its overarching goal."

But administration policy makers without exception are wary of imposing penalties on Communist China. That is not only because of China's strategic assistance in monitoring Soviet missile tests. It is also their reasoning, however contorted, that tough sanctions could set a precedent for exacting future punishment against the Soviet Union. This is based on the analysis that Mikhail Gorbachev's own experimentation with reform, much more advanced in the political sphere than Deng's, could provoke a Tiananmen Square crisis at any moment. That begs the question of whether a Soviet massacre in Red Square would deserve whatever sanctions were available.

Nevertheless, the brutality of Chinese leadership is making it difficult for Bush to retain the U.S.-China stability, which he believes is in U.S. strategic interests. That is particularly true because the object of that brutality, prodemocracy students, has visible connections throughout this country.

There was political outrage here when Chinese consulates in the United States were discovered to have taken pictures of exchange students, first supporting their compatriots in Beijing and later demonstrating outside Chinese consulates in protest against the Tiananmen Square massacre.

The threat against many of the more than 27,000 exchange students seems beyond question: use the pictures to identify the demonstrators and threaten retaliation against their families if they do not return home to face their own punishment. But these students, the cream of China's intellectual youth, are taking advantage of Bush's hospitality and are not returning home. That is creating a new and angry anti-Communist Chinese lobby in the United States.

The expulsion on 72-hour notice Wednesday of Voice of America reporter Al Pessin was another decision by China's leadership certain to heighten congressional anger. The Voice has been operating without incident in Communist China since 1978, a year before U.S. relations with Beijing were normalized. During the wall poster demonstrations that we reported that year, its broadcasts were cited to us by Chinese as their principal window on the world.

Today the jamming of all 12 of its frequencies has forced the Voice to resort to an unprecedented method of spreading the truth about the massacre. Using an Indian Ocean satellite as a television relay point, it is beaming the pictures and words of its radio announcers in Washington to the few television sets in China that can receive satellite signals.

These moves against the United States, following the June 4 blood bath, show where the real interests of Beijing's totalitarians lie. They appeal to Washington for stable relations and talk of continuing their economic reform. But their real priorities are control and revenge, guaranteed to ravage any remaining U.S.-Chinese stability.

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W. Post
6/16/89

Propaganda

America calling, Russia listening

THE propagandists of America live in a new world. The men and women who broadcast news and views to Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union are not only finding more listeners. They are getting actual co-operation from the communist governments their broadcasts are intended to undermine.

Glasnost first reached the American airwaves in mid-1987, when the Soviet Union stopped jamming the broadcasts of Voice of America, the radio station run by the United States Information Agency. Jamming of the BBC had stopped five months earlier. Last December the Russians stopped interfering with broadcasts from Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe. Once run covertly by the CIA, now openly financed by Congress, the two stations were founded to provide Russians (RL) and East Europeans (RFE) with news that their governments would not give them.

All East European countries have stopped jamming RL and RFE. Other countries' stations—notably KOL Israel and Deutche Welle—are also being heard. Unreconstructed Cuba, however, still erratically blocks signals from Radio Marti, the American propaganda station based in Florida.

Listenership is up by half, on one estimate, since the jamming stopped. What is more, the American-run stations suddenly have access to officials and ordinary citizens. Twice a week VOA sets time aside for Russian listeners to call in with questions or comments. Links are set up between the Soviet Union and the United States so that experts from both sides can participate in radio talk shows. A recent example: a discussion on VOA featuring Ms Dina Kaminskaya, a Russian emigré in America who is an expert on both Soviet and American law, and Mr Lev Baranov, Moscow's prosecutor.

Radio Free Europe's reporters, once unwelcome in Eastern Europe, are now able to travel reasonably freely. They have attended official press conferences in Hungary. Telephone interviews have become increasingly common. VOA reports little interference in its attempts to contact Russians for interviews. Before the recent Russian elections, Radio Liberty had a lengthy telephone chat with Mr Boris Yeltsin, the outspoken former Moscow party chief.

Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe have even hired a local freelancer to broadcast from Moscow. His show, "At the Kiosk", is a regular look at what is in the Russian press. Voice of America has gone further. A full-time correspondent will open VOA's Moscow bureau in June.

NYT 5/22/89

Yearnings of Youth: An Old Pattern

By RICHARD BERNSTEIN

When one of China's student hunger strikers said last week that his demand was for "a beautiful, perfect system," he was not merely being naïve. He was reflecting in somewhat naïve-sounding terms the yearning for restored national greatness that has led Chinese youth several times this century to take to the streets to demand change from what they saw as incompetent or dictatorial governments.

Protests by Chinese youths, which go back at least 70 years, have always shown a combination of utopianism and practicality, self-interest and patriotism. They have also been among the most important elements pressing for change — and sometimes merely turmoil — in a country whose recent history has been among the world's most tumultuous.

But if the students leading an extraordinary month of protests against their country's leaders belong to a tradition well-established this century, there are important differences of style and tactics between them and their predecessors.

Despite the streak of utopianism and occasional episodes of naïveté shown by many in the demonstrations, the students seem far more sophisticated, mature and knowledgeable about the world than any of their predecessors.

This has astonished many experts on China, virtually all of whom admit that they never believed it possible for hundreds of thousands of students to conduct a mass movement of civil disobedience worthy of a Gandhi or a Martin Luther King Jr. The explanation for the extraordinary development is that China has been changing rapidly and irreversibly; the students' dramatically increased sophistication reflects those changes.

Old Slogan Reappears

Historians cite an episode 70 years ago known as the May 4 movement as the grandfather of the student movement. The May 4 movement started as a march through central Beijing in 1919 to protest China's weakness in the face of Japanese aggressiveness. But it turned into a long and heated examination of China itself in an effort to find out why it had lost its place among the world's pre-eminent nations.

There was a striking reminder of the May 4 generation when the protesters recently held up the slogan "Democracy and Science" as one of their demands. "Democracy and Science" is the most remembered slogan of the May 4 movement, which largely introduced the idea that tradition had to be replaced by freedom and rationality if China was to take its place among leading nations.

The most important recent instance of student activism in China came as part of the near anarchic Cultural Revolution of 1966-76, a complex and violent episode that among other things involved the effort by Mao Zedong to exploit youthful idealism to eliminate his rivals for influence among China's senior leaders.

Mao encouraged the formation of immense bands of young Red Guards, a group remarkably different in temperament from today's youth. Stoked to a frenzy by Mao's demagogic appeal, the Red Guards believed they were patriots serving China's interests.

In this sense, they were similar both to the generation of May 4 and to the current protesters. But they were also different in that they were anti-democratic extremists who obeyed no laws as they persecuted those thought to be the enemies of Mao's revolution.

The present student generation seems, in striking contrast, to be genuinely committed both to democratic methods and nonviolence. When the protesters confronted soldiers with handshakes, Popsicles and exhortations to disobey the Government's order to suppress the movement, the students were invoking a new and far more sophisticated tactic than anything their forebears in the Cultural Revolution ever tried.

"The Red Guards were full of faith in Mao and in the leadership," said Prof. Andrew J. Nathan, a specialist on contemporary China at Columbia University. "They really and truly believed in Maoism. It was only after Mao cracked down on them in 1967 that people woke up, some sooner, some later. Many of the Red Guards were sent to the countryside, and they discovered that life was miserable there, so they started doing some thinking about what was wrong.

> A march in 1919 and the Red Guards also sought basic changes in China.

"Today's students, it seems to me, don't believe in the party. They are still idealistic. But the ones I've spoken to have lost all faith in Marxism and socialism.

"Partly it is that their own professional prospects are bleak because of the extreme underfunding of education and the low pay of educated people in all walks of life. More fundamentally, the experience of Maoism and a national reflection on what that meant has now come to a head with virtually all the intellectuals inside the party and outside of it concluding that the Chiniese system is fundamentally a bad one."

A Culmination of Trends

Many experts on China in the United States see the current movement as a culmination of trends that have been developing slowly since the death of Mao in 1976 and the institution of a far more moderate Government ready to tolerate a greater measure of free expression.

Several smaller student-led protests have already taken place, including the Democracy Wall movement of the late 1970's, named for a stretch of street in Beijing where free expression was briefly allowed. After a period of euphoric activity, that movement was suppressed by the authorities and its leaders were jailed.

In the meantime, there have been student marches in important university cities like Shanghai and Nanjing, all of them rigorously suppressed, all of them reappearing now.

But even experts who have closely watched developments in China have been surprised by the apparent skills and maturity of the current protesters, including their use of English, both in interviews with American television networks and on protest banners, signaling an ability to appeal to international public opinion.

'A New Approach'

"The parents of these kids, many of whom were intellectuals who suffered in the Cultural Revolution, have told them about it," said Thomas Gold, a professor of sociology at Berkeley who has spent time among Chinese students in China. "And maybe their parents said: 'Look, you don't get anywhere with violence. You have to take a new approach.' "

The changes also include China's far greater openness to the outside world, which included the dispatch of tens of thousands of students to study abroad, and its ambitious program of economic changes.

At the same time, economic changes have unsettled Chinese society in ways that have been deeply dissatisfying to intellectuals.

"On the one hand, economic reforms haven't given students and intellectuals the economic benefits that others, especially those who have gone into private business, have gotten," said Prof. Susan Shirk, a political scientist at the University of California at San Diego. "College graduates have suffered a relative decline in their economic status compared with people who operate in the free sector."

"On the other hand," Professor Shirk said, "the students are more willing to take risks because there are other options now. You can go off and join a private consulting firm. You can become a private entrepreneur. So the system is less monolithic."

Perhaps more important, the students have gotten information about the use of "people power" in the Philippines to overthrew the Marcos dictatorship.

"The students are very plugged in," Professor Gold said. "If you look on the magazine racks you'll see a great deal of information about what happens in the rest of the world. They listen to the Voice of America and the BBC. They have friends and siblings in the United States, and they get information about what life is like in this country. A lot of them are planning to go abroad, so they want to know more about what is happening."

"And," he continued, "because they are frustrated with their own leaders, they've really been casting about for ideas. They really keep in touch."

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FOREIGN POLICY

Ethiopian Regime Looks West for Helping Hand

Mengistu looks to US as Soviet largess wanes, but human rights abuses make aid seem unlikely

By E. A. Wayne
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

WASHINGTON
(Monday, 8 May 89), pp. 1 & 2

ON the ropes militarily, economically, and diplomatically, the Marxist regime in Ethiopia is reaching out to the West.

President Mengistu Haile Mariam's government "is on the run like never before and seems to be on an irreversible downward slide," says Paul Henze, a specialist on the Horn of Africa at the Rand Corporation, a Santa Monica, Calif.-based think tank.

But as Mr. Mengistu tries to rally support, there is debate in Washington over whether the US should be forthcoming toward a government that has one of the world's worst human rights records, and which is not yet repentant, say US officials, congressional aides and private specialists.

Ethiopia-watchers here agree the regime is weakened, though they disagree on the chances of it crumbling soon. Some, such as Michael Johns of the Heritage Foundation, think it could crack in the months ahead.

Others say it still has "plenty of capability to do harm," as one government analyst puts it.

All agree the Mengistu government has recently suffered stunning military defeats at the hands of Marxist rebel movements in Tigre and Eritrea Provinces.

"The Army isn't fighting and the people are tired of war," says a specialist recently returned from the region. "They've suffered too much."

Ethiopia's Soviet patrons are pushing the government toward economic and political reform, but are meeting resistance from a regime still touting a Stalinist approach. Moscow is also hinting that new military aid may not be as forthcoming after the current agreement runs out next year. But US specialists within and without the US government disagree on how far Moscow is willing to push its ally.

"The Soviets have tolerated and endorsed every excess" by giving Mengistu more than $11 billion of military aid since 1977, Rand's Mr. Henze says. "Now they recognize that they have reached a dead-end, and they are trying to pressure a very stubborn regime to make concessions."

There is no clear evidence, however, of a reduced arms flow, nor any sign that Moscow will sever its deep ties with the regime, he says.

Ethiopia is seeking to diversify its military supply relationships through overtures to North Korea, Israel and others, according to US officials and congressional aides.

President Mengistu has also made a number of overtures to the US and other potential Western donors and investors. But US officials say the others, without the US, are reluctant to get too involved in what is probably the world's poorest country.

So Mengistu has been forced to turn on the charm.

In February, the Ethiopian government asked the US to allow it to send an ambassador to its embassy here after nine years of lower-level representation. President Mengistu

See **REGIME** *next page*

ETHIOPIA from page 1

support from already hard-hit populations to pursue the reforms.

"In the Bank there is a very broad and very deep consensus that these [reforms] are not sustainable unless they produce results that the ordinary person begins to see," says a senior Bank official.

But so far, by almost anyone's account, the most visible results of the Bank-required "reforms" in Africa have been negative.

The Bank has focused in its reforms on trimming often-bloated government budgets, paying farmers more, and cutting the value of inflated currencies to make exports more attractive. This has led to higher food prices, as subsidies on food are reduced. The reforms led to increased unemployment, as civil servants were laid off, and drastically reduced the public's buying power.

A recent World Bank report, however, contends that countries with strong economic reform programs of the kind backed by the Bank are showing increased agricultural production, less inflation, and greater export earnings than non-reformers. Some African and international economists challenge the report, however, claiming it paints too rosy a picture for the reforming countries.

The reported higher economic growth rates may be due largely to increased aid flows and, to some extent, good weather, says Carol Lancaster, director of African Studies in the School of Foreign Service at Georgetown University in Washington. The increased agricultural and industrial production may simply be a sign of economic recovery, not sus-

er Bank meetings:

- Increased help for the poor, especially those hurt directly by the reforms, such as laid-off government employees.
- New efforts to meet African demands for developing greater self-sufficiency.

The Bank is reviewing ways to increase the number of small manufacturers, such as Kenyans who make portable stoves from scrap steel. It is also examining means to expand African exports to other African nations, not just to non-African countries.

One point of agreement has emerged already between Africans and World Bank officials: The reforms the Bank requires for providing loans to Africa must start showing tangible results soon, analysts say. African political leaders need

See **ETHIOPIA** *next page*

tained growth, she writes in a recent study.

One of the strongest criticisms of the Bank's program comes from Adebayo Adedeji, a Nigerian economist who heads the United Nations' Economic Commission for Africa (ECA). In a report following last month's meeting in Ethiopia of African finance and planning ministers, Dr. Adedeji acknowleged some gains from the reforms — slimmer budgets, and more exports outside of Africa.

But he went on to say that during the bank's reform program — implemented since the early '80s — "starvation and malnutrition, abject poverty, and external dependence have worsened." The loans "are rending the fabric of the African society," he charged

His contentions were supported by the African ministers who endorsed a resolution for "alternative reforms." But a draft ECA report on alternatives, which calls for more attention to alleviating poverty, boosting food production, and encouraging local industries, was dismissed by non-African economists as offering little in the way of new concrete suggestions.

But, says the senior World Bank official, "we are reading [the report] carefully, and we take seriously some of the concerns."

Earlier this year, a report by the US House Committee on Foreign Affairs made similar comments. It said that in Senegal, for instance, "poverty has clearly been aggravated" by the Bank's reform loans. Under pressure of carrying out reform, the government has cut back health care, the report said.

In Ghana, the World Bank's showcase example of reform results, the Committee found only a minority of cocoa farmers had gained from the reforms.

"Real per capita income of the overwhelming majority of food farmers has stagnated, with especially unfavorable consequences for women and children," the report states. **(See related story on Ghana, Page 4.)**

A senior World Bank official says the Bank's approach to lending in Africa has "evolved" during the 1980s from an almost total focus on fiscal changes, to an increasing effort to help the poor affected by the reforms. The official says the Bank is more patient today, and more realistic about the pace at which change can be made.

Political economist Joan Nelson says the Bank has often moved too quickly to make reform-tied loans to Africa.

Developed nations, especially the US, have pushed for loans to support political allies and alleviate suffering, says Ms. Nelson, an official with the Overseas Development Council in Washington.

Since the Bank is a major lender and various Western governments often wait for it to make a deal with an African country before making their own loans, the result is what one expert calls a "ritual dance." African leaders promise whatever they have to in order to get desperately-needed loans. Nelson says it would be better to make fewer reform loans, and instead give greater help in reducing Africa's debt burden.

To this end, some Western nations have begun forgiving all or part of the money African nations owe them. The World Bank has increased the amount of interest-free money it is lending to Africa. Total disbursements by the Bank in fiscal 1988 were nearly $2 billion, down from $2.5 billion in 1987. But during 1988, African nations paid back to the bank an amount equal to about two-thirds of what they received, the figures show.

"There are a lot of losers," Nelson says. "The losses are immediate, and the gains are often delayed and diffused."

REGIME from page 1

has also wined and dined recent US visitors with the message of wanting better relations. Former President Jimmy Carter was his most recent guest late last month.

The Bush administration has not yet decided how to respond and is in no hurry to do so, US officials say. "The US is not particularly eager to normalize relations [because] we don't think this particular leopard can change his spots," a high ranking administration official says.

He and others say the Mengistu regime must stop "brutalizing" its people, end the forced movement of peasants, reform its Stalinist economic and agricultural policies, and show an interest in finding a negotiated end to the Tigre and Eritrea rebellions before US-Ethiopian relations can bloom. In the interim, they say, the US is quite happy to have frank talks with the Ethiopians about needed changes.

Animosity in Washington toward the Mengistu regime stretches from the Congressional Black Caucus to the conservative right because of its "bloodthirsty" practices and abysmal human rights record, says Pauline Baker, an Africa-watcher with the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Not surprisingly, the overwhelming reaction to Ethiopia's overtures is "to let the regime twist in the wind and let Moscow pick up the bill," a congressional aide says.

The US is not 'eager to normalize relations [because] we don't think this particular leopard can change his spots.'
— US Official

A few observers suggest the US might have something to gain by limited responses to Ethiopian overtures — as long as Washington makes clear it is in no way endorsing practices under Mengistu.

US Rep. Mickey Leland (D) of Texas, who recently visited the region, supports an exchange of ambassadors. He sees this as a way of increasing US leverage, expanding its diplomatic presence, and enhancing its ability to help common Ethiopians. "We're not endorsing a regime by exchanging ambassadors," he says. "We have an ambassador in Moscow and we don't endorse that regime."

Mr. Johns, at the right-of-center Heritage Foundation, argues for a complete rebuff of Mengistu's overtures. Mengistu is responsible for "a state-sponsored holocaust which contributed to the death of over 1 million people," Johns says. "He is in the same category as Cambodia's Pol Pot. . . . We don't want to send a message to the Ethiopian people that we are with this government by raising the level of diplomatic relations."

The US aim should be to replace the Mengistu regime, Johns contends.

"This is doable now," he says. "The man is on the edge." Johns advocates working with other nations to keep Ethiopia isolated, possibly covertly aiding some of the pro-Western opposition groups, pressing Moscow to stop its military aid, and beginning talks with rebel groups in Tigre and Eritrea.

An aide to US Rep. Toby Roth (R) of Wisconsin, who has been an active critic of Mengistu, says there is nothing to show that the regime has changed its "evil ways." Even if it did, the aide says reforms could not atone for Mengistu's past crimes. Any move by the administration to upgrade relations "would be fought tooth and nail" by Democrats and Republicans, he says.

The administration, however, did not immediately rebuff the Ethiopians. Rather, it decided to see if there are serious changes in the wind, and if Ethiopia's new tone would bring some short-term benefits for the crisis in the Sudan. Ethiopia could be helpful in getting badly needed food supplies into war-torn southern Sudan, for example. It might also encourage peace in Sudan, since the rebels there receive Ethiopian aid and sanctuary.

(Ethiopia is already quietly allowing private relief groups to deliver food from its territory into southern Sudan. The government, however, does not publicly admit this, because it opposes a similar cross-border feeding operation from the Sudan into rebel-held Eritrea.)

"We're looking for opportunities to help solve the massive humanitarian problems in the region and to encourage peacemaking there," a US diplomat says. "But we have no interest in bailing Mengistu out."

Many in Washington favoring an upgrade in relations say it will make the most sense if it comes in the context of Ethiopian contributions to solving the widespread humanitarian and civil war problems in the Horn, says a key congressional aide. "Yes, Mengistu's not trustworthy and he's nasty, but he's a key player in the region and he's in a corner," the aide says.

Henze contends that the current US approach is just right. "We can well afford to bide our time. It would be unseemly to be seen as embracing a discredited regime." The US is the most admired country in Ethiopia, he says.

"It's almost embarrassing how warmly Ethiopians on the street greet Americans," he says.

Until the mid-1970s, the US was Ethiopia's main superpower ally. The Voice of America is reportedly the most listened-to source of news in the country.

The US is in a position of strength to regain influence in Ethiopia over the medium and long term, Henze and US officials say. In addition to the reservoir of popular goodwill, they say the West is the one source of aid and investment that Ethiopia desperately needs.

KEN ADELMAN WASH TIMES 5/24/89

Flickering lamp in Oz?

After the Great Cultural Revolution two decades ago and Great Economic Revolution of the past decade comes the Great Political Revolution of today. Reaping the whirlwind of past changes are the incomprehensible changes sweeping China now.

The absence of fear is the Chinese protesters' singular triumph, as it has been Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's historic contribution. Totalitarianism dies without fear. That gone, communism is left with the devolution of power and loss of legitimacy.

Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun, Mao taught. Not, however, when the hand holding the gun shies from pulling the trigger.

Today, China's soldiers are being wooed by popsicles and sodas and won, at least temporarily, by kindness. "The people's army must not suppress the people," students chanted in Beijing. "The people love the people's army."

Hence has the "Oz Phenomenon" come to life. Folks once imagining a supreme leader controlling wondrous events find behind the fallen curtain only a shriveled old man pulling levers cut from real power.

A regime once controlling every aspect of human life — where Chinese citizens could live and work and visit, what they could say and read and believe — can no longer even clear the streets.

Paralyzed when action is most needed, China's government has become increasingly irrelevant. As official political power wilts, popular political power blossoms.

Abraham Lincoln's lament that he did not control events, but events controlled him is true in spades now for Deng Xiaoping. He's reaping the results of vast economic and educational reforms he prompted a decade ago.

After growing at a snappy 10 percent annual clip, Mr. Deng has discovered that development can be destabilizing. Economic decentralization invariably brings political decentralization.

And after sending between 80,000 and 100,000 Chinese to study in America, Mr. Deng finds the "spiritual pollution" of Western concepts of freedom as infectious as he dreaded.

No wonder the Shanghai protesters erected a replica of the Statue of Liberty on the doorstep of government offices. No wonder Chinese crowds cheered when our ambassador sped past in his limo with the American flag fluttering.

Controlled largely by events increasingly beyond their control, both Mr. Gorbachev and Mr. Deng pant to keep apace their peoples' political program. The forces each unleashed have gained an awesome momentum of their own.

Revolutionary movements — and the upheavals today in the Soviet Union and China *are* revolutionary movements — make for perpetual surprises. Who could have predicted the success of the French, Russian or American revolutions? Or those in the Soviet Union and China now?

Lest we become too enthralled, trouble may yet brew. Yesterday's total control may bring tomorrow's total anarchy. The wild card is China's propensity to erupt. That country has suffered state seizures each decade with the calamitous Great Leap Forward, the squalid Campaign to let 100 Flowers Bloom, and the weird and wild Great Cultural Revolution.

The latter contortion gutted the party as an effective force. Unlike the Soviet Union, where the party cadre can channel political reforms, China has no such brake left. Only the state apparatus remains, one infected by corruption and racked by glaring impotence.

Add to this mix the loss of Chinese isolation. People there fix on foreign broadcasts from the Voice of America and other such outside services to learn the truth.

"It's amazing how many people listen to foreign radio stations now," said a Soviet intellectual in a statement as true for China. "Once you look for your information from somewhere else, it means you no longer accept the right of the state-run media to control your mind." Gone is the insularity of those in the Middle Kingdom.

Gone too is their sense of superiority. Chinese have lately become jealous of the Soviets' political progress, just as the Soviets are jealous of China's progress.

Greater information has likewise led to a severe case of "Taiwan envy." Indeed, the recent disorders in China have led to Taiwan's ultimate triumph.

Yesteryear's visionary talk about how Taiwan would someday reconquer the mainland, however preposterous it sounded, has turned out to be true. Taiwan did not win militarily but economically, politically and spiritually.

Which brings us full circle. The inscrutable Orientals have brought us what is ultimately an inscrutable revolution.

China's days of May are so hard to analyze, so difficult to wrap our analytical arms around, primarily because they are spiritual. They are a triumph of the human spirit.

Ken Adelman is a nationally syndicated columnist.

WALL STREET JOURNAL

News for Uzbeks

EDITORIAL 6/20/89

As China rewrites the history of Tiananmen Square, we are relearning the uses of Radio Free Europe and Voice of America in telling the truth to captive peoples. Yet just as the Communist world shows signs of cracking, U.S. policy makers are trying to limit this brand of "public diplomacy." Perhaps these officials need a long tour of duty in, say, Uzbekistan.

Indeed, Uzbekistan is just one of several areas in Soviet Central Asia that would benefit from a new radio relay station that Radio Free Europe and the U.S. Information Agency hope to build in Israel. Yet funding to complete the Israeli transmitting site now is in jeopardy.

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee recently authorized $194 million to complete the site, but a specific budget item still is required from the appropriations committees. Word is that some in the State Department (such as Deputy Secretary Lawrence Eagleburger) now want to cut this amount by more than half in favor of other priorities. House and Senate appropriators may be only too happy to go along, since Uzbeks don't vote in congressional elections.

Congress already has spent $80 million on the project, so failing to finish it now would waste that money. Amid widespread ethnic violence and agitation for independence throughout the Soviet Union, the Uzbeks, Tadzhiks, Pashtus, Kazakhs and others surely could benefit from information not found in Pravda. They'd no doubt be interested in the recent use of poison gas against demonstrators in Soviet Georgia, for example.

The same transmitter also would beam news and other programming to Afghanistan and South Asia, and to parts of Eastern Europe. While there no doubt are many State Department projects worthy of funds, we can think of few that provide more bang for the buck. As all dictators well know, truth is the ultimate subversive.

For that reason, we can't understand why Senate Foreign Relations Chairman Claiborne Pell remains so hostile to public diplomacy. He (and aide Peter Galbraith) first tried to kill all funding for the Israeli transmitter, switching his position only after he knew he'd be outvoted in committee. He also opposed some $16 million in funding for TV Marti, a companion for Radio Marti aimed at Fidel Castro's island paradise. Mr. Pell was outflanked on TV Marti by a bipartisan group of Senators, led by Floridians Bob Graham and Connie Mack.

Messrs. Galbraith and Pell have even limited what USIA or VOA can do to tell the truth in China. Beijing recently took to jamming radio broadcasts, so VOA has begun sending TV signals that can be received by about 2,000 satellite dishes inside China (mostly at military bases or universities). But because of restrictions written into spending bills by Mr. Galbraith, VOA believes it can show only printed script and talking heads; it can't show to Chinese the same television footage (from, say, CNN) of the brutal events in Tiananmen that Americans found so shocking. Whom is Senator Pell afraid of offending? The Politburo?

If communism really is splitting at the seams, one reason is that the truth about its failures and backwardness has penetrated deeply into Soviet and Chinese societies. This truth doesn't come from TASS or the People's Daily. America can't stand in the way of tanks, but it can provide a liberating alternative to the Big Lie.

China steps up attack on journalists, U.S.

By Edward Neilan
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

BEIJING — China intensified its offensive against foreign critics yesterday, expelling two American journalists and warning the United States to stop interfering in China's internal affairs.

China's state-run television news also said last night that police had arrested two of 21 student leaders on a wanted list and other participants in pro-democracy protests in the capital that were crushed with military force June 3-4.

Charged with violating martial-law regulations and given 72 hours

see **CHINA**, *page A10*

- *Appearances by Zhao aides give hope to reform-minded leaders.*
- *Communist Party still trying to eliminate corruption.*
- *Crackdown includes execution.*
- *Bush plans no reciprocal action.*
- *Despite crisis, Canton prospers.*
- *Stories on page A8.*

The Washi

CHINA

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to leave the country were Associated Press reporter John Pomfret and Voice of America Beijing bureau chief Alan Pessin.

China also arrested a British television reporter who had filmed damage caused by student unrest in Chengdu, about 800 miles south of the capital. The reporter, Vernon Mann, said the film, which showed burned-out buildings, buses and army vehicles, was proof that pro-democracy student protests had spread far beyond the capital.

Mr. Mann was arrested and confined to his hotel room in Chengdu, where he was interrogated for five hours. The film was smuggled out of China to his employer, Independent Television News, according to Reuters news agency.

Mr. Mann quoted witnesses as saying up to 300 people were killed and 1,800 injured in the Chengdu clashes.

In its anti-American attack, People's Daily, the Communist Party newspaper, said in a front-page editorial: "What kind of people these so-called 'democracy fighters' are and the role that some Americans played is now all too clear."

"We hope the U.S. side will emphasize the overall situation of Chinese-American relations . . . stop interfering in China's internal affairs and not do anything to hurt bilateral relations," it said.

Another People's Daily commentary said events showed that "class struggle" continued in China.

Mr. Pomfret of the AP said authorities claimed he had met with leaders of illegal student organizations that led the seven-week protests.

"Pomfret used his journalism credentials for illegal activities and used illegal methods to get state secrets," the television news charged. "He protected the leaders of student groups and exchanged information with them.

Mr. Pomfret, 30, has worked for the Associated Press since 1986 and has been based in Beijing since 1988. He was a student in China in 1980-82 and speaks fluent Mandarin Chinese.

Mr. Pessin of VOA was charged with "spreading rumors that encouraged counterrevolution."

He said, "I think it's the totality of our coverage that has the Chinese upset. They don't want people to hear what's really going on.

"It's a symbolic gesture for them to kick me out since our coverage will contnue," Mr. Pessin said.

China has been jamming most Voice of America frequencies as it has became apparent that millions of Chinese were listening to the broadcasts.

The expulsion order against the two Americans was the latest in a train of incidents straining Sino-American ties since the Chinese leadership crackdown June 3-4, in which possibly thousands of protesters were killed.

The deportation was seen by analysts as a retaliatory move for the United States' offering shelter to dissident astrophysicist Fang Lizhi and his wife, Li Shuxian.

The Beijing diplomatic community generally and the U.S. Embassy staff in particular were tense yesterday, awaiting some Chinese action and not ruling out an attack on the U.S. Embassy itself.

"I'm starting to feel that we're heading toward what happened in a book I read 'Siege at Peking' (by British author Peter Fleming) about the Boxers keeping diplomats inside the old Peking legation quarter for 55 days," an embassy staff member said.

Chinese senior leader Deng Xiaoping is known to have a personal dislike of Mr. Fang, which adds to the tension. The feud began in earnest with Chinese criticism of U.S. response to its handling of the student protesters.

President Bush decried the army crackdown, halted military sales and exchanges and said China must recognize the students' aspirations before relations with the United States could be fully restored.

The bearded and bespectacled Mr. Pessin and the scholarly Mr. Pomfret are two of about 60 American correspondents here — the total number of journalists is about 400 — whose open reports have stung the Chinese authorities.

The two American reporters were called to the foreign affairs office of the Beijing city government and told at 4 p.m. yesterday of the charges

against them and that they had 72 hours to leave China.

State-run television announced the arrests of two of 21 student leaders named in a wanted list released Tuesday and issued a new circular calling for the arrests of three leaders of an independent labor union.

Dozens of people nationwide were shown being led into police stations, some with their arms wrenched in the air in a posture the Chinese call "the airplane position."

While the mass arrests continued, the People's Liberation Army reduced its presence in Beijing, and Tiananmen Square was unguarded by tanks for the first time since the military began cracking down on the democracy movement 11 days ago.

Television reports said two student leaders, Zhou Fengsuo and Xiong Yan, were arrested. They were among 21 leaders accused of "inciting and organizing counterrevolutionary rebellion" whose names and pictures were flashed repeatedly on TV on Tuesday.

The reports said Mr. Zhou was turned in in Xian by his sister and her husband, who works at an air force academy there. Mr. Zhou, 22, was a physics student at Qinhua University in Beijing. No details were given of the arrest of Miss Xiong, 24, a graduate student of law at Beijing University.

A Beijing student leader not on the circular, Fang Ke, turned himself in to police in the central city of Wuhan, the TV report said. A leader of an independent worker union set up to support the students was arrested after fleeing to nearby Hebei province, the report said.

Beijing Radio said 32 protesters were arrested at the railway station as they tried to flee Beijing.

The 7 p.m. evening news featured Premier Li Peng running a meeting of party leaders on the Beijing disorders and debating "what we are going to do about this threat in the future."

Mr. Li urged the officials to study a recent speech by Qiao Shi, a member of the Standing Committee of the Communist Party Politburo on how the People's Liberation Army quashed the counterrevolutionary riots.

"It is important to unify our thinking on this matter," Mr. Li said. "All party members must study hard and gain a clear understanding of the party line since it will not change."

The rest of the television news was devoted to reports on the roundup of suspected counterrevolutionaries, visits to wounded PLA soldiers in hospitals by party officials and comments by average citizens on how the "PLA loves the people."

The U.S. State Department announced Tuesday that it would begin granting non-immigrant visas to Chinese for short stays in the United States.

The U.S. Embassy in Beijing expected a stampede at its visa office yesterday, but it never happened, apparently because many Chinese were watched closely by plainclothes police officers. About 200 people gathered outside the office, opened for the first time since the military crackdown began.

In Shanghai, the U.S. Consulate was besieged by people seeking visas to join spouses in the United States. About 200 people clamored to be let into the consulate after officials handed out the 100 applications that would be accepted Wednesday.

[In New York, the U.S. and Soviet envoys to the United Nations said the Chinese suppression of pro-democracy protesters in Beijing should not be taken to the Security Council.

[Soviet envoy Alexander M. Belonogov said China's crackdown poses no threat to international security and should not be discussed by the United Nations. U.S. representative Thomas R. Pickering said taking the military action to the council might be unwarranted interference in China's internal affairs. He did not rule out that China's human rights performance might be raised later.

In Oslo, two Norwegian parliamentarians nominated Chai Ling, 23, one of the Chinese student leaders, for the 1990 Nobel Peace Prize.

"Chai Ling stands as a symbol for the brave, nonviolent struggle by the Chinese students and others for democracy and freedom in China," Kjellbjorg Lunde and Tora Aasland Houg of the Socialist Left Party said yesterday.

"She has clearly demonstrated the importance of values that are basic to a democratic society," they added in a statement. Miss Chai is a postgraduate student in child psychology at Beijing Normal University.

This article is based in part on wire service reports.

W. Times 6/15/89

USA Today 5/24/89

Students gain upper hand in China turmoil

By Don Kirk
USA TODAY

BEIJING — The Politburo of the Chinese Communist Party was reportedly in emergency session this morning amid signs the man responsible for trying to put down the student revolt was on the way out.

Pressure on Prime Minister Li Peng — who called out troops to quell student protests — was relentless:

▶ A million in Beijing — and tens of thousands across China — demanded he resign.

▶ The government news agency emphasized protesters' appeals for Li to leave.

At the same time, it appeared that Party chief Zhao Ziyang — who supported the students — is gaining favor:

▶ He was back at his job after disappearing for days.

▶ Foreign Minister Qian Qichen publicly declared that Zhao remains in office.

Outside Beijing, there were conflicting signals about the 200,000-plus troops surrounding the city.

While soldiers have continued to withdraw, they've gained advantage by shifting to potential new routes leading past student barricades into the heart of Beijing.

There also were signs of a softening government attitude:

▶ Wan Li, head of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, was returning to China from the USA after seeing President Bush. His mission is to persuade the government to pull troops back entirely while opening up the talks student leaders want.

▶ China Central Television allowed foreign newscasts to send pictures via satellite, putting all four USA networks back on the air for the first time since Saturday.

▶ Voice of America, much-listened to in China, was again broadcasting on two of its five frequencies, although three remained jammed.

CORD MEYER

Forces of change unleashed

WASH. TIMES 5/12/89

China getting democracy's message

Like the dog that failed to bark in the Sherlock Holmes story, the most significant aspect of the last two weeks of massive student demonstrations in Beijing was what did not happen.

After ominous warnings from aging Communist leader Deng Xiaoping that the students were causing "massive social disorder" and that blood might have to be spilled, the large May 4 student demonstration turned out to be a peaceful and disciplined demand for a more open society and for less corruption that was watched by friendly police and cheering workers.

General Secretary Zhao Ziyang has now responded to the student petitions with a conciliatory statement, promising that "China will not only push forward with its economic reforms but will also carry forward political restructuring."

According to professional China watchers, this decision to avoid a violent confrontation may have been made at the last moment, and heavily armed military units had already been deployed inside the city.

As experts on China see it, there were persuasive reasons for deciding against the use of armed force. The sheer size of the student demonstration and the obvious support it enjoyed from onlookers and workers made its suppression a dangerously bloody business. Moreover, many of the police were sympathetic to the students, while the soldiers were not trained for crowd control or riot suppression.

Whatever the immediate reasons behind the decision to talk rather than to shoot, the long-term consequences may be far-reaching, and some China experts see this nonevent as a critical turning point in contemporary Chinese history.

It may in fact reflect a basic decision by party chief Zhao and his reformist colleagues that the forces pushing China toward a more open society are irreversible. They can be slowed but not stopped.

State Department officials believe that Mr. Deng began the process of real reform in China with his decision in 1978 to send thousands of the best Chinese students to the United States for advanced degrees. He was prepared to risk their exposure to liberal democracy as the only way of obtaining the scientific skills necessary to make China competitive.

Since then, the number of Chinese students in American universities each year has grown to nearly 40,000. On returning to China, they have brought with them skeptical attitudes toward dogmatic Marxism. This influx of intellectual talent has helped China progress, but it has also undermined naive faith in the party bureaucracy.

A second force for change in China over the last decade has also been American in origin. Voice of America broadcasts to the Chinese mainland in Mandarin are now estimated to have an audience of more than 60 million, and 100 million were thought to be listening during the recent student demonstrations.

On the air nine hours a day, this objective coverage of both world and local events has created an informed and sophisticated Chinese listening audience. The rising demand for more objective and accurate press coverage from journalists who work for the official Chinese newspapers is in part a reaction to the example of VOA's performance.

A third and unexpected force for change in China over the last two years has been the dramatic unfolding of events in Taiwan. On this small island, 20 million Chinese have now achieved a combination of genuine democracy, press freedom and a market economy that has enabled them to increase yearly per capita income from $3,800 in 1986 to $6,450 in 1988, as compared to $350 per year on the mainland.

The decision to talk rather than to shoot may reflect a basic decision by party chief Zhao and his reformist colleagues that the forces pushing China toward a more open society are irreversible.

This powerful lesson in the advantages of democratic freedoms has been brought home to the mainland Chinese population by the 400,000 Chinese from Taiwan who were allowed to visit their relatives in China in 1988. The visitors lost whatever illusions they still retained about the communist system, while many mainlanders have learned to hope for radical reform on the Taiwan model.

Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev will receive a polite welcome from the Chinese Communist Party leaders in Beijing next week. They have something to learn from his use of glasnost but, when it comes to economic productivity, they have more to learn from Taiwan than they do from perestroika.

Cord Meyer is a nationally syndicated columnist.

Crackdown Would Hurt Ties, Bush Warns Chinese

L.A. Times 5/24/89

By JAMES GERSTENZANG, *Times Staff Writer*

WASHINGTON—President Bush, while taking pains not to intervene publicly in China's political turmoil, privately warned a senior Chinese government official Tuesday that a violent crackdown on pro-democracy demonstrations would damage improving U.S.-Chinese relations, an Administration official said.

Bush delivered the message—the bluntest Administration comment so far on the government-student confrontation—in an Oval Office meeting with Wan Li, chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress.

"It was clear to him [Wan] that the use of violence would have a negative effect on our relations," said the official, who spoke on condition of anonymity. "We would not be happy, and it would do nothing good for our relationship."

Wan, who abruptly cut short his U.S. visit to return to Beijing to consult with top leaders of his government, is seen by U.S. officials as close to Deng Xiaoping, the paramount Chinese leader and target of much of the protest, but also sympathetic to the demonstrators. Thus, Administration officials were cautiously hopeful about his influence in resolving the stalemate.

His decision to hurry back to China, announced before he met with Bush, was seen by Administration officials, at least in part, as an effort by Wan to involve himself in the resolution of the conflict that has torn with increasing intensity at established order in China.

The President spent an hour with Wan and then escorted him to

Please see BUSH, Page 12

BUSH: Chinese Warned on Effect of Crackdown

Continued from Page 1

the White House residence to meet First Lady Barbara Bush. According to a White House statement, Bush told his visitor:

"We are strongly committed to democracy around the world. It is the underpinning of our being as a nation. I urge nonviolence and restraint in your present situation."

The President also urged a halt to the jamming of Voice of America broadcasts, which Voice officials said occurred Monday, and asked that reporters working in China "be given open access," the statement said.

At the same time, the statement added, Bush assured Wan that he "remains personally committed to expanding the normal and constructive relations the United States enjoys with China. . . . The United States hopes to see the continuing implementation of economic and political reforms."

Two Administration officials, speaking anonymously, said that Bush and other U.S. officials who met with Wan over the last two days had made no overt threats. But they made clear that the use of violence to end the demonstrations—and any slowing of the reforms—would threaten the expansion of relations.

The Administration's low-key approach, which has drawn criticism from those seeking outspoken support for the demonstrators, reflects the narrow line that it is trying to walk. While seeking to encourage the government to continue on its path of opening up Chinese society, Bush has sought to avoid publicly chastising the authorities in Beijing, lest they harden their attitudes toward the United States.

Wan's trip, scheduled before the demonstrations began in Beijing five weeks ago, was intended to give U.S. officials a report on the just-completed visit of Soviet President Mikhail S. Gorbachev to China. The topic of the demonstrations was added to the agenda.

The coincidence of the visit with the demonstrations offered the Administration an opportunity to make its plea for a peaceful resolution of the disputes directly to a Chinese official who has ties to Deng and who also has expressed sympathy for the students. Deng is believed to favor a harder line.

In the view of analysts of Chinese affairs, the demonstrating students had been hoping that Wan would use his official position to put pressure on the Chinese government. But with the emergence of opposition to the government within the military, his position was seen as less crucial.

At a White House news conference before the meeting between Bush and Wan, Secretary of State James A. Baker III said that Western principles of democracy motivate the Chinese demonstrators, even if their overt support has been for Gorbachev.

"They may have that name on their lips, but they have the policies of the West in mind," Baker said. "It is the philosophy of the West that they are advancing, and it is the values of the West that they are seeking."

U.S. won't play tit-for-tat over reporters' expulsion

By James M. Dorsey
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

The Bush administration yesterday protested the expulsion of two American reporters from China, but said it won't act reciprocally against Chinese journalists in the United States.

A senior administration official meanwhile expressed optimism about resolving the dispute over a prominent Chinese dissident, Fang Lizhi, and his wife, Li Shuxian, who have taken refuge in the U.S. Embassy in Beijing.

The relatively low-level protest — apparantly designed not to interfere with efforts to defuse the Fang dispute — was handed by Undersecretary of State Robert Kimmit to Chinese Ambassador Hun Xu, who was called to the State Department. Officials said the meeting lasted 45 minutes.

In still another indication of Washington's hopes to lower official rhetoric on China, the Bush administration said yesterday it wouldn't support a United Nations censure of the Beijing government.

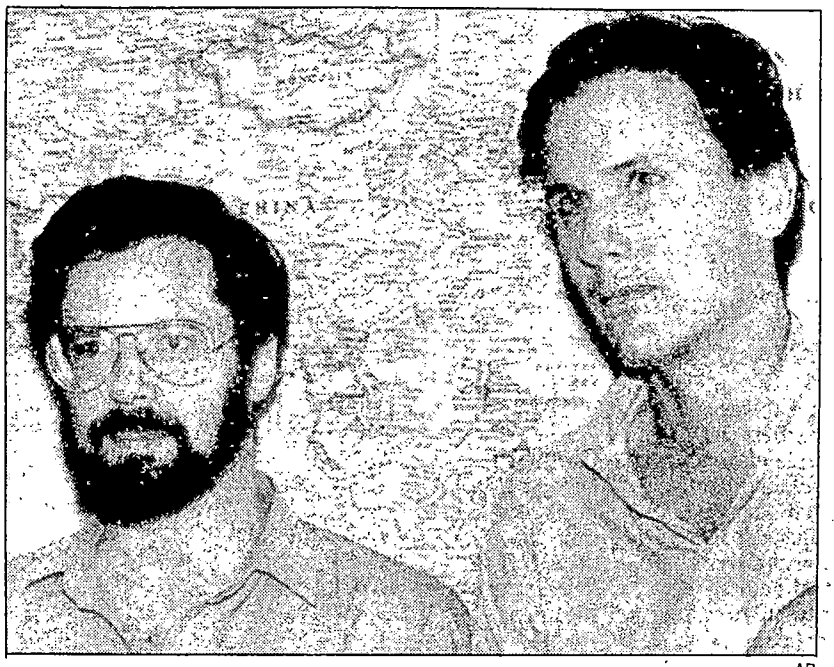
Describing the expulsion of John Pomfret of The Associated Press and Voice of America bureau chief Alan Pessin as "very disturbing," State Department spokeswoman Margaret Tutwiler said the U.S. protest was being filed with the Chinese Embassy in Washington and with the government in Beijing.

Miss Tutwiler said she didn't know at what diplomatic level the protest would be delivered, nor if anything was being done to get the Chinese to rescind the expulsions.

Officials said the administration would not retaliate the expulsions so as to avoid "a tit-for-tat" situation.

"It would be a losing proposition to do that. We have far more journalists there than they have here, and it's in our interest to have them there," one official said.

VOA Director Richard Carlson described the expulsion of his Beijing bureau chief as "unfortunate and sad," but said the radio had a second correspondent, Mark Hopkins, still working in China.



AP

Voice of America Beijing bureau chief Al Pessin (left) and Associated Press reporter John Pomfrat yesterday were given 72 hours to leave China.

At the White House, spokesman Marlin Fitzwater rejected Chinese allegations that the two reporters had reported falsely, spread rumors and instigated turmoil. Mr. Fitzwater said such steps wouldn't stop the truth from emerging from China.

"To the contrary: we believe these journalists were trying to print the truth of the situation in China," Mr. Fitzwater said.

"Actions such as this — the harassment of journalists trying to do their job and attempts to jam VOA broadcasts — will not succeed in keeping the truth about what is going on in China from being heard in that troubled land or throughout the world," he said.

"The journalists and news organizations in China have performed with distinction and valor — in many cases, with personal courage — to bring the dimensions of the tragic violence there to the peoples of the world.

"We find the quest for truth to be a process that cannot be thwarted. Where one voice is silenced, another will take its place."

While the Bush administration gave little more than rhetoric in response to the expulsions, a senior administration official said Secretary of State James A. Baker III was "pretty optimistic" about negotiations with Chinese Ambassador Han Xu to achieve the safe departure of the two dissidents, in the U.S. Embassy since last week.

"At this point, we feel reasonably optimistic we can resolve this thing," the official said. "No one has gone into disaster planning."

But the official said a resolution to the dispute was not imminent.

Mr. Fang and his wife fled to the embassy on June 5. Chinese authorities Sunday ordered their arrest, accusing them of counterrevolutionary activity, a charge tantamount to treason.

Mr. Baker began talks on the issue with Mr. Han last Saturday, but neither side would characterize or discuss these contacts. Officials said the talks were aimed at allowing Mr. Fang and Miss Li to leave China, pos-

sibly for a third country, before coming to the United States.

Said one administration official: "The normal way of solving such cases is to reach some sort of understanding that the person would leave our premises when the danger is passed and then be permitted to leave."

It remained unclear whether Mr. Fang and Miss Li want to leave China.

Fang Ke, the couple's son and a physics graduate student at Detroit's Wayne State University, said on NBC's "Today" show yesterday that his parents were "extremely patriotic and they want to stay in China and see China change. But if their life is facing danger I think they are better out of the country."

Discussing the decision to shelter Mr. Fang and Miss Li, the senior administration official said: "We went into it with our eyes opened and we're prepared for the long haul."

He said the U.S. Embassy was prepared for all contingencies, including an assault by Chinese security forces on the compound. He said there was no evidence such an attack was contemplated.

The official said Mr. Baker and President Bush so far have successfully persuaded Congress not to place more severe sanctions against China, beyond military sanctions taken by President Bush after the Chinese army's June 4 assault on Tiananmen Square.

But he warned that among lawmakers "there is an impatience to go further" and said this could happen if something untoward happened with Mr. Fang and Miss Li.

WTimes 6/15/89

U.S. CHIDES CHINA OVER 2 EXPULSIONS

No Retaliation Is Looked For in Ouster of Journalists

By THOMAS L. FRIEDMAN
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 14 — The Bush Administration protested to the Chinese Government today over its expulsion of two American journalists, saying the move would not keep "the truth about what is going on in China from being heard."

The Chinese Ambassador to Washington, Han Xu, was summoned to the State Department this afternoon to hear a protest from Robert M. Kimmit, Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs, over the expulsion of the journalists, John E. Pomfret of The Associated Press and Alan W. Pessin of the Voice of America.

In what is becoming an almost daily tit-for-tat exchange of allegations or punitive measures between Washington and Beijing, the White House spokesman, Marlin Fitzwater, said:

"Actions such as this, the harassment of journalists trying to do their jobs and attempts to jam Voice of America broadcasts, will not succeed in keeping the truth about what is going on in China from being heard in that troubled land or throughout the world. We find the quest for truth to be a process that cannot be thwarted. Where one voice is silenced another will take its place."

All the Facts Are Not Known

Mr. Fitzwater said the State Department was still trying to ascertain all the facts surrounding the expulsions, and he declined to speculate whether Washington would order home some Chinese journalists in retaliation.

"In terms of any actions, we'll have to have a little more time so we are aware of the facts of each of the cases in terms of their activities, visas, permits, what can be done, and what we should ask," Mr. Fitzwater said. "The initial action is a protest to the Government."

The State Department spokeswoman, Margaret D. Tutwiler, pointed out that there are 25 journalists from China in Washington, representing 10 news organizations, and 13 in New York, representing four organizations.

On Capitol Hill, 67 senators, including both the Republican and Democratic leadership, signed a letter to Prime Minister Li Peng urging him to immediately release the Chinese student leaders jailed for their participation in the recent democracy demonstrations.

NYT 6/15/89

Voice of America Beamed to China

From Associated Press

WASHINGTON—In response to the Chinese crisis, the U.S. government's Voice of America is beaming television signals to China, the first time it has ever taken such a step, the director said Thursday.

The signal is going directly to about 2,000 satellite dishes operated largely by the People's Liberation Army, although there is no way to tell whether the transmission is being watched by the military or passed along other channels, said VOA Director Richard Carlson.

The U.S. Embassy is receiving the signal "loud and clear" on a satellite dish in Beijing, he said. The transmission began Tuesday.

The broadcast of news to the military is significant because of reports that units backing the pro-democracy demonstrators may have exchanged fire with units supporting the crackdown.

The VOA, which broadcasts radio programs in many languages around the world, including transmissions targeted at communist nations, has never used a television signal before, said Carlson.

"The Chinese media have been very dishonest about the student demonstrations and the role of the military," said Carlson.

"Chinese media have said there were 300 dead, and that they were mostly soldiers, which is not true. The Red Cross says 3,000 people died," he said. Some Western sources in Beijing have estimated the dead at 7,000.

LA Times 6/9/89

China escalates 'cold terror,' bans student, worker groups

WASH TIMES 6/14/89

By Edward Neilan
and Richard Ehrlich
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

BEIJING — The Chinese government banned all independent student and worker groups yesterday and gave soldiers and police a green light to shoot those who foment unrest.

Security forces made hundreds of new arrests, including several leaders of independent labor unions, bringing the number of arrested to more than 1,000 across the country, according to Chinese media reports.

Thousands more are expected to be jailed as a wave of repression ordered by the country's leaders gathers speed.

"We expect thousands of people will be arrested throughout China in the next few weeks, and there are secret police everywhere," said a journalist in the northwestern city of Xian.

"The government has drawn up a list of names of people to be arrested within 10 days," a foreign resident of Shenyang in the northeast said.

All signs pointed to a full-scale effort under way to obliterate the pro-democracy movement, whose seeds were planted on Chinese campuses in 1986 and sprang into full bloom two months ago.

Threatening to become a cause celebre in China's war against democracy is astrophysicist Fang Lizhi, China's most prominent dissenter, who with his wife, university lecturer Li Shuxian, has taken refuge in the U.S. Embassy here.

China has ordered police to seal the nation's borders against a possible escape attempt by the Fangs, state radio said today.

"Immediately deploy and scrutinize. Take strict precautions against them fleeing the country," the Public Security Ministry told train, air and traffic police and those guarding China's borders and ports.

China's state radio today quoted the ministry order as saying: "On discovering Fang and Li, immediately detain them and immediately notify the Beijing police department."

In what seemed to be a mildly conciliatory move, however, the official New China News Agency quoted two senior officials as assuring foreign investors that their persons and their money were safe.

Foreign Trade Minister Zheng Tuobin said he expected foreign business people who had fled China to return soon "since security is now no problem to them," the agency said.

Over the weekend, authorities issued an arrest warrant for Mr. Fang and Miss Li on charges of "committing crimes of counterrevolutionary propaganda and instigation."

China's hard-liners, now fully in command after an apparently bitter struggle with reformers, stepped up their criticism of Mr. Fang and of the United States for harboring him. They said Mr. Fang's real purpose in criticizing socialism was to topple the state.

The case is pushing U.S.-Chinese relations, restored in 1979, to a 10-year low.

The crackdown began June 3, when thousands of soldiers from the People's Liberation Army invaded Beijing's Tiananmen Square, which was occupied by thousands of student pro-democracy demonstrators and supporters.

The communist government says nearly 300 people were killed, mostly soldiers. However, Chinese witnesses and Western intelligence said the toll could run into the thousands, mostly students and demonstrators.

[In Washington, the Bush administration was seeking to resolve the Fang asylum issue through diplomatic channels, but the bitterness spilled over as the State Department brushed aside China's effort to equate demands for democratic reforms with counterrevolution.

["The whole world has seen what happened in Tiananmen Square. Large numbers of peaceful demonstrators were killed by army units," State Department spokeswoman Margaret Tutwiler told reporters.

[And in Ottawa, External Affairs Minister Joe Clark said Canada's ambassador in Beijing is being recalled temporarily to protest the killings.

[In another sign of worsening ties, officials said yesterday that the U.S. Commerce Department withdrew an export license for the sale to China of $500 million in parts from a canceled nuclear power plant in Washington state after the Nuclear Regulatory Commission and Sen. John Glenn, Ohio Democrat, protested.]

Soldiers continued to detain people on the streets of Beijing yesterday. One Western diplomat described the situation as "cold terror" aimed at cowing the population.

"Several of us have seen arrests made at gunpoint and police beating people in the streets," he said. "From what we've seen in the last few days, we can't seriously expect the police or troops to be fussy about who they shoot."

Chinese media said life in Beijing had returned to normal, and indeed the bus lines were running and banks were open. Side streets to Tiananmen Square, closed since June 3, and the Forbidden City, closed since May 20, were to open today.

But posters have begun appearing asking for information about relatives who disappeared in the violent crackdown.

In addition, fear has spread through the capital. Chinese citizens have begun refusing to talk to foreign reporters. And some Chinese report that, among their work units, movement has begun to ferret out supporters of democracy.

The Ministry of Public Security said police and soldiers should use their weapons against "rioters and counterrevolutionaries" to curb criminal activity, defined as "disrupting social order" and "riots."

The order marked the first time the government acknowledged that police and soldiers nationwide have been given the right to fire on protesters. Security forces in Beijing had been ordered to take "whatever measures necessary" to enforce martial law ordered May 20.

State-run radio and TV said hundreds of arrests were made in the provincial capitals of Hangzhou, Xian, Nanjing and Shanghai.

Among those arrested in Shanghai were Li Zhibo, a leader of the independent workers union, and Yao Yongzhan, a 19-year-old Hong Kong student.

see **CHINA,**

CHINA

Mr. Li was shown being held at gunpoint by police. His face was swollen so badly he could barely open his eyes.

Mr. Yao was with several British students and British consulate officials when he was detained at the airport in Shanghai. Shanghai radio said he was the head of an independent Shanghai student group.

Also yesterday, Chinese media accused the Voice of America, widely popular in China, of "spreading rumors" about the disturbances.

Last night's television news continued the attack on VOA. The form of criticism of the VOA broadcasts is indirect, citing letters supposedly from average citizens angered by reports on the pro-democracy crackdown carried by the U.S. government-run radio service.

Despite the criticism, the same program stressed that China would continue to promote foreign investment, seeking to allay fears that the crackdown will have grave economic consequences.

Vice Premier Tian Jiyun appeared on television yesterday for the first time since mid-May. The development seemed to contradict reports that Mr. Tian, a moderate, had been purged along with Communist Party chief Zhao Ziyang and Politburo member Hu Qili.

In Chengdu, capital of overpopulated, fertile Sichuan province in southwest China, disturbances erupted, but authorities kept the city under control, official reports said.

However, the Yangtze River city of Wuhan, capital of central Hubei province, was seriously troubled by demonstrators. But official television showed Wuhan's vital bridge across the river open to traffic.

Militant students in Nanjing, capital of Jiangsu province, earlier vowed to march 900 miles north to Beijing in solidarity with pro-democracy demonstrators.

Meanwhile, China's pro-democracy student protesters, who startled the world with their courage and success, have taken their movement underground, vowing to return to fight another day against the hard-line Beijing leadership.

• *This article is based in part on wire service reports.*

L.A. Times

Cutting China Ties Would Be Wrong, U.S. Envoy Says

By JOHN M. BRODER, *Times Staff Writer*

WASHINGTON—The U.S. ambassador to China said Sunday that despite current tensions between the United States and China over last weekend's bloody crushing of the pro-democracy movement in Beijing, it would be a "terrible mistake" to abandon the relationship between the two countries.

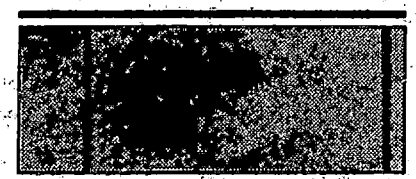
"We've gone through many ups and downs with China, and I think right now we're going through a down," Ambassador James R. Lilley said from Beijing in an interview broadcast on CBS-TV. "But I don't think we should sort of give up on it; I think that would be a terrible mistake."

Lilley said the Chinese leadership was battling for control of the country and that U.S. comments and actions would have little impact in the midst of the crisis. He said the United States could exert influence through Voice of America broadcasts, day-to-day business dealings and the training of Chinese students at American universities.

Lilley's remarks on "Face the Nation" reflected the cautious stance toward the Chinese crisis adopted by policy-makers in Washington.

President Bush, while cutting off all government and private military sales to Beijing last week, has refrained from sharply criticizing the Chinese government. He has not threatened to cut all economic and diplomatic ties to China, nor has he recalled Lilley as a sign of U.S. displeasure at the massacre and arrests of student demonstrators.

Lilley, echoing Bush's moderate language, said: "At the moment, you have an overwhelming desire [by Chinese leaders] for survival, and that takes precedence over anything. What we do is we play for the long term, and we don't look for a quick fix—a 'feelie-goodie' about this thing. We look for a long-term solution."



TURMOIL IN CHINA
The Struggle for Power

Lilley declined to discuss what the United States plans to do about Fang Lizhi, China's most prominent dissident, who has been given refuge in the U.S. Embassy in Beijing since last Monday. The ambassador said he had had talks in the past several days with senior Chinese officials about Fang, but he would not reveal the content of the discussions.

"It's a very sensitive thing and it's best to do it and shut up," Lilley said.

The ambassador said he hopes the confrontation over Fang can be resolved soon.

"I don't think we want irritants in the Chinese-American relationship," Lilley said. "But we Americans stand for certain things, and I don't think we're going to change. And I think the Chinese stand for certain things and they're not going to change. And then you strike a deal."

The Bush Administration's moderate approach does not sit well with many members of Congress. Sen. Alfonse M. D'Amato (R-N.Y.), reflecting broad sentiment in Congress for stiffer sanctions against the Chinese government, called for a halt in high-technology exports and for multilateral efforts to press China to end repression of the student pro-democracy movement.

"Certainly an immediate cutoff or break in relations or all economic trade, I think, would have been precipitous," D'Amato said on "Face the Nation."

"But we've got to let the Chinese Communist leaders, those old fellows who are clinging to power, understand there is not going to be business as usual, that there will be economic sanctions, that there will be a curtailment of our normal relations," said D'Amato, a member of the Senate Intelligence Committee. "And we've got to lead the world community in this direction."

But Roger Sullivan, president of the U.S.-China Business Council, interviewed on the same program, said the United States should think twice before imposing harsh economic penalties on China.

"They have made it very, very clear by those pictures [of students being beaten by security forces] and by their statements and by their actions . . . that they really don't care what world opinion is," Sullivan said.

"We have to be careful that in trying to punish this government—we're certainly not going to influence it—we do not unintentionally and inadvertently create a situation where it's going to be more difficult or impossible to rebuild this relationship when it becomes possible to do so."

United States Information Agency

Washington, D C. 20547

NEWS CLIP

SOURCE Toledo Blade (Ohio)

DATE 5/13/89 PAGE

America's Voice In Peking

PUBLIC diplomacy, sometimes referred to as propaganda, has long been a basic tool of the American arsenal in the war of ideas, but currently it is getting a strong following in China, a country which most of the time lacks important news about itself.

The Voice of America broadcasts nine hours a day in Chinese, more than three times the volume of the British Broadcasting Corp., which has a devoted following in many parts of the world.

"Our listenership goes through the roof during protests," according to David Hess, chief of the China branch at the Voice of America in Washington. Even though the VOA is dwarfed by China's Central People's Broadcasting station, in times of turmoil, such as China is experiencing now, the Voice is eagerly listened to by Chinese to find out what is really going on in their own country.

It has been estimated that 60 million people listen to the Voice. While that is not large in terms of the total Chinese population, it represents a large urban segment in coastal areas where most of the unrest is centered.

The Voice has not been quite as important in the current wave of protests as it was in 1986, partly because the Chinese broadcasting station has been transmitting some news about the recent demonstrations to a news-starved public. Although some Chinese students have complained that the Voice is not as aggressive as it used to be, this is perhaps all to the good in the long run.

One strong element of BBC broadcasts has been the calm impartiality of its news programs. This is a valued aspect of public diplomacy, and the value of the Voice of America is enhanced to the extent that it can also maintain such a reputation.

B. Sun 6/13/89

TURMOIL IN CHINA

China lambastes 'lies' aired by Voice of America

By Ann Lolordo
Sun Staff Correspondent

BEIJING — China attacked the Voice of America yesterday for "rumor-mongering" and "deliberately" provoking violence in its daily broadcasts on the pro-democracy movement, escalating the government's criticism of the United States.

The accusation, in a front-page commentary in the *People's Daily*, the official party newspaper, the *Beijing Daily* and two other newspapers, cited 10 VOA radio broadcasts aired since the pro-democracy marches began in Beijing, detailed their "lies and rumors," "irresponsible news" and "purely fictional" reports and then provided readers with the government's version of events.

"Whenever this trouble was settling down," said the article, "Voice of America would deliberately provoke. And not only did they run instigating, attacking, provoking news, but they would also air lies."

The barrage of anti-VOA attacks, also carried on television and radio, followed within hours the issuing of an arrest warrant for Chinese dissident Fang Lizhi and his wife, who have taken refuge in the U.S. Embassy compound.

The Voice of America is part of the U.S. Information Agency. For the past decade its overseas correspondents have had no connection with the agency's international diplomats but report directly to Washington.

Alan W. Pessin, the VOA's chief China correspondent, said the Chinese criticisms reflected the government's determination to control the information its citizens receive.



ASSOCIATED PRESS

In Alhambra, Calif., journalist Chang Qing Cao shows first edition of the Press Freedom Herald, to be mailed to China.

He estimated VOA's Chinese audience — including students, workers, diplomats, even Foreign Ministry officials — to be "tens of millions" and "in times of crisis probably more than that."

In response to the government's charges, Mr. Pessin said, "We have spent an inordinate amount of time in the last eight weeks tracking down rumors and ending up not using them. And a lot of the stuff we held while we checked it out and did not use was used by other news organizations."

When the government imposed martial law in Beijing on May 20, it forbade foreign correspondents from using "press coverage to make instigating and inciting propaganda." In its attack, the government accused the VOA of almost that: "VOA already has concocted too many rumors. And their efforts to incite counterrevolutionary rebellion has really born fruit."

Violating martial law could result in expulsion from the country.

"We're trying not to let this affect us. It's not going to change what we do on a daily basis, that's for sure," said Mr. Pessin.

Chinese officials weren't the only ones upset with VOA coverage; at times, so were the demonstrators.

During the mass demonstrations in Tiananmen Square, foreign correspondents covering the incident would often be asked by students if they worked for VOA. To the students, getting their message out to the people of China was of paramount importance. On one occasion, VOA reporters arrived in the square to find a poster that proclaimed, "Thank You, BBC," referring to the VOA's chief competitor, the British Broadcasting Corp. When the students were asked about the sign, Mr. Pessin said, they "complained that we weren't doing enough."

"Maybe when you get it from both sides, it means you're doing a credible job, and maybe I should take solace in that," said Mr. Pessin, 33.

VOA broadcasts carried reports yesterday on the U.S.-China standoff over the fate of Mr. Fang, one of China's most outspoken advocates of democracy, the continued arrests of Chinese citizens who participated in the student-led demonstrations and the government's massive propaganda campaign to create a less violent account of the events in Tiananmen Square.

The VOA has reported the government's criticism of its broadcasts, said Mr. Pessin, who has logged 14- and 16-hour days covering the democracy movement.

"Frankly, we're not leading with it. That's what they [the readers] know," he said, referring to the headlines in the Chinese newspapers. "Let's tell them what they don't know. And what the government doesn't want them to hear."

Since May 21, when thousands of pro-democracy demonstrators faced off against Chinese troops in Tiananmen Square, the government has jammed — although not successfully — the VOA broadcasts.

The reports reach millions of Chinese and may be the only non-government news they receive. For the past two days, Chinese television has aired reports critical of VOA's coverage of the democracy movement and the People's Liberation Army's attack on the students June 4.

The government accounts also chastised the radio for broadcasting "irresponsible news."

Warren Kozak

. . . Not Technology

"A month ago, I still thought the Chinese leadership was different from other communist dictatorships."

It was a lovely, warm evening, and my wife and I decided to take a stroll in Chengdu, the capital of Szechuan province. As we walked past the card games under the street lamps and the old people watching their grandchildren, we heard coming from every window a newscast, spoken very slowly in English. It was coming from the Voice of America, and you could walk the length of the street without missing any of it.

There are three reasons why the Voice of America could be so prevalent in an inner province of China. First, there is a passion in China to learn English, which is the ticket to success: advancement, a better job, perhaps a trip to America. Second, many Chinese realize their news *is* slanted and want a more balanced view. Third, just as the communications revolution of the past decade hit the West, it has also penetrated the Communist bloc. Almost every Chinese who goes abroad comes back with a large Japanese radio-tape player capable of picking up short-wave broadcasts.

During the Cultural Revolution two decades ago, there was almost no access to the outside, and the few foreign ideas coming into the country were tightly controlled.

No more. No matter how many "counter-revolutionaries" Chinese television parades across the screen now or how big the lies grow, the fact is that there are just too many radios and Fax machines and satellites. The Chinese leadership can distort the truth all it wants, but the facts keep seeping in.

I could be wrong, though. After all, a month ago, I still thought the Chinese leadership was different from other communist dictatorships. I believed that wonderful Chinese pragmatism had seeped into Marxist logic. The trouble was, I forgot Chinese history and the amazing capacity the Chinese have to hurt one another. I also forgot the accordion-like history of opening and closing to the outside world.

We have always heard the Chinese are inscrutable. I found the Chinese I knew to be eminently scrutable, but I did find dichotomies everywhere. For one year I worked as an exchange journalist at Radio Beijing while my wife held the same job at China Daily, the official English-language newspaper. We were there to "teach journalism" and help upgrade the product. We worked alongside our Chinese colleagues every day, suffering through the ridiculous distortions of the news: the "happy minorities" stories, when racism is as rampant in China as anywhere, the "millionaire peasant" stories, when poverty is greatest in the countryside.

But here's where one dichotomy entered: the Chinese brought in journalists from a free press to train journalists working for a system that was decidedly not free. When the ridiculous stories came across our desks, an Australian colleague and I would have a field day laughing and joking over what we read.

The result, however, was not a freer press. The result was measured in the frustration of our Chinese colleagues. They knew the information that went out over the airwaves was often garbage. In a society that doesn't change too quickly, the frustration quotient can be high. That's where their wonderful capacity for patience comes in handy. (New Yorkers don't deal well with China.)

Then, in the heady days of Tiananmen Square, before the massacre, I saw on television a group of my former coworkers bravely marching with their sign held high: "Radio Beijing." And on the day after the killing, I heard the broadcast of the young announcer on Radio Beijing who called the massacre what it was—and then was yanked off the air, not to be heard from again. That was probably one of the most heroic gestures in an event filled with heroes.

At the time, my inflated ego allowed me to take some credit: "Do you think those long arguments in the newsroom actually paid off? Yes, I had an impact after all." Now any involvement I might have had has turned into a bitter pill.

I worry about my former colleagues now, and I have a new understanding of the word "crackdown," because when I hear it I also see certain faces and hear voices from my past.

The only solace is that I know it will be more difficult for leaders to lie now. Too many people have heard the truth.

The writer was a journalist in China in 1985 and 1986 as part of an exchange program with National Public Radio.

W. Post 6/18/89

They Print Paper in L.A. to Tell Chinese 'What Really Happened'

Former Journalists Try to Send the News Back Home

By ELIZABETH LU, *Times Staff Writer*

Concerned that the Chinese people are not getting the truth, about a dozen former Chinese journalists now living in the Los Angeles area have begun publishing a newspaper that they hope to send back to their homeland.

Working from an apartment in Alhambra, they plan to print about 6,000 copies of the Press Freedom Herald this morning and mail copies to friends and relatives in China, asking others to carry it in by hand.



TURMOIL IN CHINA
The Struggle for Power

The journalists, some of whom have worked for Chinese newspapers that were banned or censored by the government, are living in the United States as students. Many had planned to return, but changed their minds after the recent turmoil.

"All my colleagues marched in Beijing," said Bi Q., a San Gabriel resident and former reporter for the Beijing Evening News. "They don't have freedom of the press there. Here we have freedom of the press."

Although news of the political turmoil in Beijing has dominated news reports worldwide for nearly two months, official reports in China have been inaccurate and sketchy, especially for those living outside metropolitan areas, said Cao Changqing, editor of the Herald.

Bi said a friend who arrived in Los Angeles last Saturday from Shandong, a province about 200 miles southeast of Beijing, said the government has described the protesters as "troublemakers." The friend's only non-government source of information was the Voice of America, but Chinese authorities have been jamming the broadcasts, Bi said.

Despite media reports that hundreds, perhaps thousands, were killed in the military crackdown at Tian An Men Square, the official Chinese news reports have insisted that the death toll is only 300, and only 23 of them students.

Truth on the Massacre

"This is clearly a lie," Cao said. "We want to let the Chinese people know what really happened at the Tian An Men Square massacre."

The paper's volunteers worked past 3 a.m. Wednesday night in the Alhambra apartment, writing and editing articles for the first issue. The editors crammed news summaries from Chinese- and English-language newspapers onto one single broadsheet-sized sheet to facilitate mailing and transport.

The paper included a list of the confirmed dead—complete with names and ages—and photographs of some of the victims' bodies.

"If you don't have pictures, people may not believe it," said Paul Chen, a former reporter for China's World Economic Journal. Herald staff members also were careful about adopting terms used by the various Chinese-language newspapers that they quoted.

A Taiwan-based newspaper, for example, referred to the Chinese army as the "Communist Army," which Herald editors changed to the "People's Liberation Army." Otherwise, they said, readers in China would dismiss the Herald as Taiwanese propaganda.

Support for the Herald has come from Los Angeles area's Chinese community, said Cao, the editor. In one day the association raised $3,000. One supporter donated and hand-delivered a fax machine, which Herald staff members have been using to distribute news releases and gather information from other sources.

The Los Angeles offices of Chinese-language newspapers based in Taiwan and Hong Kong have also been generous with their help, Cao said. Sing Tao Daily, a Hong Kong-based newspaper, has offered the Herald free use of its presses and is charging only typesetting costs.

Work on a second issue of the Herald has already started, and the staff plans to publish as often as finances will permit, Cao said.

United States Information Agency

Washington, D.C. 20547

NEWS CLIP

SOURCE THE NEW YORK TIMES

DATE 6-15-89 PAGE A16

USIA

Turmoil in China: Doing Battle With the Facts

Beijing Ousts 2 American Correspondents

By NICHOLAS D. KRISTOF
Special to The New York Times

BEIJING, June 14 — China today ordered the expulsion within 72 hours of two Beijing-based American journalists, including one from the Voice of America.

The Government accused the two reporters, Alan W. Pessin of the Voice of America and John E. Pomfret of The Associated Press, of violating martial-law regulations in Beijing.

China also issued its official version of the "shocking counterrevolutionary rebellion," as the democracy movement is now labeled, and announced new arrests throughout the nation of students and workers who had been leaders of the movement.

In Reaction to U.S. Criticism

The expulsion order against the two reporters was widely interpreted as an extension of the Government's campaign of criticism against the United States in the last few days. The campaign began after the Bush Administration condemned the violent suppression of the democracy movement and then offered refuge to the dissident Fang Lizhi in the American Embassy in Beijing.

Because the Voice of America is an arm of the United States Government, the expulsion of Mr. Pessin is particularly likely to affect relations between Beijing and Washington. It is not clear if the United States will respond by expelling Chinese reporters or by taking other measures.

The regulations that the two reporters are accused of violating in effect ban all news coverage about the democracy movement or about the enforcement of martial law, as well as almost all interviews. The restrictions are far more sweeping than the censorship that has been imposed on foreign correspondents in other countries, like Israel and South Africa.

The authorities had not, however, enforced the regulations very strictly. At least three foreign correspondents were shot or stabbed by soldiers during the crackdown, and others have been detained and then released, but there have been hundreds of foreign journalists covering the events of the last few weeks, and until today only one — a British television journalist in Shanghai who had entered China on a tourist visa — had been expelled.

Details of Charges

The Government accused Mr. Pessin, who is 33 years old, of violating the censorship restrictions by "conducting illegal press coverage after martial law was declared" and by "writing news stories to distort facts, spread rumor and incite and stir up turmoil and counterrevolutionary rebellion."

"I didn't do anything that other foreign journalists didn't do," Mr. Pessin said tonight in his office, while surrounded by other journalists and well-wishers. "As with other foreign journalists, we made every effort to check facts and give balanced reporting."

The official New China News Agency accused Mr. Pomfret of "having frequent contacts with illegal-organization leaders, passing on information to and providing shelter for them," while "obtaining state secrets through illegal means."

> One reporter is 'uncooperative' about his news sources.

"I did my job," Mr. Pomfret, 30, said. "Everything I learned I put on the Associated Press wire."

Louis D. Boccardi, president and general manager of The Associated Press, said in a statement, "We deplore and have protested in the strongest terms to the Chinese Government this unwarranted assault on fair and factual reporting."

Bureaus Will Remain Open

The Beijing bureaus of both the Voice of America and The Associated Press will continue to function, as the Voice of America has one other accredited correspondent and The Associated Press has two others. While the Chinese have given no assurances, both organizations expect the Government to accredit new correspondents to fill the positions of those expelled.

About 40 American journalists are accredited to work in Beijing, and the number has been slowly increasing in recent years. The Americans are the largest group of foreign journalists here, followed by the Japanese.

Mr. Pomfret was informed of his expulsion at a meeting with Chinese officials that lasted for more than an hour. A brief United States Embassy statement said Mr. Pomfret had been told he had an "uncooperative attitude" because he would not provide information about his Chinese contacts.

In the last two days, Chinese news organizations have somewhat slackened their denunciations of the Voice of America and of the United States Embassy.

Official Denunciation

But today, the authoritative Communist Paarty newspaper People's Daily carried a front-page editorial condemning Mr. Fang as a behind-the-scenes instigator of the "counterrevolutionary rebellion" and warning that some people in the United States are hostile to China and risk harming relations between the two countries.

"The events in China are entirely China's internal affair," the editorial said. "Any attempt to put pressure on the Chinese Government is foolish and shortsighted, and is doomed to fail. China has always sought to develop its relations with the United States. We hope the United States will consider the overall importance of our long-term mutual interests, and stop interfering in China's internal affairs, so as to avoid harming our bilateral relations."

The television news announced tonight that 2 of the 21 student leaders who had been placed on a wanted list on Tuesday had been captured. It said that Zhou Fengsuo, a 22-year-old physics student in Beijing, had been turned in by his sister and her husband. The television program showed the couple being interviewed by the police.

The other student leader who was reported arrested was Xiong Yan, a 24-year-old graduate law student in Beijing. The circumstances of Mr. Xiong's arrest were not reported.

The authorities also announced the arrest of 32 people who were arrested at the Beijing rail station while trying

to flee the capital. Most were apparently workers who had been involved in the democracy movement.

One More Official Reappears

The news program also showed one more Politburo member, Yang Rudai, the Sichuan province party leader, which suggested that he may not be purged in the restructuring now under way in the Communist Party leadership. Mr. Yang's appearance means that only two Politburo members are unaccounted for: Zhao Ziyang, the national party's General Secretary, and Hu Qili, who supported Mr. Zhao in favoring conciliation with student leaders.

If only Mr. Zhao and Mr. Hu are purged from the Politburo, which now has 16 full members and one alternate member, that would be a milder shakeup than was originally feared when Mr. Zhao and Mr. Hu disappeared from view nearly three weeks ago, the day before the declaration of martial law.

The detailed account issued today of the events of June 3 and 4, when troops opened fire on civilians and killed hundreds or perhaps thousands of prodemocracy demonstrators and passers-by, recounted events in a way very different than did Western correspondents who were on the scene.

The report, issued by the Beijing Communist Party Propaganda Department, suggests that "a certain small group of people" had "plotted to arrest party and state leaders and seize political power."

It said the group, financed by "overseas reactionary political forces," attacked the army on the night of June 3, killing nearly 100 soldiers and policemen and wounding thousands. Only then, after exercising extraordinary restraint, were the troops obliged to fire their weapons, the official history asserts. As a result, it says, about 100 civilians were killed and nearly 1,000 were wounded.

While this version of events is sure to be widely circulated in China in the coming weeks, it bears little relationship to the scenes that actually took place on the Avenue of Eternal Peace, or Changan Avenue, and in other parts of Beijing, as witnessed by this reporter and other correspondents.

While many civilians did attack and kill soldiers, using clubs, firebombs and their bare hands, the violence did not begin solely with the demonstrators. It began on both sides almost spontaneously when the troops arrived and tried to push their way forward.

The troops repeatedly fired their machine guns directly at crowds of demonstrators, including those who posed no threat, including those who were fleeing as fast as they could run. From interviews with doctors and hospital officials, there is no doubt that far more than 100 civilians were shot, stabbed or beaten to death, and that civilian casualties far outweighed military casualties.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, 6/15/89 page A16

Propaganda Blitz Unleashed

In China's Media, Official View Is the Only Message

LA TIMES 6/13/89

By DANIEL WILLIAMS, *Times Staff Writer*

BEIJING—Day after day, hour after hour, Chinese government television shows waves of mostly youthful protesters attacking army trucks, tanks or armored cars.

The only dead seen in the broadcast videotapes have been three charred corpses identified as soldiers. Every one of the injured shown so far has been a military man recovering in the hospital.

In all the broadcasts, no shot fired by troops has been heard on the sound tracks, although witnesses heard and saw plenty of shooting June 4, when soldiers moved in force into the center of Beijing.

China's media are in the midst of a propaganda campaign of a kind [illegible] a decade—and perhaps not matched since the 1950s campaign against what the government called rightist critics.

Television especially is saturated with stories supporting the government version of events two weekends ago, when the army stormed into downtown Beijing and used live ammunition to roust pro-democracy demonstrators from Tian An Men Square. It has also emphasized the protesters' "criminal" nature with long reports on arrests of "thugs" throughout the country.

The campaign is a textbook example of the official view here of mass communication more as a tool of unification and pacification than

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MEDIA: Propaganda Blitz in China

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as an approach to the truth.

In this time of crisis, persuasion appears to be secondary to another goal: letting everyone know what it is permissible to think. As a farmer in Tailing, a village outside Beijing, told a reporter: "Television says that the attacks were made by thugs. That is all I want to know."

That is not a general attitude, at least here in the capital. Interviews with Beijing residents over the past nine days indicate that the effects of the propaganda deluge are more unpredictable than the government might like.

One wild card is the role of the Voice of America and the British Broadcasting Corp., both of which beam news in the Mandarin dialect to China. Foreign radio has proven a formidable competitor to the official broadcasts. In random conversations, many citizens of the capital say they listen to one or both of the foreign outlets.

In the case of the Voice of America, China has launched a large-scale effort to discredit its broadcasts by accusing it of deliberate misreporting.

The People's Daily, the official newspaper of the Communist Party, said Monday that the VOA could "hardly hide its excitement" over news of the protests at Tian An Men. It accused the radio of "spreading rumors," including exaggerated casualty tolls and stories about splits in the military.

"VOA spread too many rumors," the People's Daily said. "They played their part in helping counterrevolutionary revolt in Beijing. . . . It is time for the VOA to take a rest."

The government is also trying to head off the foreigners' practice of sending in news clippings and leaflets by telephone fax machine. In radio broadcasts, the authorities said that they have stationed police by fax machines in China to intercept the messages and that any printed material "containing distorted propaganda" must be turned over to Beijing's Public Security Bureau.

Intercepted Material

In another example of state control of all communication, Chinese authorities have intercepted unedited ABC News material that was being transmitted to the United States by satellite and used it to arrest a man who spoke to an American news crew shortly after the martial-law crackdown.

The intercepted videotape was broadcast on state-run television Saturday evening, showing a middle-aged man speaking vehemently about the killings of protesters. The man admitted under questioning by a foreign journalist that he had not seen the killings himself. He then attributed his information to the Voice of America and added inaccurately, that the American broadcast had reported 20,000 deaths. The Saturday night broadcast concluded with a plea for citizens to turn in the "rumormonger" to authorities.



Associated Press

Suspected dissident is dragged by the hair to an interrogation session in Beijing in a scene shown on Chinese television.

The man appeared again on the Sunday night news, this time in police custody.

Identified as Xiao Bin, 42, the man declared before police officials and a television camera: "I confess that I was guilty of making up rumors. If you call me a counterrevolutionary, I admit it."

A spokesman for ABC News in New York objected strenuously to the interception of its material and the use of it "for political purposes."

In response, U.S. television networks say they have begun to obscure the faces of dissidents interviewed here to prevent identification and retribution by authorities.

"We began to electronically disguise all people interviewed in Beijing on our Sunday evening news programs," an ABC spokesman said from New York. CBS started to "blank out" faces in interviews, and NBC said it is showing only silhouettes of those who feared reprisal.

Chinese have reacted to the propaganda onslaught in a variety of ways. Some simply dismiss the information—at least in the privacy of their homes.

During one news broadcast, residents of a small courtyard home in the capital's Qian Men district yelled "False! False!" in response to every official account of the events at Tian An Men Square.

Even Communist Party members, in private, may be heard to reject the official line. "The party should not lie to the people," said a four-year member who told a reporter that he was sickened by the army violence.

Other Beijing residents have been merely skeptical, especially if they have heard foreign reports. Sometimes, when interviewed by a foreigner, Chinese are much more interested in finding out what a reporter knows than telling him what they think.

There are those who are wary of expressing themselves, such as the farmer in Tailing, who viewed the state account as a guideline for staying out of trouble.

Some would prefer not to hear any version. "I don't go outside to see or ask, and I don't watch television," said a proprietor of a small, private dumpling restaurant just a block off Tian An Men Square. "The way I look at it, the less you know, the better."

Firsthand Accounts

It has not yet been possible to independently locate anyone in Beijing who is convinced by the official reports. This is due in part to the number of firsthand accounts of heavy shooting that have spread through the city.

On government news programs, however, there have been numerous interviews with disgusted citizens who blame the students and other "counterrevolutionary rebels" for unprovoked attacks on soldiers and the state.

One woman, interviewed in Shanghai, told state television that she watched news broadcasts of the mayhem in Beijing "four or five times a day."

"It made me extremely angry, the burning of those buses and military vehicles," she said. "On top of that, people are spreading rumors, like it was the People's Liberation Army that burned the vehicles. Our army would never do

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MEDIA: 'Correct' View Given

Continued from Page 8

that kind of thing!

"Watching television . . . isn't it clear that it's the thugs who did this kind of destruction?" she asked. She began to cry as she added, "Yesterday, I saw that soldier who was burned up that way, and I felt terrible inside."

Interspersed among such interviews were scenes of affection between common citizens and the army. In one, soldiers paid visits to a school and helped children wash windows.

The testimonies and tributes followed days of repetitive broadcasts of selected events from the June 4 weekend in and around Tian An Men Square that appear to throw full guilt on protesters.

For instance, along a stretch of Changan Avenue in front of the Military Museum, a remote-control, black-and-white video camera recorded what appeared to be wave after wave of mob attacks on army tanks, armored cars and trucks.

The date and time of the action was shown at the bottom of the screen. Sometimes, from segment to segment, the clock would jump forward two hours, then backward five and then forward to the next day. No explanation was given for the unsequential editing, and only mob violence was shown.

The one-sided slant is but an extreme example out of modern China's long history of communication at the service of the state.

Officialdom's view of the media as mainly a propaganda tool predates Communist rule. As early as the first decades of the century, pioneer journalist Liang Qichao considered public opinion and its manipulation as a contributor to a stable state, not as a means of expressing contending views.

The Nationalist government, which ruled China for a time after the fall of the Qing Dynasty, routinely censored books and newspapers critical of the government.

The late Communist leader Mao Tse-tung argued that the role of the press was "to bring the party program, the party line, the party's general and specific policies . . . before the masses in the quickest and most extensive way."

When in the late 1970s and early 1980s the Chinese press entered an uneven era of revealing public wrongs, a Communist Party leader in Canton warned editors and reporters: "Exposure of our dark side should not be too frequent nor too highly colored. Otherwise, people might get the wrong impression, weakening the party's prestige among the masses and affecting stability and unity in ways that are not beneficial to socialist construction."

Since the Tian An Men incident, at least, the "dark side" of government has received no exposure at all.

LA TIMES 6/13/89

China: The weeks of living dangerously

For Fifth Estate journalists, unfolding drama of China's internal dissent has become test of nerve and ability to get story out despite press restrictions and dearth of official information

For months, America's best journalists, print and broadcast, backed by powerful news organizations, have been camped in Beijing and Shanghai, attempting to unravel the mystery that China has become as it appears to be moving toward revolution or civil war. The stories have been fascinating, the pictures compelling. Yet Americans, like the British, the Japanese and others on the scene, have been unable to explain what remains the inexplicable. "You don't find government spokesmen giving briefings," as Jerry Lamprecht, NBC News senior producer for program planning, put it.

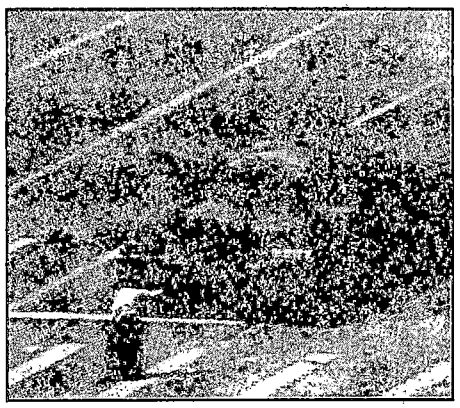
What correspondents and their crews do find is a reasonable amount of danger. "Each day tends to be dicey," said Ed Turner, CNN's executive vice president for news. CBS News vice president for news coverage Don DeCesare agreed. "The biggest problem is one of security," he said. "We've told our people to exercise the utmost caution." And with reason. Military officials have warned that anyone seen with a camera or binoculars will be shot.

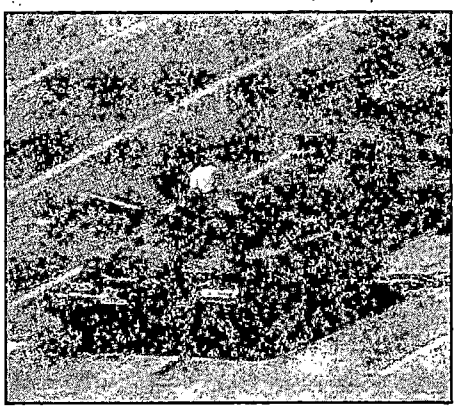
Crews prowl Tiananmen Square anyway, although the warning accounts for the large percentage of pictures taken from hotel windows and balconies high above the street. That is not always a disadvantage. The picture likely to emerge as a classic of the unrest—the first one of the Chinese youth who managed to hold up a tank column simply by standing in the path of the lead tank—was taken by ABC News from a hotel room window (shown at right).

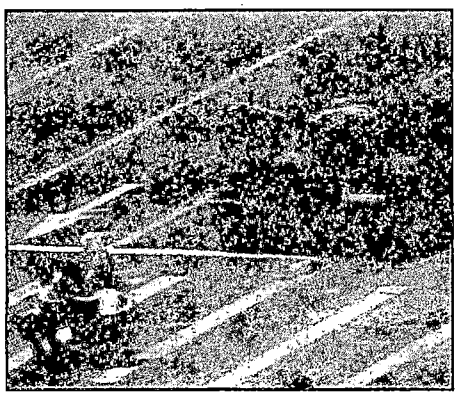
Network news executives in New York speak confidently of the experience and street savvy of their people—"We don't send in green troops," said Lamprecht—as though that is all the armor against danger they need. Sometimes that is not enough. Ask CBS News's Richard Roth.

As the disturbances exploded into a weekend of terror, 10 days ago, with Chinese troops sweeping into Tiananmen Square, killing hundreds, possibly thousands, of civilians, Roth and his cameraman, Derek Williams, a New Zealander, were caught in the violence. They were in the midst of preparing for a special broadcast on that invasion, a broadcast that became another in a series of extraordinary events emanating from Beijing.

Because Roth's cellular phone was tied into the network in New York, viewers and radio listeners were later able to hear Roth's taped account of the events leading up to his and Williams's arrest by Chinese soldiers: "OK, we've got to get out of here. They're just going after Derek. They're ripping away his camera and they're coming for us. We're trying to move back, and move away. Oh no! Oh no! Oh no!" The words were expressed in a crescendo of agitation and concern. Finally, listeners could hear what sounded like a struggle as Roth and Williams were seized by the soldiers and led away.







ABC News video

What was not immediately clear from the audio report was that Roth was roughed up. He had suffered a black eye. A soldier had thrown a left hook, he told Dan Rather in an on-air interview the next day, Sunday (June 4). And, he added, "I didn't duck." It was not until Sunday that CBS had been informed that Roth and Williams were alive and well after having been released from police custody. It had been a night and day of considerable worry for the CBS News establishment—which had been pushing every button it could find, including that of Secretary of State James Baker III, in an effort to generate pressure to secure the release of its two people.

Then, later in the week, a BBC TV crew suffered a similar fate. Brian Barron, a correspondent who has covered wars from Vietnam to the Middle East, and his cameraman were seized by soldiers. Their camera was smashed and soldiers placed cocked pistols to their heads before detaining them for questioning for several hours. "The soldiers take a dim view" of cameras in the Square, said NBC News's George Lewis.

Lewis, who normally is assigned to the network's Burbank, Calif., bureau, spoke to BROADCASTING by telephone from the Palace Hotel in Beijing. He has been in China for most of the past six weeks, and described conditions there last week as "volatile—you never know what turn the story will take or the conditions on the street." One thing was clear, he said: "The government is attempting to clamp down." As an example, he cited the problems the BBC crew encountered.

Another example was the government's order to hotels in the city on Thursday (June 8) to turn off CNN. The network, like the broadcast news organizations, sends videotape to Hong Kong and Tokyo for satellite uplinking. But CNN's signal from its Atlanta headquarters is carried by satellite to China and downlinked by hotels and government offices in Beijing and Shanghai. The service was enabling CNN correspondents to provide live narration for the pictures of their China

coverage while viewing them in their hotel room in the Chinese capital. No more. About an hour after CNN's Turner, with some satisfaction, explained the technique to a reporter, he received word the government had for a second time pulled the plug on CNN. The first time was May 19, when CNN and CBS were ordered to cease live broadcasts from the city.

What do television crews do in the face of the press clampdown? "We're on the street every day," said Lewis. "But we try to sneak around the soldiers and go where they're not." On occasion, they use 8 mm home video cameras because they are less obtrusive than conventional minicams.

Sometimes, though, they take what seem extraordinary chances. Lewis said an NBC News colleague, Keith Miller, had taken a camera crew into a crematorium—"they went right in"—and took pictures of "scores of bodies being brought in to be cremated." The pictures were to give the lie to Chinese government assertions that there had been no deaths in the army advance into Tiananmen Square. Ironically, *Nightly News* did not air them.

The Chinese people are turning to the Voice of America and the BBC for news of events in their country. The VOA has increased its service to China from 8½ to 11 hours in Mandarin. What's more, the VOA introduced a new wrinkle last week: It is using television. The U.S. Information Agency's television service videotapes radio announcers reading the story, then puts the pictures on a satellite transponder made available by USIA's Worldnet for transmission to China.

Officials say there are some 2,000 receive-only dishes in China, but most are owned by the military, universities and communes, so it was not clear how many Chinese are seeing the pictures. "It's another way to get in," an official said last week.

Like other journalists accustomed to operating on the basis of contacts and sources, Lewis said "the most frustrating" aspect of the job in China is that "there is no hard information; there is no access to the leadership. You have to read tea leaves and read between the lines. Of course," he added, "that has long been the story in China." CNN's Turner was equally candid. Asked what his people were learning, he said, "Not very much. All they can do is walk around the Square at some risk, and travel in the southern part of the city with some safety and report what they see."

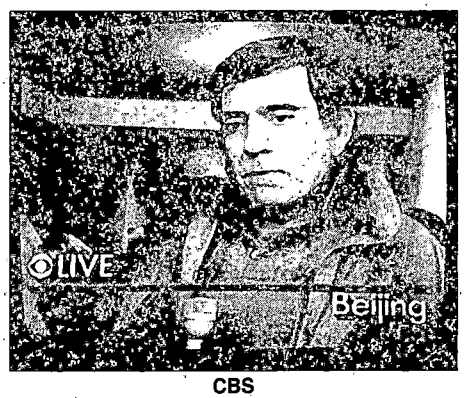
Still, the networks are full of the story. At a time when major events—the death of Ayatollah Khomeini, the elections in Poland, the explosion of a gas pipeline in the Ural Mountains region of the Soviet Union that wrecked two passing trains and killed hundreds of their passengers, ethnic clashes in the Soviet republic of Uzbekistan—were occurring with stunning regularity, events in China occupied large portions of the networks' time, in regular newscasts and special reports. And last week, two network stars—NBC News's Tom Brokaw and ABC News's *Nightline* anchor Ted Koppel—were traveling to Beijing.

Brokaw arrived in time to do a telephoned report for the *Today* show on Friday (June 9). In a sense, he is a replacement. A slot in the Beijing bureau was becoming vacant with Keith Morrison's departure for home in California to be with his wife who was about to deliver a baby. Brokaw not only had a visa but the desire to be on the scene of a major story. And after a half dozen trips to China since 1982, when he worked on an *NBC White Paper* on the country, Brokaw has built up experience and contacts. Koppel's mission is to complete work on a *Koppel Report* on which he has been working for several weeks—"Anatomy of a Crisis." Koppel will also file reports for *Nightline* and *World News Tonight*.

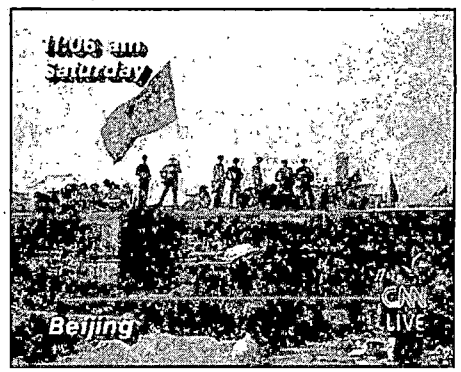
Neither Brokaw nor Koppel had been in China when the story broke, last month, as were CBS's Rather and CNN's Bernard Shaw. But they know a watershed in history when they see one. It remains to be seen how much they can contribute to solving the Chinese puzzle. —LZ

China with a C: CBS and CNN, that is

Broadcast and cable networks in Beijing for Gorbachev summit get bonus coverage of 1 million pro-democratic demonstrators before government pulls plug



CBS



CNN

To some, it was a reprise of Chicago during the 1968 Democratic convention, if not so violent. Youthful protestors filling the square making their point—which boiled down to an appeal for better, more responsive government—by sheer numbers and through the lenses of the television cameras that had come for another purpose. One could almost hear the echo of those youthful protestors in the streets of Chicago a generation earlier, "The whole world is watching."

News organizations, drawn to Beijing from all over the world to cover the first summit between leaders of the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China in 30 years stayed to cover the story of one million students and workers taking over Tiananmen Square in a spontaneous, anti-government, pro-democratic movement that spread to at least nine other provinces. Cameras and microphones were on hand to cover, even shape and become part of, the story. For the journalists involved, it was, as CBS News's special events executive producer Lane Venardos put it, "a once in a lifetime experience. We saw history being made."

On Friday night (ET)—May 19—CBS interrupted its presentation of the season finale of *Dallas* for an extraordinary real life drama: Chinese officials, speaking Chinese through CBS News consultant and translator Bette Bao Lord in the CBS News control room, were telling Dan Rather and the CBS crew to stop their satellite transmission. Never mind that CBS had received permission to continue live coverage for another day. CBS was not alone. CNN was also covering itself, live, being ordered off the air by another set of Chinese. CNN, too, had had permission to transmit live pictures through Saturday.

It was a taste of the martial law under which sections of Beijing were living. "As the observer of the PTT [Chinese telecommunications authority], I received the directions from the superior, the visit of Gorbachev is over," said the hand-written note handed to CNN's executive producer Alec Miran in the network's control room in Beijing's Great Wall Sheraton Hotel. "I here [sic] now inform CNN to stop using the frequencies of a satellite of the flyaway [CNN's portable transmitter] immediately."

But that was only the start of a kind of roller coaster ride of emotion. On Tuesday (May 23), Chinese authorities lifted the ban on transmitting, and U.S. and foreign networks scrambled for satellite time—and China watchers saw the relaxation as a sign that the "moderates" or "liberals" were in the ascendance in what was assumed to be a battle for control of the government. But on Wednesday, the government reinstituted the ban, which was less than a blackout. Although it prevented live coverage, the ban merely required the networks to rely on telephoned reports and to ship taped pieces by commercial airline to cities outside of China from where the material could be uplinked. But it caused the analysts to rethink the question of who was in the ascendance.

The Chinese government was not interested only in curbing the export of the story of its profound problems. It was also trying to stop the import of the story. Three of the five frequencies on which the Voice of America broadcasts in Mandarin were being jammed constantly last week. The Voice—said to be the most popular radio service in China, foreign or domestic, with an estimated 100 million listeners—was reporting worldwide reaction to the protest movement, including the statements of President Bush and Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev. And VOA director Richard Carlson appeared confident the Voice would be able to overcome the first jamming that it had experienced in China since 1978. He also disclosed that the Voice had activated a one million watt medium wave (AM) transmitter in Poro Point, in the Philippines, whose antennas were aimed at the southern coast of China, which has a number of large population centers. Carlson said the facility was "practically unjammable."

But the Chinese are not dependent only on foreign services for information about developments in Beijing. *The New York Times* last week reported Chinese radio broadcasts, monitored by the U.S. government, show strong support for the protestors throughout China. "Dozens of radio news reports...paint a dramatic, extraordinarily detailed picture of sympathy for the student demonstrators across the length and breadth of China," the newspaper reported.

□

If the students and workers in Tiananmen Square were viewed by the Chinese government as a threat to its very existance, they were seen as a blessing by CBS News. It had treated Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to Beijing as a world-class event; alone among the major networks, it had sent its anchor, along with a crew of about 60 journalists and technicians, to cover it, and found it had perhaps the story at least of the decade. (Charles Kuralt thought the story was bigger than that. At one point, he said to Rather, "I can't think of any parallel in human history.") It was more than just the story, however big it was. "We were glad we were the only ones there," said Venardos. He was overlooking the presence of CNN and its anchor, Bernard Shaw, even if it was scoring major audience gains; CNN's 2.6 rating at 9:30 p.m. on Friday (May 19) was a 100% gain over the previous week in that time period. The 5 share was a 13% gain. Venardos apparently was unwilling to let such details detract from the euphoria he, along with the rest of CBS News—indeed the entire CBS corporation—was feeling. The point was, Tom Brokaw and Peter Jennings were *not* there.

The coverage did not help *The CBS Evening News with Dan Rather* overtake ABC's *World News Tonight with Peter Jennings* in the ratings race last week. ABC News won the contest, with a rating of 9.4 to CBS News's 9.2. *NBC Nightly News with Tom Brokaw* was third, with a rating of 8.2. Still, morale at CBS News was soaring. A reputation tarnished by word of intramural squabbles, by the drawn-out controversy surrounding General Westmoreland's libel suit and by an inability to establish dominance among the three networks was being burnished. Critical reviews were favorable. Rather and Charles Kuralt seemed to own the story in their joint

appearances. And it was evident CBS felt it was on a roll when it junked a planned *48 Hours* and, on short notice, produced one based on the extraordinary developments that greeted the world's media in Beijing.

A sample of the feeling filling the halls of CBS News was in the telex that Don Hewitt, executive producer of *60 Minutes* and a 41-year veteran of CBS News, sent to the CBS New team in Beijing on May 19, following the special *48 Hours*: "Make no mistake about it: Rather, Spencer, Simon, Morton, Sheahan, Kuralt, Petersen are today's Murrow, Sevareid, Smith, Collingwood, Schoenbrun, Kendrick and Cronkite."† CBS President and Chief Executive Officer Larry Tisch was similarly unbridled in a statement forwarded to Beijing: "Your work displayed an intelligence, an energy, and a professionalism that is the envy of the industry. You have brought CBS great honor."

CBS News was not about to let the week pass without some special attention being paid to it. It held a press conference in New York on Tuesday (May 23) to let reporters question CBS News President David Burke, Rather, *Evening News* executive producer Tom Bettag and some other members of the team. And Burke explained the strategy that paid off so handsomely in Beijing. He indicated he is determined to cover extensively developments in the Communist world at a time when it is undergoing enormous change. "We had a course in mind, and we wind up in China, and God hands us a bouquet with a million kids. It's called doing well by doing good."

Meanwhile, the network news teams were regrouping, preparing for continued work in China—sending in reinforcements to take some of the pressure off weary correspondents—and for a new assignment this week involving the North Atlantic Treaty Organization summit meeting in Brussels. Rather and Shaw, with barely time to send out laundry and get a good night's sleep, followed the President to Rome on Friday (May 26), and, along with the other network crews, are with him now in Brussels. Stops in Bonn and London follow the May 29-30 meeting.

All four networks are scheduled to cover live the President's news conference in Brussels on May 30, beginning at 6:30 a.m. This time, the ABC News team will be headed by Jennings, who set the tone for his coverage on Thursday (May 25) by anchoring a one-hour documentary, *Beyond the Cold War: the Risk and the Opportunity*, which included an interview with Secretary of State James Baker. NBC News's Brokaw was only "tentatively" scheduled to be part of the journalistic pack following the President this week. A network spokesman said developments in the Speaker Jim Wright story and in China might require Brokaw's presence in New York. "There's a lot going on," the spokesman said.

Indeed, there is. □

† The full names of that cast are: Dan Rather, Susan Spencer, Bob Simon, Bruce Morton, John Sheahan, Charles Kuralt, Barry Petersen and Edward R. Murrow, Eric Sevareid, Howard K. Smith, Charles Collingwood, David Schoenbrun, Alex Kendrick and Walter Cronkite.

Beijing Memo

Foreigners Once Again Find The Chinese Wary of Contact

NY Times 6/16/89

By RICHARD BERNSTEIN
Special to The New York Times

BEIJING, June 15 — Some years ago foreign speakers of Chinese complained that when they came to live in this country their language skills evaporated because they so rarely found any Chinese daring enough to talk to them.

It has not reached that point again in China since the crackdown on student protests a week and a half ago. But after a few years of something close to unrestricted contact between Chinese and foreigners, there is strong evidence that China, impelled by the mood of repression, is returning to a past when such contacts were not merely difficult but dangerous.

Foreigners here, including diplomats and reporters, find that many Chinese friends have suddenly become almost impossible to reach. In particular, the boisterous free exchange that was common at the height of the recent ill-fated democracy movement, when virtually no subject was off limits, has been replaced by hesitation and fear, caution and discretion as the message has been spread that close contact with foreigners is to be avoided.

'Impossible to See Them'

"There are people here that I have known for 15 years," said Ross Terrill, an author of several books on this country who has been visiting for two weeks. "In one case, there's somebody I met 25 years ago when I made my first trip here in 1964. But, when I call them, they are never around. It's become impossible for me to see them."

The abrupt slide in the direction of an earlier era in attitudes toward foreigners is not the only aspect of the more tightly controlled life common in past decades here that has been at least partially restored after the violent crackdown on protesters a week and a half ago.

The turn to a mass propaganda campaign, the neighborhood loudspeakers, the obligatory meetings to study an "important speech" by a top leader, even the purge of leaders at the top of the hierarchy are all practices of Chinese Communism, common during the first three decades of this Government's history, that had seemed almost to disappear since the mid-1980's.

Earlier Periods Recalled

"People who were not in China in earlier periods didn't realize how tough the system really is," said a senior diplomat with long experience in this country.

"For most of the time up through the 1960's and even well into the 1970's it was very difficult, practically impossible, certainly very dangerous for the Chinese, to try to develop contacts with them," he said. "People wouldn't talk about anything, not even their families, their everyday lives. Everything was a state secret and you weren't allowed to reveal state secrets to foreigners."

Even after the crackdown on the democracy movement, there are still more Chinese willing to defend foreigners than there were in the days described by the diplomat. And yet the atmosphere immediately preceding the crackdown was so free that the change in the direction of greater restrictions seems to be of dramatic proportions.

During the last week, many foreigners here have reported a melting away of their Chinese contacts and friends. Foreign students on Chinese campuses report a greatly increased wariness among their Chinese classmates. Meetings no longer take place casually in public places. Diplomats both in Beijing and in consulates elsewhere say they are no longer hearing from intellectuals and others with whom they have freely conversed in recent years.

In Beijing, reporters noted today that for the first time in recent memory, the armed security police who stand guard at the gates of the foreigners' walled residential compounds began preventing Chinese guests from entering at all. A reporter who tried to walk in with a Chinese friend was told by the guard that the restriction was "for your own safety," though it was unclear what danger the visit of the Chinese friend presented.

Diplomats here, aware of the tense political atmosphere and knowing that many figures from intellectual circles are in danger of arrest in the repression, have simply stopped trying to stay in contact with their local friends, many of whom have gotten into the habit in recent years of attending dinner parties and going along on outings.

"I've given advice to be very prudent," said an Ambassador here. "The Government is looking for scapegoats and foreign contact can be held against people."

In the view of many, the official tolerance of relatively free exchanges with foriegners was an inevitable product of China's modernization effort. Moreover, it is entirely possible that the atmosphere will soon change again. Meanwhile, however, the renewed suspicion of the foreign presence in China is a reminder that that was the rule, rather than the exception, for much of the country's recent past.

Within Chinese history itself there is a deep strain of xenophobia and a powerful belief that the country was victimized by foreign powers in much of the 19th and 20th centuries. One of the reasons for the Communist Party's popularity in the years after it took power was its ablity to regain for China a pride of place in the family of nations.

Even the harsh split with its most important ally, the Soviet Union, in the 1960's was to a great extent an expression of China's fierce determination not to be subservient to a foreign power.

Absolute Political Control

But the particularly strict and ruthlessly enforced restrictions on personal contacts between Chinese and foreigners from the 1950's to the early 80's, stems as much from the regime's interest in absolute political control as it does from an ingrained suspicion of the motives of foreigners here.

Foreigners with long experience in the country say that in the 1950's, when the foreign community was tiny compared with what it is now, it was already rare and difficult to maintain relations with Chinese. Diplomats stationed here then say conversations with officials were, as one of them put it, "extremely polite and correct," but there was no exchange of ideas.

When in 1957 a half a million people were sent to labor camps as part of what was called the "anti-rightist campaign," many of those who had foreign friends or, more often, who had studied abroad or who spoke foreign languages, were almost automatically branded spies.

For years up until the late 1970's, it was a crime for a Chinese to listen to the broadcasts of the Voice of America or the BBC. The authorities have not reimposed the ban since the crackdown, but the propaganda machinery has stressed the role of "foreign rumors" in instigating the recent disturbances, especially those allegedly propagated by the Voice of America.

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When Gorbachev Lost His Tongue

IN the long list of nations critical of China there is one notable exception – the Soviet Union.

Countries around the world condemn the massacre of Tiananmen Square and deplore the hard-line crackdown on students and workers who thought their ruling regime might be ready for a little freedom. Canada withdraws its ambassador from Beijing; Mexico cancels a visit.

But from Moscow there is a discomforting silence. Mikhail Gorbachev may talk grandly of more democracy in the Soviet Union, and of the rights of people abroad. But China can commit murder and terrorize student leaders who survive without fear of any disapproving glower from the Soviet leader.

Indeed, in a country whose media is supposed to be basking in the new freedom of *glasnost*, the Soviet press has been muted in its coverage of the China story.

Andrei Sakharov, groomed by Gorbachev as an example of permitted dissidence, tried to stir some outrage over the Beijing killings during debate in the newly-formed Soviet congress. But alas, Mr. Sakharov learned that *glasnost* is an on-again, off-again policy. Nimble-fingered Gorbachev punched off his microphone. The congress instead adopted a resolution defending China and condemning outside critics for meddling. The Chinese students who once drew inspiration from Gorbachev, because he seemed to promise a dash of liberty within a communist system, listened in vain for some word of comfort.

Mr. Gorbachev's unusual lack of eloquence is easily explainable. He has worked long and hard to restore the relationship between the Soviet Union and China. It is part of his plan to reduce tensions and invigorate the wallowing Soviet economy. If the Soviet economy is at stake, nothing must be allowed to damage the new amity between Soviet and Chinese ruling regimes. If it is a choice between invigorating the Soviet economy, and speaking out on human rights, then human rights take second place.

JOHN HUGHES

Mr. Gorbachev's refusal to criticize the ancient hard-liners in China – who for the moment hold power – also puts him in a favorable position vis-a-vis the US. President Bush, too, sought to maintain ties with the Beijing regime but has necessarily moved from his cautious early criticism to more strident condemnation as the enormity of the regime's actions became evident.

Now the US is bearing the brunt of the Chinese propaganda offensive against foreign "meddlers." The Voice of America, which has performed so splendidly in getting the news to a China submerged in inane official propaganda, is being vilified by the official Chinese media. Its bureau chief in Beijing has been ordered expelled.

Further, Beijing has sought confrontation with the United States over the case of dissident Fang Lizhi, who with his family has sought sanctuary in the American embassy. It would be outrageous for the United States to turn Mr. Fang over to his persecutors. The Chinese must know that. But still they demand his release and daily highlight the confrontation in their media.

The outlook for relations between the US and China is thus not good. President Bush may be able to maintain a coolly correct relationship with Beijing but anything more is unlikely until there is a change of composition in their government.

By contrast, Mr. Gorbachev's obsequiousness may in the short run serve him well. But what of the longer term? China's students and journalists, and the workers who support reform, are currently cowed, refugees from the campaign of terror being undertaken by their government.

Is that the end of their brief challenge? Hardly. Some of them, interviewed clandestinely, are proclaiming their determination to "rise up again in the fight for democracy." Even if they should fall, they say, others will come along to replace them.

It is difficult to imagine that the impulse for liberty, which ran so deeply and strongly, is permanently stifled. The ruling regime is elderly, and perhaps not without opponents in its own ranks. The students are young and idealistic. When change comes, as it inevitably will, the new elite will remember those who spoke out on their behalf, and those who did not.

Movement Taps American Influences

Student Protesters Borrow Slogans, Skepticism From U.S. Campuses

WASH POST 5/25/89

By Jay Mathews
Washington Post Staff Writer

BEIJING, May 24—Look closely at the blooming flower of student protest here, and you see the signs of two decades of quiet but far-ranging cross-pollination with America—a Statue of Liberty in papier-mache, a Lincolnesque phrase, a reference to Kent State or a stubborn individualism picked up unconsciously on an American campus and now impossible to discard.

"I came back to China, and it was like reverse culture shock," said a literature scholar who spent four years in the United States and now actively supports the democracy movement here. "I don't think I'll ever feel entirely Chinese again."

Yet it is that resistance to authority—for which the students here can cite a dozen American precedents—that has allowed the protesters to tap a wellspring of Chinese patriotism and fervent nationalism many had forgotten exist. Within American-inspired slogans such as "you cannot cheat all the people all the time," returned students and other U.S. admirers here say, reverberate echoes of the spirit of "China standing up" that united the country when Mao Zedong declared a People's Republic in 1949.

A Beijing physics professor scurrying between his campus and the student tents pitched on Tiananmen Square said he noticed himself changing first as a defense mechanism that enabled him to cope with the openness he found while studying in America. On the U.S. campus where he studied, no higher authorities told him how to live his life, "and I got used to it."

"These are people in transition, not into Americans, but into a new kind of Chinese who is very important," said Perry Link, a professor of Chinese at UCLA on temporary assignment here for the last several months.

With that inner feeling, what Link calls a sense of "integrity," come the more obvious signs of American influence here. The Chinese-language Voice of America broadcasts, because of their detail and balance, "each day win more and more respect," said one member of the movement for democracy, a son of a high Communist Party official. In the last few days, the Chinese government has paid them the backhanded compliment of resuming jamming on some frequencies.

An American student here who has spoken to several Chinese back from the United States said he noticed a sharp skepticism about Chinese government statements. He said exposure to the American press has made those students more questioning. "If we have such peaceful intentions toward the Tibetans," one of them asked, "then why do we have so many troops there?"



REUTER

Shanghai students carry poster with drawing of Statue of Liberty yesterday.

One of the first official agencies here to endorse the protests was the American Studies Institute of the Academy of Social Sciences, with a particularly active role played by U.S. expert He Di, the son of Agriculture Minister He Kang.

Many student protesters, asked about American influence, place great emphasis on the power of U.S. trade and technology to keep the Chinese government from violently suppressing the Tiananmen encampment. "China has borrowed money from the U.S.A.," said Victor Han, a student activist dressed in jeans, beige shirt and headband who declared that he is "unafraid of death."

"If China doesn't solve the problem of the students, the U.S. will put on pressure," Han said. An American banker acknowledged today that a violent end to the demonstrations would discourage many foreign investors who rely on government adherence to law.

More than 40,000 Chinese students and scholars—more than from any other single foreign country—now study on American campuses, although the number who have actually returned in recent years is believed to be far smaller. Their information and insights fill the gaps in the VOA broadcasts, and they create a mystique of American life and language that influences thought and behavior here.

The number of students studying English here, and speaking it well, has increased tremendously in the decade since the two countries resumed full diplomatic relations. Dropping English words into a conversation has become fashionable, although confusing to American students who come here to improve their Chinese.

"Somebody said, 'Wo (I) *pay* wu kuai qian (five yuan),' and I was looking up the meaning of this word 'pay' until I realized they were using the English word," said Adam Najberg, a Bowdoin College student here.

"I dream about America every day," said Wu Ming, a young physician running a first-aid station at Tiananmen Square who hopes to travel abroad.

Han compared the possibility of an army crackdown here to the May 1970 shooting of students at Kent State University by National Guard troops, but he added, "This time I hope the students have guns too."

In recent months, much of the most interesting debate about China has moved to the United States, where leading dissidents such as Liu Binyan and Wang Ruoshui have lectured and Chinese students have joined U.S.-based organizations such as the Chinese Alliance for Democracy.

For all their interest in the United States and their growing fondness for American individualism, the students at the head of the democracy movement here say this remains very much a Chinese initiative. The widespread favorable response to it suggests they are right.

An emotional outpouring of support from distant provinces and such places as Hong Kong has emphasized the pride of Chinese at young people taking a stand to improve their lives and that reaction has come without much of the prompting from government factions that characterized previous demonstrations in the capital.

"Chinese have done this," said a young engineer, "and no one has told them to, and that is very new and different."

By Paul Bedard and Chris Harvey
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

WTimes Story 89

Bush talks softly of China turmoil

President Bush, a former U.S. ambassador to China, has settled on a quiet public approach toward pro-democracy demonstrations there, while communicating through diplomatic channels his wish that violence be avoided.

White House spokesman Roman Popadiuk said the president hopes that the Chinese government will be "as forthcoming as possible in order to see more democratization and to see a peaceful resolution of the issue."

Mr. Bush's only comment on China yesterday came in a speech attacking Cuba's Fidel Castro for repressing human rights. "Totalitarian systems everywhere are feeling new pressures from their people," Mr. Bush said. "You see it today on the television sets coming out of China. We've seen the beginnings of it in the Soviet Union."

On Sunday, Mr. Bush, who has made repeated attacks on anti-democratic forces worldwide, called on the pro-democracy students protesting in Beijing to "stand up for what you believe."

Meanwhile, Chinese authorities yesterday told several U.S. visitors to reschedule trips to the country. A University of Illinois official said the Chinese government ordered two groups of university law professors scheduled to conduct seminars in China on Soviet life and international trade beginning next week to reschedule the trip.

In another indication of internal strife, the Chinese government yesterday jammed three of five Voice of America Mandarin Chinese frequencies, said director Richard W. Carlson. The jamming signals originated in South China, said VOA. The demonstrators had been relying heavily on VOA broadcasts for information during the five weeks of pro-democracy protests.

The president's concern over the situation — marked for the first time yesterday by violence between the students and Army troops — prompted him to drop a planned tennis match today with Wan Li, chairman of China's National People's Congress, the highest deliberative body in China.

Instead, the president and the political leader will discuss the protest.

Vice President Dan Quayle yesterday met with Mr. Wan, 73, who later held a meeting at the State Department with Secretary James A. Baker III.

Mr. Baker praised the "restraint" shown by the Chinese government toward the students, but said U.S.-Sino relations could decline without reforms in China.

Mr. Quayle appeared to side with the students in a brief remark yesterday as he visited with Mr. Wan, a Politburo member.

"We support the advancement of democracy, freedom and human rights around the world and we certainly hope the public demonstrations that have gone on will be successfully concluded without violence," Mr. Quayle said.

American reporters asked many questions about the protests, but Mr. Wan's interpreter, according to Chinese journalists, did not translate them.

Mr. Wan apparently backs moderate forces in China. He told a group in Toronto Saturday: "All these problems should be settled through democracy and the legal system, and we should adopt a rational and orderly way to settle the problems."

Senate Minority Leader Robert Dole accused Democrats who have criticized the president's China policy of being hypocrites.

Mr. Dole, Kansas Republican, said they "want the president to speak out on behalf of demonstrating students in Beijing, but are themselves silent at the repression of democratic expression in Nicaragua. They rail against a rigged election in Panama, but are silent about a sham election law in Nicaragua."

Mr. Dole's comments followed Sunday television appearances by Democratic Sen. Christopher Dodd of Connecticut and Democratic Rep. Stephen Solarz of New York. Both men called on Mr. Bush to take bolder steps in support of the demonstrations for democracy in China, and in opposition to the government's declaration of martial law there.

Paul Weyrich, chairman of the conservative Coalitions for America, said, "President Bush needs to do much, much more than he has so far to demonstrate strong United States support for the students and other pro-democracy forces rebelling against the Beijing regime."

Americans for Democratic Action, led by Ted Weiss, New York Democrat, said in a statement: "We urge the Chinese government to exercise restraint, the demonstrators to remain non-violent, and the Bush administration to do everything within its power to facilitate this fresh breath of democracy."

Former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger said yesterday: "I don't think that any outsider can actually influence these things now. In China, one always has to be very careful that the inherent nationalism and the sense of uniqueness of the Chinese people doesn't turn against foreigners, who are then accused of being imperialists," he said on "CBS This Morning."

● *Frank J. Murray, Valerie Richardson, Warren Strobel and Peter LaBarbera contributed to this report.*

Editorial and Op-Ed pages, 28-29

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THE WEEK IN REVIEW

Section 4

Sunday, June 11, 1989

Hard Line

Deng Reappears With a Chilling Lesson About Power in China



Hard Line

Sunday, June 11, 1989

The New York Times

By FOX BUTTERFIELD

AFTER weeks of extraordinary pro-democracy demonstrations and then a savage military assault in Beijing's Tiananmen Square, a coalition of conservative Communist Party elders led by Deng Xiaoping emerged triumphant last week. Their victory revealed that despite a decade of stunning economic progress, politics in China remains heavily traditional. Palace intrigue, control of the army and a web of personal relationships count far more than law or modern political institutions or international opinion.

The crackdown, whose tactics include calls for neighbors to inform on each other, also recalls the Maoist past, undercutting foreign hopes that economic reform would inevitably bring political liberalization.

The costs of the victory are likely to be high. The economic changes that gave China a growth rate of 9 percent a year had been sputtering and are in jeopardy; their advocates have been removed from power. Relations with the United States and Japan, the sources of capital and technology, will be strained. Foreign business confidence in a stable China has been shaken.

The Government arrested hundreds of participants in the democracy movement. But student organizers, outraged by the deaths of hundreds or thousands of their colleagues, may go underground. And though it is unclear whether sullen workers will be assertive enough to strike, they could slow production.

The settlement of the dispute in the leadership also raised new questions about the power and character of Mr. Deng, the 84-year-old senior leader and architect of the introduction of market-oriented incentives to supplement central planning. Although he was shown on television leading a group of octogenarians in praise of soldiers who suppressed the demonstrators, these were precisely the ancient, conservative and out-of-touch officials Mr. Deng had tried hard to force off the stage over the past 10 years. They were from a generation of revolutionaries who have repeatedly proved willing to use violence or condone mass suffering for political ends.

Most of them, like Li Xiannian, a former President of China, had retired. So what standing did they have to make such momentous decisions now? Mr. Deng had been preaching the need to establish clear lines of legal authority after the horrors of the Cultural Revolution. But in this showdown, he appears to have gone outside the Politburo to win.

Perhaps equally telling was who was missing from the televised ceremony. There was no sign of Zhao Ziyang, the party General Secretary picked by Mr. Deng to lead the economic reforms. Also absent was Hu Qili, the other liberal on the five-man Poliburo standing committee.

Sacrificing Protégés

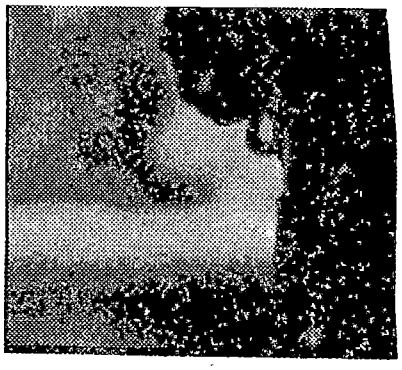
Two years ago, after smaller student demonstrations, Mr. Deng sacrificed his other protégé, Hu Yaobang, then the General Secretary.

Was Mr. Deng sad to lose Mr. Hu, whose death in April set off the current upheaval, or Mr. Zhao? He gave no indication.

Is Mr. Deng then merely a ruthless Leninist intent on preserving his own position and Communist Party power regardless of the consequences for others, for his own policies or for China? In late April, soon after the demonstrations started, Mr. Deng warned in a secret speech to top party officials that the regime might "spill blood" to stop them, reflecting his Leninist obsession with preserving control. Last week his only words were to denounce the students for "attempting to subvert the People's Republic so as to establish a capitalist republic."

Whatever Mr. Deng's feelings, the new lineup of party elders suggested to China specialists that he may now have to share more power with this veteran coalition.

In hindsight, some analysts think



the outcome may reflect several years of maneuvering behind the scenes by the hardliners in which they gradually installed their people in important posts while the outside world was transfixed by the advent of Coca-Cola and Kentucky Fried Chicken in China. "The conservatives saw themselves engaged in one last big battle to save the Communist Party from counterrevolutionaries and prevent the restoration of capitalism," said a Chinese analyst who has followed China for years.

In his view, and that of several Washington experts, it appears that a new triumvirate now wields day-to-day power. The army is under President Yang Shangqun, an 82-year-old veteran of the Long March in the 1930's. The state machinery is the realm of Li Peng, the widely despised Soviet-trained Prime Minister. The party and security apparatus have increasingly been taken over by Qiao Shi, a 65-year-old career intelligence operative.

The divisions in the Politburo may have been a factor that emboldened the students to take to the streets. And, according to this theory, Mr. Zhao, looking for support, encouraged his followers to join the protests. Both the students and Mr. Zhao miscalculated the strength of the hardliners, as did many in the West.

For the Westerners' lapse, at least, there may be a relatively simple explanation. The orthodox Chinese Communists have remained distrustful of foreigners and have little use for them. So American and other



Sunday, June 11, 1989
The New York Times

Chinese troops on patrol in Beijing last week; Deng Xiaoping, China's senior leader, appearing on television Friday.



Associated Press (troops); Agence France-Presse

Western contacts with the Chinese have been largely with liberal intellectuals, exactly the people who led the democracy movement. The other side remained hidden from Western view as it accumulated power.

Web of Personal Ties

That power was largely based on the network of personal ties they built up over decades. Nowhere is that clearer than in the army. President Yang, who has been secretary general of the party's Central Military Commission since 1981, has used his post to build a family empire. His younger brother is the army's chief political commissar, his son-in-law is chief of staff and a nephew is reported to be the commander of the 27th Army, the unit that shot its way through Tiananmen Square.

Although there were reports last week of clashes among the six army groups rushed to Beijing, the analysts discounted them and said poor command and confusion were the source of much of the trouble. But the use of the military to kill unarmed civilians, the first time the Communists have done this since they came to power in 1949, raised the prospect of increased political power for the generals. This was a problem at the end of the Cultural Revolution, and Mr. Deng had worked hard to get the military out of politics. Now this work too has been undermined.

But the Communists' biggest problem lies deeper. In a society that since Confucius has valued rectitude, the Tiananmen Square atrocity has unleashed moral fury. "The Chinese people hate the Government; they are ashamed," said a Chinese graduate student who fled Beijing for California last week after narrowly escaping being run over by a tank.

Faced with this popular anger, the regime devised a traditional Chinese solution: trying to conjure reality from illusion by the use of words. Not a single demonstrator died in Tiananmen Square, the Government said. In the past, when the Communists had a monopoly on information, such a ploy might have worked. Now, with millions of Chinese listening to the Voice of America or receiving faxes from friends in the United States, the absurdity of the claim only reflected how the Chinese Communists, who call their Government the People's Republic, have lost the people.

Broadcasting
6/19/89

Journalism

China expels reporters

Government asks correspondents for AP, VOA, ITN to leave country

The Chinese government last week was showing the strain of dealing with the worldwide attention that is focused on its crackdown on students demonstrating against the government and for greater democracy. It is beginning to turn on foreign journalists. Last week, it expelled three of them—correspondents for the Voice of America and the Associated Press and a producer for the British ITN—and put an ITN correspondent under virtual house arrest.

The actions came as journalists and China watchers generally were speculating as to when the government would move against those attempting to report on developments in the country. The move against VOA seemed particularly significant, since it and the BBC are the Chinese people's principal sources of uncensored news about their country. And the VOA has been denounced by the government for what it says is inaccurate reporting of the unrest in the country—including its report that 3,000 students died in Beijing's Tiananmen Square, when the army swept through it, scattering prodemocracy demonstrators two weeks ago. The Chinese government-operated media have been insisting that no students were killed, that the only fatalities were among the soldiers.

The Americans—Alan Pessin, the VOA's Beijing bureau chief, and John Pomfret, a Beijing-based correspondent for the AP—on Wednesday (June 14) were summoned by government officials and ordered to leave the country within 72 hours. Pessin said he was accused of "illegal newsgathering activities...distorting fact, spreading rumors and instigating turmoil and counterrevolutionary rebellion"—in all, a violation of the martial law in effect in parts of Beijing. Pomfret said he was accused of having contact with student leaders and "obtaining unspecified state secrets." On the previous Saturday, ITN's Peter Newport, who was based in Shanghai, was ordered out of the country for allegedly violating the terms of his visa. He was said to have entered the country on a tourist visa, and was caught filming a demonstration in Shanghai. He said the officers who picked him up erased his tape and kept it.

The expulsion order increased the strain on U.S.-Chinese relations. The White House said it viewed the order with "great concern," and the State Department called in the Chinese ambassador to deliver a protest. However, no reciprocal action against Chinese journalists is expected.

The other incident involving a foreign journalist occurred in Chengdu, a provincial town 800 miles west of Beijing. ITN's Vernon Mann, in a live telephone interview from his hotel, told ITN's *News at Noon* audience on Wednesday that he had been seized after he and his cameraman had filmed burned-out buses and buildings, evidence, ITN said, that antigovernment disturbances were not limited to Beijing. The cameraman, John Elton, who is also believed to be British and who works for another agency, was not picked up. Mann said his papers and his passport were taken from him, and that he had been questioned by authorities for several hours. He also said he had been asked but refused to sign "a statement" whose thrust he did not make clear. ("It was a sort of confession," said ITN spokesman Hugh Roberts in London.) Mann said he was directed to remain in his hotel "to await his punishment." ITN is attempting to secure his release.

The moves against the journalists were not the only antipress action on the part of the government. It is heavily jamming VOA shortwave broadcasts. And Bruce Gelb, director of the Voice's parent U.S. Information Agency, indicated at a press conference called to discuss the Pessin expulsion that the jamming is having an effect, at least in certain areas and at certain times of the day. The VOA is broadcasting in Mandarin on 12 shortwave frequencies 11 hours daily. And Gelb said that within an area of 10 square miles covering the center of Beijing, the signal is "totally jammed." However, he said residents can hear the signal on "at least one frequency in the morning and in the afternoon." He also said the signal can be heard in Shanghai. Besides its shortwave stations, the VOA is using a 1 million watt medium wave transmitter in the Philippines to broadcast two and a half hours daily to the southern coast of China. VOA director Richard Carlson said at the press conference that the facility was being subjected to "moderate jamming."



VOA's Alan Pessin, ordered to leave China

Gelb used the press conference to deliver a signal that, despite the jamming and the expulsion of one of its correspondents, the VOA would not change the tone or character of its reporting to China. "Let it be known that the Voice of America will not be coerced into compromising its mandate to tell the truth," he said in a prepared opening statement.

But the most emphatic response to the charges leveled at VOA may have been made by Pessin himself, in a colloquy with an official in the foreign affairs office of Beijing's municipal government. According to a transcript made available by VOA, Pessin said: "As is well known to our tens of millions of listeners in China and around the world, VOA does not report rumors. We report the best, most accurate, the fairest and the best balanced news that we possibly can. The only motive that we have is to tell the truth as best we can. Governments do not always like that." —LZ

Why Communism Is Losing

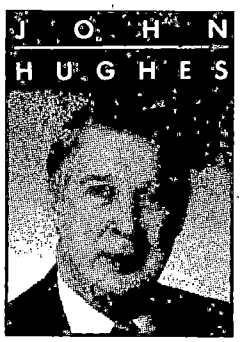
THERE are a number of reasons that communism is on the retreat around the world.

One is that it simply is not working as an economic force. It does not work in communist lands. It has not worked in those third-world countries that have experimented with its precepts. The contrast in living standards between the socialist countries and those like Japan, Western Europe, and the United States that hew to free enterprise is clearly evident.

Another reason is that communism is incompatible with the sense of freedom that impels and inspires mankind, no matter how long it has been repressed by authoritarian regimes.

As Milovan Djilas, a Yugoslav writer and politician, said in an interview a few months ago: "Communism can exist only as a totalitarian system. Communism with a human face is not possible. Human rights as we in the free world visualize them are not possible under communism: They are contradictory to the system. *Glasnost* and *perestroika* may open up a little more tolerance here and there, but in essence communism will remain a monopolistic power."

But one of the most significant new problems confronting communist states is the explosion of the information era. Truth is increasingly difficult to stifle. News flashes freely across international borders. Information flows like water, seeping under the guarded boundaries, into the student dormitories, into the newsrooms of restricted newspapers.



In the Soviet Union, for instance, a reporter needed written permission to unlock the office copying machine to use it. But as *glasnost* has opened the door a crack, the Soviets have been coping with the facsimile machine, the personal computer with its capacity for networking, the instant international telephone system, and the now-unjammed transmissions of the Voice of America and the BBC.

Nothing illustrates better communism's fear of information than the actions taken by the Beijing regime in the face of student demonstrations for reform.

Voice of America broadcasts, listened to by millions of people in China, have been jammed to limit the flow of information.

American television reporters, in Beijing for Mikhail Gorbachev's visit, had their permission to make live broadcasts revoked in contravention of their written contracts with the Beijing regime. The ban was lifted on Tuesday.

Gorbachev's visit was overtaken by demonstrations, and the authorities were irked when the protests became the focus of reports to the outside world. What drama as we saw depicted live from Beijing the attempts of Chinese officials to cut the broadcasts off, even as network anchors hung on broadcasting the last up-to-date developments.

For Beijing's embattled regime, and probably for most communist governments, this struggle with the information era is a losing one. Live television broadcasts may be banned, but resourceful reporters find ways to get their material out. People outside China still have a fair idea of breaking developments, and the whole story will ultimately emerge.

Inside China, the authorities may jam incoming foreign broadcasts and attempt to shackle their own press, but the people's hunger for news will not be stifled. Telephone calls from the US to China have tripled, from a routine 10,000 a day to more than 30,000 a day during the protests. A lot of news is flowing back and forth amid the family chatter.

Many thousands of Chinese students who have studied in the US and other free countries have returned home with their eyes opened. They are drawing on networks of friends and colleagues around the world.

China has long been a country of wall posters, and the posters are getting the news out despite government censorship of newspapers, radio, and television. Generals who have told the government they will not attack demonstrating students leak their letters of protest; wall posters in Shanghai tell what is happening in Beijing; both domestic developments and foreign reaction are chronicled one way or another.

Truth is communism's worst enemy – and it is winning.

5/24/89

Upheaval in China: Advice From the Oval Office

Bush Asks Nonviolence and Restraint

By CHARLES MOHR
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 23 — President Bush told the leader of China's Legislature today that he would "urge nonviolence and restraint in your present position."

Reporters who accompanied photographers into the Oval Office before the hourlong meeting began were prevented by Mr. Bush from asking questions of the Chinese official, Wan Li, chairman of the Standing Committee of the People's Congress.

The President's statement, quoted in a written White House statement issued later, seemed to be a reiteration of the cautious public statements Mr. Bush has made since students and huge crowds of people began demonstrating in Beijing for greater democracy and freedom of expression in China. Mr. Bush has made clear that he does not wish to incite students to fervor or actions that might bring violent military or police repression.

"We are strongly committed to democracy around the world," the President said. "It is the underpinning of our being as a nation."

He also said, "I urge the Voice of America not be jammed and that reporters be given open access" to events in Beijing.

Mr. Wan cut short his visit to the United States and left for China early this evening, according to the Chinese Embassy. He had been scheduled to visit Baltimore, Orlando, Fla., and New York.

He may have been urged to assume leadership of a group of members of the People's Congress who are seeking a special session of the Legislature aimed at challenging the legality of the martial-law edict that was imposed in parts of Beijing on Saturday.

Diplomats and journalists in China have speculated that Mr. Wan is in agreement with the Communist Party chairman, Zhao Ziyang, that the student and civil protests should be met with conciliation and perhaps limited concessions. Mr. Zhao was cast into at least momentary political eclipse last week, when Prime Minister Li Peng asked army units to enter the city to restore order.

Mr. Wan is in a peculiar position. He is a longtime associate and ally of China's supreme leader, Deng Xiaoping, who is believed to have supported or even directed Mr. Li's repressive efforts. But his position is not unique; almost all the senior leaders of the People's Liberation Army are also protégés of Mr. Deng and are now reported to be stubbornly resisting his decision to crack down on civil disorder.

Mr. Wan, who is usually outgoing, has seemed to underline his predicament, and his nation's by avoiding comments to journalists since his arrival here Monday.

The White House statement said President Bush had told Mr. Wan that he remained personally committed to expanding the normal and constructive relations the United States enjoys with China.

"The world has a stake in China's economic progress, national security and political vitality," the statement said. "The United States hopes to see the continuing implementation of economic and political reforms, which undoubtedly will also help advance these goals."

When reporters tried to question Mr. Wan, the President said both had agreed only to photographs, not interrogation. That was translated into Chinese and Mr. Wan spoke a few words in that language.

President Bush grinned and — without waiting for a translation — said, "Wan Li says, 'Nice try.' "

Beijing coverage live again as satellite blackout is lifted

By Lauren Weiner
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Live television pictures of the ongoing political drama in the streets of Beijing returned to American living rooms yesterday after the Chinese government ended a 3½-day ban on foreign satellite transmissions.

Under the order lifting the restrictions, however, foreign broadcasts must originate from the studios of official Central China-TV in the capital and cannot be relayed live from the scene of the student protest in Tiananmen Square.

That limitation was circumvented almost immediately yesterday when Keith Miller of NBC was able to beam a report directly from the square.

The blackout effectively ended at 7:01 a.m. yesterday when CBS News broadcast a live report from Beijing. Coverage of the pro-democracy protests in the capital had been cut off Friday night after CBS News' Dan Rather signed off from Beijing.

American news teams in China were not effectively hampered by the communications cutoff, network spokesmen said.

"We were still full speed ahead, even when we weren't getting pictures out," said Tom Goodman of CBS News. He added that there are no plans to beef up coverage: "We already have a formidable team in place. We've been reporting to our limit and then some, even without the satellite."

NBC spokesman Paul Reeder said his network "had good, solid coverage even with the stipulations and mandates that have been put on us." NBC will add one correspondent to its Beijing team, he said.

As transmissions resumed, networks reported some snags but said there was no indication of government interference in their programming. One problem was a slowdown in processing requests for a satellite "feed."

A spokeswoman for COMSAT, the Washington communications company that handles such requests for NBC, said the imposition of martial law in China has impeded the process. "Orders are in, but nobody can figure out what it takes to get [the Chinese government] to honor the orders," she said.

While pictures again were getting out of China, the government continued to prevent information from getting into the country. A Voice of America official said China continued to jam at least three of the five Chinese-language frequencies that can be received in Beijing. The fourth frequency is hazy and the fifth is being heard in undetermined areas of China, the official said.

The jamming began with VOA's Tuesday evening news and entertainment programming. It marked the first such blockage since U.S.-China relations were normalized in 1979.

The pro-democracy protesters in Beijing and other Chinese cities rely heavily on the VOA and other foreign broadcasts for information on their country's situation.

WASH TIMES 5/24/89

6/13/89

U.S. expands China broadcasts and increases news coverage

By Max Boot
Special to The Sun

WASHINGTON — The Voice of America, the U.S. government-run broadcasting service criticized yesterday by Chinese authorities, has expanded its Chinese language broadcasts and beefed up news coverage to become, its officials claim, the leading source of information for the Chinese people about the crisis in their country.

VOA officials say their broadcasts are listened to by as many as 300 million Chinese, many of whom have no other outside source of information about events unfolding in Beijing. The official Chinese news media have denied that the June 4 assault on Tiananmen Square occurred.

Since the Beijing government declared martial law May 20, the VOA's Chinese language service has increased its daily broadcasts in Mandarin from 8½ hours to 11 hours. It also has a daily half-hour broadcast in Cantonese. The VOA's chief competitor, the British Broadcasting Corporation , broadcasts only 2½ hours a day.

In addition, VOA's Chinese language service has dropped its features programming to concentrate on news from China. The VOA now devotes 10 minutes of every half-hour to news summaries and 20 minutes to correspondents' reports and news features, such as interviews with Chinese students in the United Sates.

VOA officials vehemently deny Chinese government accusations that the Chinese language service is guilty of broadcasting "lies and rumors" and "deliberately provoking violence."

The 10-minute "hard news" segments of the Chinese language broadcasts are impartial news accounts based on the reports of VOA correspondents and wire services, according to David Hess, chief of the Chinese language service.

Besides its news reports, the VOA also broadcasts clearly labeled U.S. government editorials. It also broadcasts, during its 20-minute "news feature" segment, editorial opinion from U.S. newspapers on the situation in China.

Although Mr. Hess said the opinions broadcast range from the "extreme left to the extreme right," he acknowledged that 98 percent of the editorials were "pro-student."

The Chinese language programming is produced by 41 staff members, most of of whom are Chinese-Americans and speak fluent Chinese. Many staff members have been working 10- and 12-hour days to keep up with developments in China.

The VOA also has had to cope with jamming by the Chinese government since May 21.

The broadcast service has responded by adding two extra shortwave channels and by using a new, million-watt AM transmitter in the Philippines.

WASH TIMES 6/13/89

VOA still reaches 100 million Chinese

The director of Voice of America said yesterday that the station's broadcasts were still being heard in China despite Beijing's efforts to jam its transmissions.

Richard Carlson denied Beijing charges that VOA was broadcasting misinformation and insisted the station only transmitted news it was able to verify. He told Cable News Network that VOA was receiving up to 200 telephone calls each day from Chinese citizens providing information on the situation in their country.

He said VOA's transmissions in Chinese were normally heard by some 60 million people in China and English transmissions were heard by another 40 million.

Electronic Network Speeds News Around Globe

Boston Hot Line: Hope From China by Fax, Computer, Word of Mouth

LA Times 5/26/89

By DOUGLAS JEHL,
Times Staff Writer

CAMBRIDGE, Mass.—In his modest apartment near Harvard University, Huang Jing could barely contain his relief. There was a telephone pressed to his ear, and students from Tian An Men Square in Beijing were on the other end of the line.

For nearly an hour, his repeated calls to the student demonstrators' headquarters in the square had inexplicably been cut off. His frustration had mounted steadily.

But at last the connection was made, and an excited Chinese voice crackled by speaker phone into the room. Yes, there was news from the capital! As the voice read out the latest proclamation, Huang recorded every word.

His Beijing-Boston hot line was back in business.

Computer Relays

What Huang learned would be relayed—by computer network, fax machine and word of mouth—from his apartment near Harvard across the country in an effort to spread the news from behind the barricades.

"My friends want their plans and their ideas to be known throughout the world," said Huang, a 32-year-old political science student. "We hope it will feed back to China so that people who cannot get information from the government can get it from the Voice of America."

The extraordinary link between protest leaders and their man in Boston, forged after the declaration of martial law last Saturday and consummated in more than a dozen calls each day, represents a notable attempt to circumvent a threatened crackdown.

And with extensive information flowing over unauthorized channels, it illustrates the degree to which technology has made news of a rebellion in a faraway land accessible to a waiting world.

For a time, live network television coverage provided an ever-present eye, allowing China watchers with access to Cable News Network to follow developments in Tian An Men Square. Western newspapers and magazines, whose news-gathering has been largely unfettered, have provided voluminous coverage.

But when satellite links from Beijing were severed by the Chinese authorities last weekend, the students decided to seek an alternate outlet in the hotline to Boston, Huang said.

Voice of America Adds Frequencies

From Associated Press

WASHINGTON—The Voice of America has added two Chinese language frequencies to compensate partially for three frequencies that Chinese authorities began jamming Monday, the State Department said Thursday.

The new frequencies have not yet been jammed, nor have English-language broadcasts to China, spokeswoman Margaret Tutwiler said.

The jamming was an apparent attempt by China to deprive pro-democracy demonstrators of one their main sources of information about the upheaval in that country.

"What comes out from here is from the heart of the people," Huang said. "When people talk on the phone, that's the human spirit talking. And I can relay that to everyone else."

On this Wednesday afternoon in Boston, it was early Thursday morning in Beijing, and the news from the students was gloomy. Premier Li Peng was about to appear in public for the first time since declaring martial law, they told Huang. Troops were massing outside the city. Restrictions on live broadcasts, lifted for a few days, were back in place.

In response, the students had prepared a new statement, threatening a nationwide hunger strike unless Li Peng stepped down and the troops withdrew. But when Huang hung up the phone, he was shaking his head.

"The troops are going to come in," he said. "I'm sure of it now."

Other Cities, Other Contacts

Huang is not the only Chinese student in the United States trying to maintain contact with China. Elsewhere in Boston, students are using telephone lines donated by the Walker Center for Ecumenical Exchange to call their colleagues to discuss where the democracy movement might be heading.

And at UC Berkeley and Stanford, students have undertaken an emergency "news lift," using fax machines to send summaries to their Chinese colleagues who might be cut off from the news.

But none seem to have Huang's access to the student leadership, a tie he attributes to longtime friendships and to recent good fortune at finding a telephone operator willing to put calls through to what may be the students' only working phone.

None of the others has launched an effort like Huang's sophisticated bid to relay dispatches, in what he calls a "giant U-turn," from the Beijing students back to the Chinese people.

Relay for VOA

After talking with Beijing, Huang's first call was to the Voice of America to relay an audio tape of the new statement from the University Students Autonomous Assn. accusing Li of carrying out a "bloody suppression" of the student movement.

Despite efforts by the Chinese government to jam VOA broadcasts, the U.S. government outlet has transmitted 8½ hours of Chinese-langauge coverage over four frequencies each day. Huang hopes that the agency will broadcast his tape to provide hope to the Chinese people.

Later he phoned a Harvard colleague and dictated new developments that should be added to the computer bulletin board, which is updated every four hours in a vast computer room in a university building. Those who have access to the national network need type only "bbh" to read what is being said on the Beijing-Boston hotline.

Finally there were calls to other news outlets, principally Chinese-language newspaper offices in New York, in the hope that the accounts they publish in Hong Kong will show up in China.

After four days of countless such calls and little sleep, Huang was exhausted. A slight, bespectacled man, he appeared to be near collapse. But he refused to move from his place next to the phone, even with a thesis deadline approaching and telephone bills mounting beyond his limited resources.

"Those friends of mine are fighting there," he said. "They're risking their lives. The least I can do is to risk my pocketbook."

Cleveland Plain Dealer 5/27/89

CIM president on China tour awed by it all

By ROBERT FINN
STAFF WRITER

Student demonstrations that he witnessed this week in China were "extraordinarily well-organized," with no sense of fear or danger, little or no disorder and "no sense at all of people raising hell," David Cerone, president of the Cleveland Institute of Music, said yesterday.

Cerone, with his wife, Linda, and son, John, arrived back in Cleveland early yesterday after 10 days of violin master classes at the Shanghai Conservatory. A planned trip to Beijing, center of the most publicized demonstrations, was canceled because of the uncertain political situation.

Student marchers in Shanghai were extremely disciplined, even calm in their demeanor, Cerone said at a news conference. He said he had sensed a "tremendous calm and peace," with demonstrators smiling as they marched.

No one seemed to know who was organizing the student marchers, Cerone said, but the results were highly disciplined. Cerone compared what he had seen to a holiday parade in the West.

He said conservatory officials had emphasized that he was witnessing something both historic and unprecedented in China. Their main concern, Cerone said, was that the political upheavals might blemish his long-planned visit. They kept telling him "this has never happened here before."

No attempt was made to keep Cerone from watching the demonstrations, but he sensed that "the Chinese were ashamed of this to a certain degree. They did not want it to be an imposition on *me*."

The students he came to teach had their minds on music, he said, but when the school day was over they were ready to join the marchers. "It was the most extraordinarily self-controlled situation you can imagine," he said.

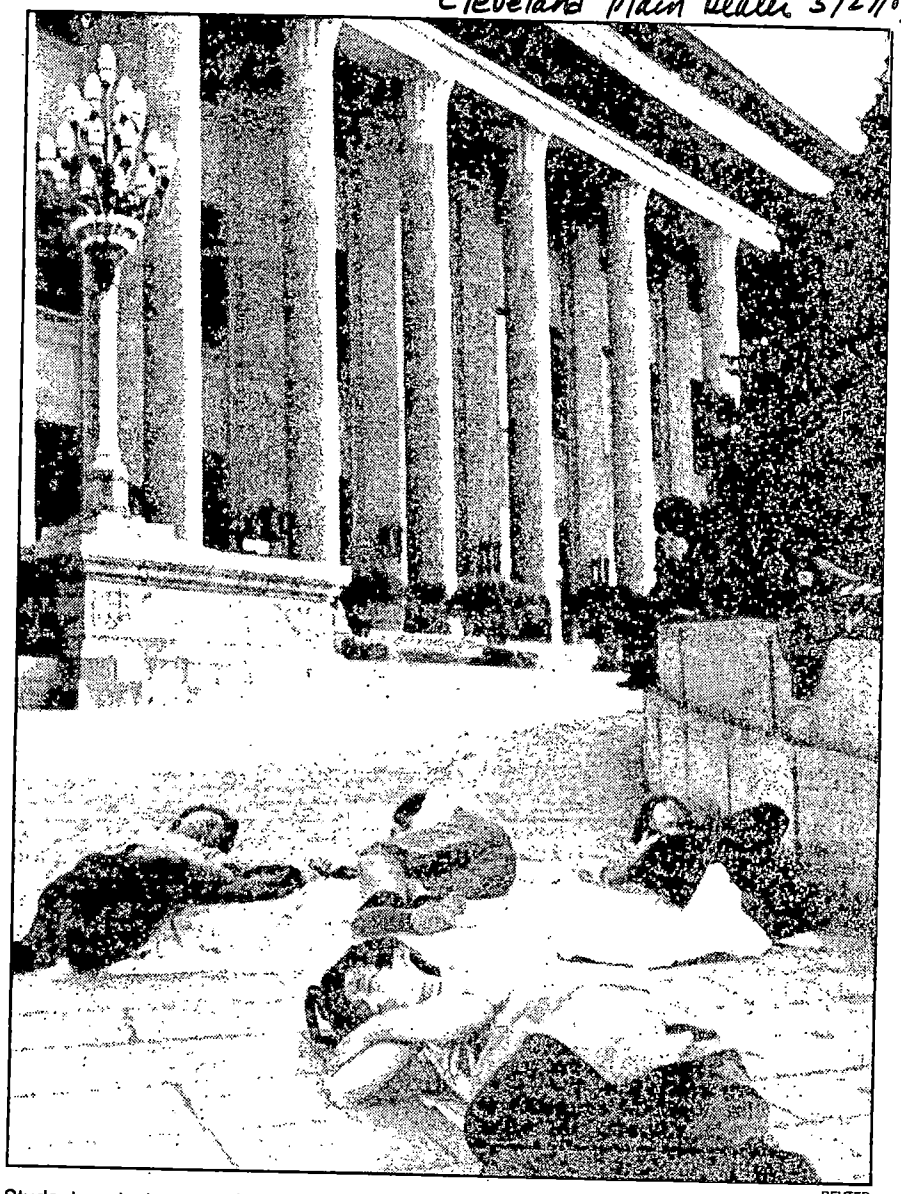
The students want two main things, Cerone said: to be recognized as a force that must be listened to and accommodated in Chinese society, and an end to official corruption, which they feel is cheating their generation of its share of China's commercial prosperity.

Cerone was in Shanghai when Soviet General Secretary Mikhail S. Gorbachev visited the city. So far as he could determine, interest in Gorbachev's visit was dwarfed by that in the domestic protests. "I did not see his face once on television," Cerone said.

Cerone said he had felt no sense that the Chinese were hailing Gorbachev as an apostle of freedom. "On the contrary, the Chinese look up mainly to the United States," he said. "The Voice of America is very important there. Everybody listens to it. It is the only source that they trust."

Cerone said he never felt frightened, but he did lack reliable information on what was going on. For this reason he canceled sightseeing trips that might have kept him away from Shanghai overnight.

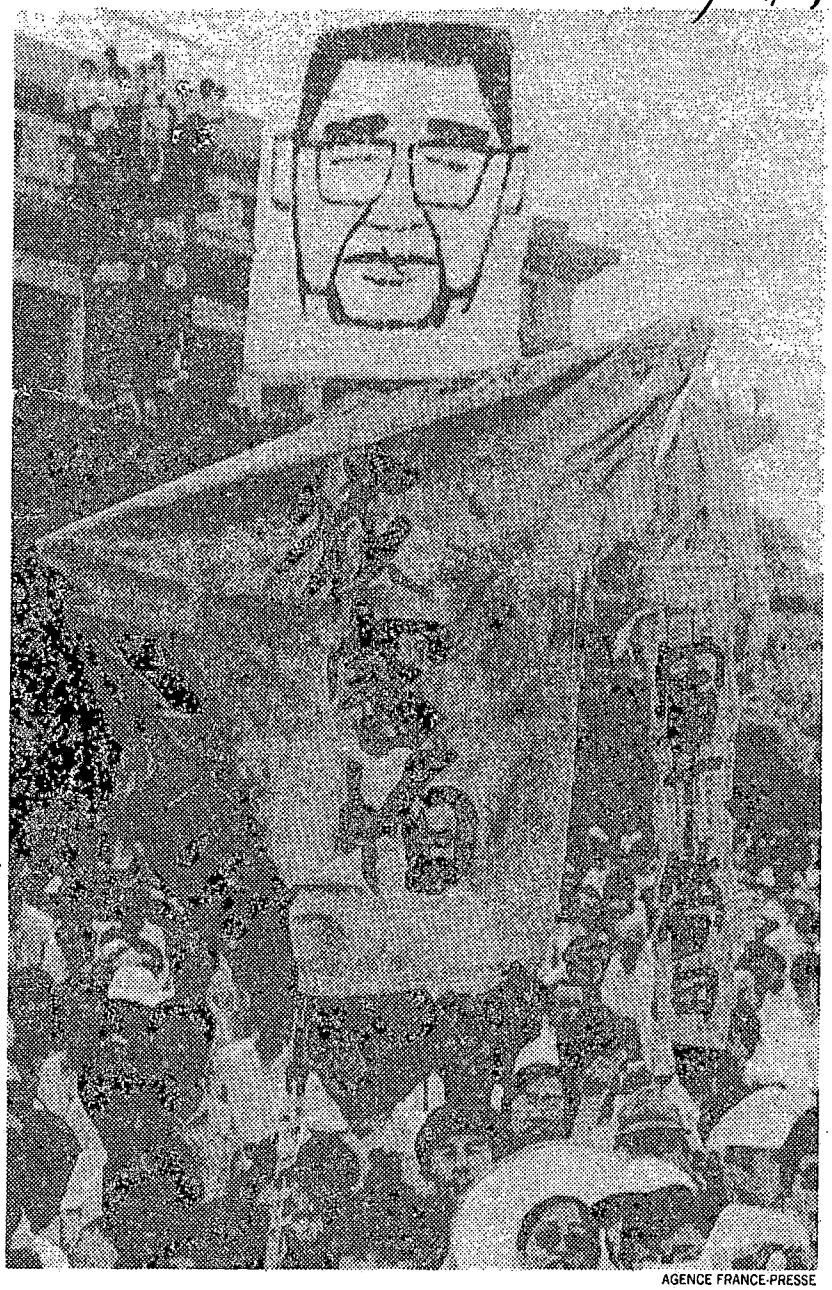
"I got the definite feeling that this situation is not going to go away," he said, noting reports that hard-liners seemed to be stiffening the government's resolve to halt the protests.



REUTER

Student protesters nap in front of the Great Hall of the People in Tiananmen Square in Beijing yesterday.

W. Post 5/29/89



AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE

Protesters, defying martial law, march carrying caricature of Premier Li Peng.

Chinese Students Vow To Stay in Main Square

By Daniel Southerland
Washington Post Foreign Service

BEIJING, May 29 (Monday)—Student leaders said today they were disappointed that large numbers of people did not heed their call to march Sunday in Beijing against hard-liners in the Chinese government who have apparently won a power struggle, but some spokesmen vowed to continue the student occupation of central Tiananmen Square until the legislature meets in three weeks.

The leaders blamed what they called a low turnout in Beijing of about 30,000 students on growing fear here of a government crackdown on supporters of the six-week-old student democracy movement, which at one point evolved into an unprecedented citizen uprising but has waned in recent days.

One indication today of the renewed hard line being taken by the government—which imposed martial law May 20 in much of Beijing—came from an official of China's leading judicial body, the Supreme People's Court, who said the state would "severely punish" those found guilty of causing disturbances.

The apparent victors in the power struggle, supreme leader Deng Xiaoping and his ally, Premier Li Peng, are believed to be building a case against the moderate Communist Party leader Zhao Ziyang that will accuse him of inciting student demonstrators and revealing state secrets. A party Central Committee meeting is expected to be held this week to approve the action against Zhao and a number of his allies who

See CHINA, A20, Col. 4

Students in One City Have Hazy Idea of Democracy

WUHAN, From A1

ly attended demonstrations in the midst of a rainy Sunday holiday, Wuhan protesters rarely did anything before hearing of something similar occurring in Beijing—news that often came from half a world away via the Voice of America and the British Broadcasting Corp.

Yet when Wuhan began to move toward what would have been an unprecedented level of worker involvement in the movement—a nightmare for the Marxists who run China—local authorities reacted with a savagery that Beijing, because of the presence of the international press, has yet to dare.

In a country where central government directives are often distorted or ignored, it is not surprising that an unofficial, antigovernment movement of a relatively few young Chinese failed to galvanize the rest of the country in any consistent way. "They never reported on us in the news," a Wuhan writer complained.

Professors here said the students who joined the marches seemed to find it difficult to appreciate the large political questions of universal suffrage or multiparty systems.

"The small problems of life are what my students are anxious about," said Lawrence Slifman, a U.S. Federal Reserve Board economist teaching for a year at Wuhan University. "They had a lack of optimism about their career opportunities."

When Ranagan asked her students what great changes they sought in their country, the Chinese-speaking lawyer discovered "they do not have well-formed thoughts on it. There was either a deafening silence or a few indefinite words, like, 'We want democracy.' "

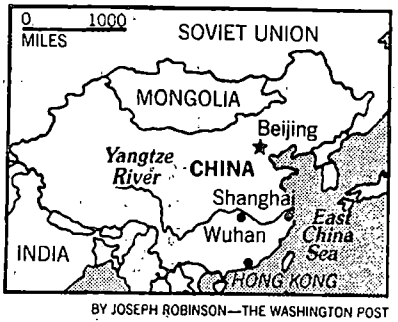
Teachers and students said they did not know what triggered the sudden outpouring of prodemocracy sentiment here. Some medium-sized Wuhan demonstrations in April and on the 70th anniversary of the May 4 movement, protests in 1919 to demand democracy and modernization, followed similar actions in Beijing.

Then a student boycott began here May 18. That day, more than 100,000 protesters squeezed themselves onto the Yangtze River Bridge, cutting off road traffic between the cities of Hankou and Wuchang, which with Hanyang make up Wuhan, with a population of 3 million.

The night of May 20, when national Chinese television revealed that Premier Li Peng had announced martial law in Beijing, the Wuhan University student dormitories exploded with groans and shouts. Students surged into the dark for a spontaneous march which did not end until dawn.

At that point, the situation turned briefly violent.

Wuhan once had a reputation for revolutionary strife and worker rebellion. The 1911 overthrow of the last imperial dynasty began here. A railroad-worker uprising of 1923 and its bloody suppression persuaded many Chinese to join the Communists. It was not surprising, Chinese say, that authorities last week went to extremes to keep workers out of the student demonstrations.



BY JOSEPH ROBINSON—THE WASHINGTON POST

Last Tuesday, there were unconfirmed reports that 100 workers were beaten by police in Hanyang. The next day, according to more reliable accounts from Wuhan University faculty, police at the bridge let two truckloads of student protesters pass and then stopped a truck full of factory workers. Armed with clubs, the police pulled down the workers and beat them badly, leaving some with bloody faces.

"The police broke the law," said one student, who gave his name only as Percy. "They thought it would cause real hazards if the workers became involved."

Sometime in the last two weeks, China's senior leader, Deng Xiaoping, met here with military commanders to discuss the Beijing protests. Some students said Deng's son, Deng Pufang, was also here and was almost kidnapped by some protesters. Others said the story bears a suspicious similarity to the kidnapping of two high party officials in 1967 in Wuhan that marked a turning point in the Cultural Revolution.

Authorities displayed unmistakable nervousness about today's scattered marches of about 5,000 students. Uniformed police, as they have in other cities, guided marchers down sidewalks and directed traffic around them, but the streets were also full of plainclothesmen, speaking into walkie-talkies and driving unmarked cars.

Students, also nervous, demanded identification from anyone caught tape-recording their answers to a reporter's questions. The tension has been intense enough in the last two days that university faculty were speculating it might have had something to do with one American teacher's premature departure last week.

Two student leaders said today, however, that they expected almost all Wuhan University classes to reopen next week. Ranagan and Slifman, married to each other, have another month of classes before returning to their jobs in Washington. They said they wonder whether the demonstrations will have deepened their students' interest in political institutions.

"I asked them once," Ranagan said, "what do you mean when you say democracy? . . . Do you want to give the 80 percent of the people who are out there in the countryside the right to vote?

"And the answer was, 'No, they're not ready.' "

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THE CHINESE EXAMPLE

Trying to Fight the Inevitable

Now that we're approaching the end of it, it is apparent how much of the worst of the 20th century has been the result of doomed efforts to avoid the facts of life in the 20th century. Mass production, global markets, instant communications and a host of other developments have all pointed toward falling boundaries — economic and cultural — the free flow of ideas and capital, the creation of political arrangements that facilitate such interactions.

But many regimes have been threatened by such trends and have tried to stop the clock and fight the inevitable. Brutality has invariably been required, often on a massive scale. Halting progress is hard work. The list includes colonial powers unwilling to turn loose, religious fundamentalist regimes and totalitarianism of all stripes — from those proclaiming something as atavistic as a master race to those clinging to a 19th century economic theory long since proven false and anachronistic.

The latest sad example of an attempt to halt evolutionary events by force is the crackdown in China. Deng's need for a working economy forced him to go part way toward coming to terms with reality, but his people's desire for personal freedom to match the freeing up of the economy was too much.

The reaction has been familiar. Troops given leave to shoot indiscriminately. The rounding up of dissidents for beatings, "resettlement" and "re-education." The eviction of foreigners, the cutting off of information, the closing of doors, the imposition of terror.

And the use of the big lie: This time, it turns out that Chinese we thought were patriots were thugs. People who looked a lot like thugs are being praised as patriots. Despite the evidence of television pictures to the contrary, no demonstrators were killed in the square. Rather, *they* massacred innocent troops.

A good deal of Western euphoria has been expended in the last month on the proposition that modern communications have made police state tactics a thing of the past. The whole world's watching. Seeing is believing.

Well, much of the outside world got to watch the bloodshed in horror, but their watching didn't prevent it. And they aren't watching anymore. The Chinese have pulled the plug. Worse, a majority of the Chinese people never saw anything their government didn't want them to. Communications are only a tool — to be used to tell the truth or lies depending on who's in the control booth.

> Communications are only a tool — to be used to tell the truth or lies depending on who's in the control booth.

Nevertheless, the web of wires and microwave links, of TV, radio, phone and Fax *is* pervasive — even in China. The old men trying to inhabit the past (and willing to kill some of their countrymen and deceive the rest to do it) are well aware that information is their enemy. We can't do much for the Chinese people beyond wishing them well, but we can try to keep the information flowing. The Chinese government has returned to jamming the Voice of America and denouncing it.

A more heartwarming accolade is difficult to imagine. VOA must be doing something right. While the U.S. government may be forced to tread lightly in its public and diplomatic utterances, it should redouble its efforts to keep the Chinese people informed via VOA and a variety of other channels.

The Chinese need the encouragement we can give. They need to be told what's going on in their own country and that someone is listening from abroad. They need to be reminded that their government may be against them, but time is on their side.

Images Vilify Protesters

Chinese Launch Propaganda Campaign

By John Burgess
Washington Post Staff Writer

BEIJING, June 11—Using television, newspapers and face-to-face encounters, the Chinese government has launched a propaganda offensive to convince its 1 billion people that the democracy movement it bloodily suppressed last week was nothing more than a handful of criminal "counter-revolutionaries."

When Chinese turn on their TV sets these days, they are likely to see army trucks being torched by demonstrators, injured soldiers being interviewed at bedside and citizens angrily denouncing the protests. People are also being told repeatedly by the state-run media that there was no massacre of civilians in Beijing.

For those who refuse to believe, the propaganda campaign is packed with frightening images of what happens to people who defy authority. Prisoners are almost always shown handcuffed, dirty and terrified. In a few cases, they have what appear to be bruises from beatings. When they are marched from place to place, they are forced into the posture traditionally used in China to humiliate criminals—gripped firmly by policemen on either side, heads pushed down from behind.

Interviews with Chinese suggested that the campaign may be succeeding in increasing public opposition to the democracy demonstrations, which began in mid-April and grew into an unprecedented popular uprising against the government, involving citizens from all walks of life.

Outside the Beijing area, people

See PROPAGANDA, A26, Col. 1



REUTE

Police in Shanghai take an unidentified dissident into custody in scene broadcast by China's state-run television.

Propaganda Vilifies Chinese Protesters

PROPAGANDA, From A1

have been aware only that something momentous happened in the city last week, but have known little of the specifics. Now they are getting a detailed version of events, courtesy of state media that maintain a virtual monopoly over distribution of news in China.

One student leader interviewed said he felt the propaganda campaign is having an impact. A Chinese woman sympathetic to the movement said she was appalled when her mother, after watching state television coverage, remarked: "Isn't it awful that so many soldiers were hurt."

Official radio and newspapers, sound trucks and soldiers who visit schools to educate children are now conveying the same message about the crimes of "bad elements." Such coordination is another sign of the breadth of control that hard-liners have assumed in the government after a recent power struggle with more moderate leaders, and of the limits of liberalization in recent years.

During the protests, some wings of the official media reported sympathetically about the movement, and journalists marched in the streets to demand freedom of the press. Now they are marching in lockstep to condemn the protests.

The government has acknowledged that there was carnage after the army smashed its way into central Beijing before midnight on June 3 to drive protesters out of Tiananmen Square. It has put the death toll at nearly 300, but said most of the dead were soldiers. Some witnesses have reported that at least 700 civilians died, while other sources place the toll in the thousands.

[In Washington, White House Chief of Staff John Sununu said in a television interview broadcast Sunday that "the best number" of those killed in Beijing "measures in the thousands," and "could be even higher" than 4,000.]

Witnesses have said troops gunned down unarmed demonstrators in many sections of the city, in some cases crushing their bodies under tank treads. But the government is depicting the operation as a textbook case of restraint in the face of wild provocation and the casualties as being almost entirely on its side.

The government's case is bolstered by the fact that, in some areas, demonstrators did attack troops who did not respond, and these incidents were captured on videotape.

On nightly television now, images are broadcast of protesters stoning troops, beating them with poles and, in some particularly dramatic photos, firebombing trucks, buses and even armored personnel carriers. In some cases, soldiers were still inside at the time.

On one avenue in western Beijing, demonstrators torched an entire military convoy of more than 100 trucks and armored vehicles. Aerial pictures of the conflagration and columns of smoke have powerfully bolstered the government's argument that the troops were victims, not executioners. Other scenes show soldiers' corpses and demonstrators stripping automatic rifles off of unresisting soldiers.

By mixing such scenes with shots of sullen, shabbily dressed young men in police custody, the government appears to be trying to portray the democracy movement as a gang of thieves and vandals. Viewers might conclude that there were no civilian casualties at all.

Government television has also broadcast lengthy segments showing soldiers clearing debris from the streets, unloading grain and performing other public services to restore cities to normal in the days after the crackdown. On the programs, citizens applaud trucks of soldiers and offer them fruit and soft drinks.

The U.S. government's overseas radio service, Voice of America (VOA), whose nine hours of Chinese-language broadcasts daily make it one of the few foreign news channels to which Chinese citizens have access, has come under fire in the propaganda campaign as a purveyor of lies and misinformation.

On Saturday morning, official Chinese radio reported what it described as a letter from a listener complaining about VOA, whose signal has been jammed periodically since the demonstrations began.

The complaining listener reportedly wrote: "Disregarding press morality, VOA has fabricated various kinds of lies to deceive the masses who do not know the truth."

VOA today denied the allegations and said it has not received an official protest from China.

Wash Post

Los Angeles Times
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Thursday 6/15/89

Suppressing the Messenger

China waited until now to enforce the martial law controls on foreign reporters in Beijing that it first announced on May 20, but having decided that the time had come to act it has done so with severity. Two American reporters, Alan Pessin of the Voice of America and John Pomfret of the Associated Press, have been ordered to leave China for alleged "illegal" news-gathering. Pessin is charged with "spreading rumors" and "instigating turmoil and counter-revolutionary rebellion," Pomfret with obtaining "state secrets." The aim of these serious allegations is clear. The newsmen are being punished for filing stories the regime didn't like, and at the same time every other foreign correspondent in China is being put on notice that fair and honest reporting could well invite official retaliation.

All this is of a piece with the regime's current propaganda blitz to persuade the Chinese people that its story of what happened on June 4, when tanks bloodily crushed demonstrators who were appealing for more freedom, is the only true version of events. People in Beijing who saw what happened of course know otherwise. But for most Chinese, who must depend almost entirely on the government for information, official claims about what the rest of the world knows as the Beijing Massacre may in fact be credible. Exceptions might be found among those relatively few Chinese who are able to hear foreign shortwave news broadcasts. That's a major reason why the VOA, which broadcasts to China in both Mandarin and English, is being attacked with particular harshness for supposedly spreading lies and rumors.

Meanwhile, the crackdown on dissenters goes on, and not only in China. Chinese students in the United States report that their rallies in support of the pro-freedom demonstrators have been videotaped by Chinese embassy and consular officials. A record has thus been made that can be used to identify—and so one day to punish—students who exercised those rights of assembly and free speech that their presence in the United States entitled them to.

The personal danger that now faces these young people if they return soon to China is very real. The U.S. government has already indicated that it is ready to extend the stay of any students who would be at risk because of their political activities. Events in China could well require that thousands of Chinese students now in this country be allowed to remain, to study and to take jobs, perhaps for an indefinite time. That is not a decision requiring a lot of debate. Given the probable behavior of a vengeful regime should the students return home, it is the only humane course to be taken.

5/24/89

International Herald Tribune
Published With The New York Times and The Washington Post

China's Invisible Struggle

As much as Americans rightly salute Beijing's rebellious students, they know that their protest cannot go on forever. Sooner or later, the everyday bustle of Tiananmen Square will be restored. The only question is whether this monumental uprising, watched by the world, will end in serious violence. The answer depends on the outcome of a larger, invisible struggle — to decide who will succeed Deng Xiaoping as China's chief leader and shape China's relations with the world.

If the army turns harshly on the students, it would be a victory for repressive hardliners personified by Prime Minister Li Peng. But the students may yet disperse peaceably, having been promised something of what they demand — more democracy, a freer press, steps against corruption. That would suggest the vindication of the reputedly more moderate party leader, Zhao Ziyang.

China's mix of guile and dogmatism defies easy analysis. Those outside the inner circle know too little about the workings of the political system. Indeed, lack of information is one of the chief complaints the students raise against a remote, arrogant elite. To clear the square with minimum risk and embarrassment, the regime might promise anything, only to renege later.

What is not conjectural is how big a moral victory the students have won using disciplined nonviolence to make their case for democratic reforms. In Beijing, they attracted support from workers, teachers, bureaucrats, police, journalists and soldiers. Well-wishers poured into streets in cities everywhere in China, and around the world. And in blasé Hong Kong, 500,000 people expressed solidarity in the largest demonstration in memory.

The outpouring attests to the frustrations and anger over a People's Republic that blanks out the world's live television coverage of a peaceful popular revolt. And now Voice of America broadcasts are being jammed, so that Chinese will have more trouble learning that seven very senior military officers have balked at ordering troops to Beijing to put down the protest.

It is true that China's aging rulers have grim memories of chaos past, notably the Cultural Revolution of 1966-76, bent on making all Chinese conform to a single dogma. Today, in stunning contrast, the Beijing students seek to liberate political discussion and to open windows for all.

The swirl of rumors, the inability to respond to student demands, the confusion about who stands where: All this underscores the need for more open politics. And in this conflict, there should be no doubt what values Americans yearn to see prevail. Drawing on his experience with China's intricate politics, President Bush has tried judiciously to express sympathy for the students without appearing to exhort them.

But Mr. Bush could well remark more plainly that whoever rules China should not take America's cordiality for granted, or confuse shared strategic interest with indifference to democratic principles. Whether or not the Beijing students prevail, theirs is a universal cause and it would be folly for China's leaders to ignore their voices.

— THE NEW YORK TIMES.

China expels 2 journalists, tells U.S. to stop meddling

By LEWIS M. SIMONS
Knight-Ridder News Service

BEIJING — The Chinese regime intensified its struggle with the United States Wednesday, ordering the expulsion of two American journalists and warning the Bush administration it was damaging relations by meddling in an internal affair.

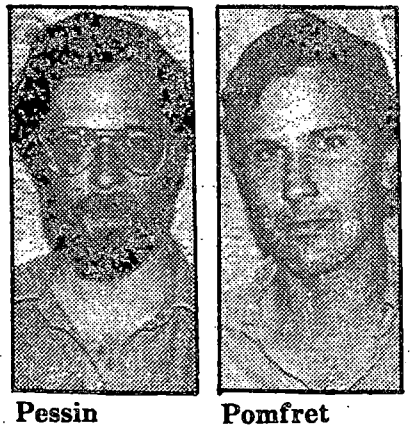
The two newsmen, Alan W. Pessin of the government-funded Voice of America radio network, and John Pomfret of The Associated Press news agency, were the first American reporters to be expelled since Prime Minister Li Peng imposed martial law on May 20.

By ordering them to leave China within 72 hours, authorities were taking overt action for the first time in reaction to President Bush's decisions to halt all sales of military equipment and to grant refuge in the U.S. Embassy in Beijing to dissident Fang Lizhi and his wife. The president authorized the steps immediately after the Chinese army invaded Tiananmen Square on June 4 and crushed a student-led uprising for democracy.

"We hope that the U.S. side will emphasize the overall situation of Chinese American relations . . . stop interfering in China's internal affairs and not do anything to harm bilateral relations," said the Communist Party newspaper People's Daily.

Law-enforcement authorities, meanwhile, were stepping up simultaneous campaigns to arrest students and workers who took active roles in the massive democracy movement and to justify the army's harsh actions.

Government television broadcast scenes from around the country of suspects being led into police stations with their arms raised in the air. A thousand arrests have been announced so far.



Pessin Pomfret

Two of those reported seized Wednesday were Zhou Fengsuo and Xiong Yan, student activists whose names and photographs were among 21 shown on television the day before. They were accused of "inciting and organizing counter-revolutionary rebellion," a crime akin to treason.

According to the TV newscast, Zhou was turned over to police in the tourist center of Xian by his sister and her husband. The regime has appealed to people to inform on friends, relatives and neighbors.

Authorities are now reconstructing their version of the truth, using the government-run mass media to justify the crackdown as a measured response to brutal provocation by "hooligans, local ruffians and people with a deep-seated hatred of the Communist Party and the socialist system."

In a long account released by the Xinhua news agency, officials claimed that while the armed forces adopted a posture of "maximum restraint," they were set upon by frenzied gangs armed with knives, iron bars and chains.

Only after "nearly 100" soldiers and policemen had been killed and "thousands" wounded did the troops open fire on civilians, the account said.

"The result was that some 100 civilians were killed and nearly 1,000 were injured."

The civilian death toll was strongly at odds with that of about 3,000 compiled last week by Western intelligence agencies. Although some foreign analysts have begun to reconsider this initial accounting as possibly excessive, none has expressed any confidence in the government's claims.

Reports on the June 4 killings in Tiananmen Square lay behind the expulsion of Voice of American correspondent Pessin. The Beijing Daily newspaper stated Monday that VOA reported the day after the Tiananmen assault that "at least 1,400 people were believed dead in the massacre." In fact, the paper stated, "no one died there."

Pessin, 33, was specifically charged with "engaging in illegal news-gathering activities and doing a great deal of reporting . . . distorting facts, spreading rumors and instigating turmoil and counterrevolutionary rebellion."

AP reporter Pomfret, 30, who speaks Chinese fluently, was accused of getting information illegally under martial law regulations barring contact between foreign journalists and Chinese citizens.

On Tuesday, The AP distributed an interview by Pomfret with a young Chinese dissident who had become a fugitive fleeing the government crackdown. The interview was published in Wednesday's Miami Herald.

"I did my job as a journalist, and I worked hard," said Pomfret. "It's a shame that these are the results I get."

CONFRONTATION IN CHINA

People's Power Meets Communist Army

Student-Led Uprising in China Is Reminiscent of Poland's Upheaval in 1980

By Michael Dobbs
Washington Post Foreign Service

BEIJING, May 20—For the second time in less than a decade, a major communist regime has called in the army to protect itself against what amounts to a peaceful popular uprising.

In Poland in December 1981, Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski succeeded in squelching the 10-million-strong Solidarity movement through the use of massive military force, the severing of all civilian communications and the arrest of 5,000 leaders of the independent union.

By meticulously preparing for martial law and exploiting the element of surprise the Polish leader was able to achieve his goal with relatively little resistance.

On the surface, China in May 1989 is very different. Unlike Jaruzelski, Chinese Premier Li Peng has not had the time to lay the detailed groundwork for a military crackdown. With hundreds of thousands of demonstrators out in the streets of Beijing openly defying martial law regulations, it is still uncertain whether he will be able to pull it off.

NEWS ANALYSIS

For a reporter who has covered the turmoil in both countries, however, there are many similarities between China today and Poland in 1980-81. The same political revolution that began in the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk in August 1980—when defiant workers tore down the facade of the ideologically monolithic workers' state—has brought peoples' power onto the usually drab streets of Beijing this spring.

It is a measure of the desperation of communist regimes that they have looked to the military to help them out of their difficulties. Communist leaders from Vladimir I. Lenin onward traditionally have feared and denounced "Bonapartism," an attitude rooted the 1789 French Revolution which degenerated into a military coup led by Napoleon Bonaparte.

Since the Polish Solidarity's emergence in 1980, winds of change have been blowing throughout the communist world. It is the result of both the successes and the failures of communist regimes.

In China's case, political reform has failed to keep pace with near-universal literacy and rising living standards. Disgust with official corruption, inflation and authoritarian rule has created an alliance between students, workers and members of the new middle class.

The process of change has been greatly assisted by the information revolution that sends news around the world in a matter of seconds and back into communist countries from Western radio stations such as the Voice of America and the British Broadcasting Corp. It is now practically impossible to hide the facts of large-scale political repression from the outside world, as Soviet dictator Joseph Stalin succeeded in doing in the 1930s when he built the totalitarian communist state.

"It's amazing how many people listen to foreign radio stations now," said Vladimir Voinovich, a Soviet writer exiled to the West in 1981, during a recent visit to Moscow. "It's not just a matter of where they get their in-

formation from. It's a psychological state of mind. Once you look for your information from somewhere else, it means you no longer accept the right of the state-run media to control your mind."

The arrival of the global village was symbolized last night by the presence of Dan Rather in Tiananmen Square anchoring the CBS Evening News from a flatbed truck parked in front of banner-waving demonstrators. Rather—distinguishable from other reporters by his large entourage and immaculate TV appearance—pronounced the event "unique," saying that he had never covered anything like it in his career.

Chinese students demonstrating in the streets of Shanghai earlier this week said they got much of their information from Western radio stations. But they also acknowledged listening to Radio Moscow in order to follow the cause of *perestroika* and *glasnost*, the Soviet catch words for restructuring and openness in the Soviet Union. One hunger striker was passing her time reading the works of German sociologist Max Weber, whose writings early this century developed the theory that certain Protestant religious beliefs promoted capitalism.

Faced with the technological revolution, communist leaders have been forced to make a fundamental choice. Either they suppress the popular unrest or they seek to channel it in manageable directions. In Poland in December 1981, Jaruzelski chose the first option. The Soviet Union's Mikhail Gorbachev has embraced the second.

There is a useful parallel to be drawn between the street demonstrations in China and the popular rebuff delivered to the Soviet Communist Party establishment last March during the first contested elections in seven decades. Both were expressions of massive popular discontent. The difference is that Gorbachev has created new, more flexible institutions to allow Soviet citizens to give vent to their frustrations.

The Polish experience suggests that, while it is clearly possible to suppress a popular uprising temporarily, this only postpones the inevitable. Although Jaruzelski succeeded in crushing Solidarity in December 1981, he was unable to resolve Poland's underlying economic and political problems. Last month he was obliged to legalize Solidarity again in order to rescue Poland from its deepening economic crisis.

Other communist leaders are confronting similar dilemmas. Hungary, the most liberal country in the Eastern Bloc, has legalized a multiparty system. Vietnam has embarked on a cautious program of political and economic liberalization. Even isolated Mongolia, sandwiched between the Soviet Union and China, has launched its own version of perestroika, denouncing the heritage of its former Stalinist dictator, Khorloin Choibalsan.

Resistance to Gorbachev-style reforms has come from East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Cuba, and North Korea. In Romania, one of the world's most repressive countries, President Nicolai Ceausescu stubbornly insists that there is no need for change because his poverty-stricken country already is well on the road to becoming a socialist paradise.

As Chinese students continue to hold their prodemocracy party in the streets of Beijing in defiance of martial law, it is hard to avoid the conclusion that the winds of change blowing through the communist world will eventually reach Stalinist outposts such as Romania and North Korea as well.

China's army won't 'shoot the people'

By Don Kirk USA Today 5/23/89
USA TODAY

BEIJING — Key military leaders made clear Monday they don't want to send troops into the city to "shoot the people" — amid signs of widening cracks in a failing attempt to break the student protest.

Convoys of army vehicles withdrew from vital approaches to the heart of Beijing as thousands camped out in Tiananmen Square.

A letter attributed to seven top generals was widely circulated in pamphlet form.

"The People's Liberation Army belongs to the people," it read. "It cannot confront the people ... it cannot suppress the people and it will never shoot the people. To keep the situation from worsening, the army cannot enter the city."

Another report said the letter also was signed by 100 generals and sent to *The People's Daily*, the official party voice.

Tension in the city eased as some bus and truck barricades were withdrawn and demonstrators trickled back to work. Student leaders met to gauge the protest's strength.

"The army is on all sides of Beijing," said Liang Eaye, a teacher standing in front of a row of buses across one of the capital's main streets. "Every corner is stopped by the people. If there are many, many people, they (the soldiers) are afraid to come here."

Latest developments:

▶ The standoff resulted Monday in the first open clash when protesters and soldiers began throwing rocks at each other on a southeastern approach to the city.

At least five people were injured — no shots were fired — when army vehicles, stalled three days, tried to withdraw and were surrounded.

▶ The Voice of America, listened to avidly by most students, is being jammed in the first reported case of jamming since 1979.

▶ China in turmoil, 8A
▶ CNN's Shaw wraps up, 3D

Turmoil in China: Doing Battle With the Facts

Beijing Ousts 2 American Correspondents

By NICHOLAS D. KRISTOF
Special to The New York Times

BEIJING, June 14 — China today ordered the expulsion within 72 hours of two Beijing-based American journalists, including one from the Voice of America.

The Government accused the two reporters, Alan W. Pessin of the Voice of America and John E. Pomfret of The Associated Press, of violating martial-law regulations in Beijing.

China also issued its official version of the "shocking counterrevolutionary rebellion," as the democracy movement is now labeled, and announced new arrests throughout the nation of students and workers who had been leaders of the movement.

In Reaction to U.S. Criticism

The expulsion order against the two reporters was widely interpreted as an extension of the Government's campaign of criticism against the United States in the last few days. The campaign began after the Bush Administration condemned the violent suppression of the democracy movement and then offered refuge to the dissident Fang Lizhi in the American Embassy in Beijing.

Because the Voice of America is an arm of the United States Government, the expulsion of Mr. Pessin is particularly likely to affect relations between Beijing and Washington. It is not clear if the United States will respond by expelling Chinese reporters or by taking other measures.

The regulations that the two reporters are accused of violating in effect ban all news coverage about the democracy movement or about the enforcement of martial law, as well as almost all interviews. The restrictions are far more sweeping than the censorship that has been imposed on foreign correspondents in other countries, like Israel and South Africa.

The authorities had not, however, enforced the regulations very strictly. At least three foreign correspondents were shot or stabbed by soldiers during the crackdown, and others have been detained and then released, but there have been hundreds of foreign journalists covering the events of the last few weeks, and until today only one — a British television journalist in Shanghai who had entered China on a tourist visa — had been expelled.

Details of Charges

The Government accused Mr. Pessin, who is 33 years old, of violating the censorship restrictions by "conducting illegal press coverage after martial law was declared" and by "writing news stories to distort facts, spread rumor and incite and stir up turmoil and counterrevolutionary rebellion."

"I didn't do anything that other foreign journalists didn't do," Mr. Pessin said tonight in his office, while surrounded by other journalists and well-wishers. "As with other foreign journalists, we made every effort to check facts and give balanced reporting."

The official New China News Agency accused Mr. Pomfret of "having frequent contacts with illegal-organization leaders, passing on information to and providing shelter for them," while "obtaining state secrets through illegal means."

> One reporter is 'uncooperative' about his news sources.

"I did my job," Mr. Pomfret, 30, said. "Everything I learned I put on the Associated Press wire."

Louis D. Boccardi, president and general manager of The Associated Press, said in a statement, "We deplore and have protested in the strongest terms to the Chinese Government this unwarranted assault on fair and factual reporting."

Bureaus Will Remain Open

The Beijing bureaus of both the Voice of America and The Associated Press will continue to function, as the Voice of America has one other accredited correspondent and The Associated Press has two others. While the Chinese have given no assurances, both organizations expect the Government to accredit new correspondents to fill the positions of those expelled.

About 40 American journalists are accredited to work in Beijing, and the number has been slowly increasing in recent years. The Americans are the largest group of foreign journalists here, followed by the Japanese.

Mr. Pomfret was informed of his expulsion at a meeting with Chinese officials that lasted for more than an hour. A brief United States Embassy statement said Mr. Pomfret had been told he had an "uncooperative attitude" because he would not provide information about his Chinese contacts.

In the last two days, Chinese news organizations have somewhat slackened their denunciations of the Voice of America and of the United States Embassy.

Official Denunciation

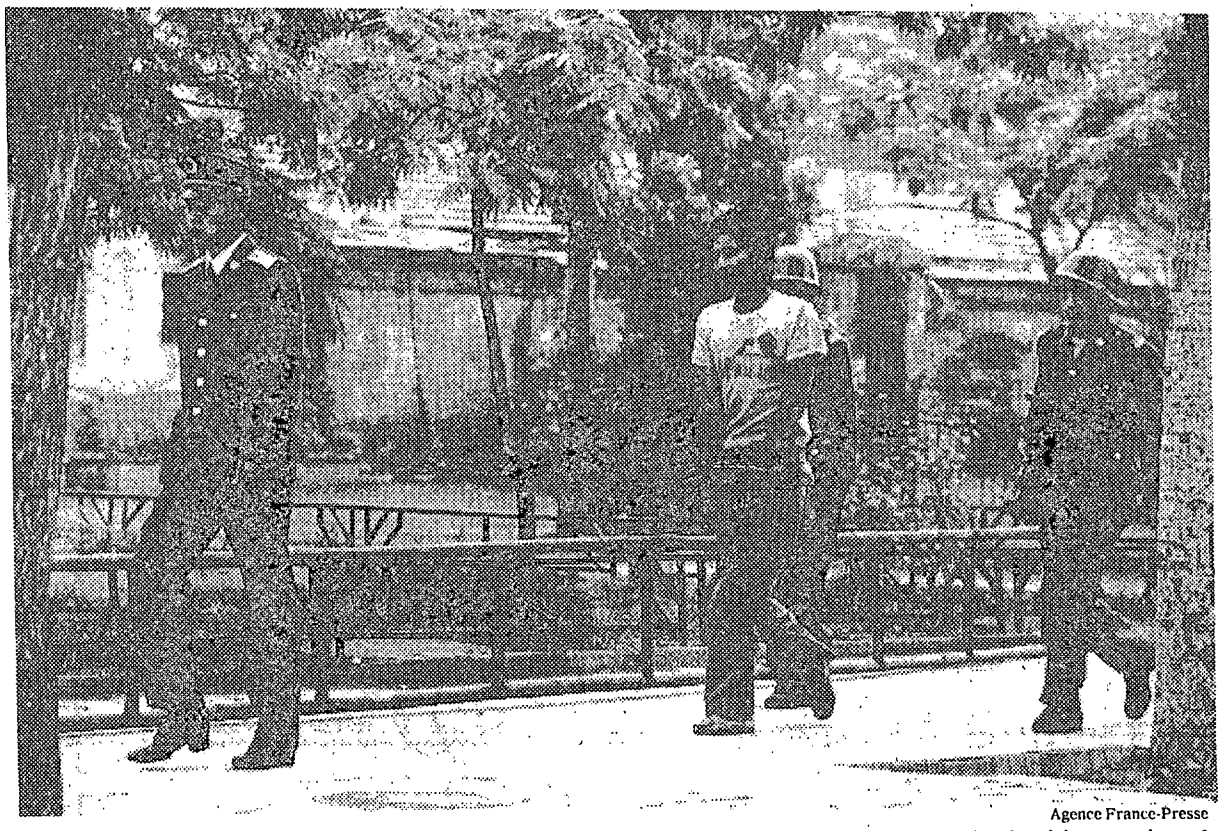
But today, the authoritative Communist Paarty newspaper People's Daily carried a front-page editorial condemning Mr. Fang as a behind-the-scenes instigator of the "counterrevolutionary rebellion" and warning that some people in the United States are hostile to China and risk harming relations between the two countries.

"The events in China are entirely China's internal affair," the editorial said. "Any attempt to put pressure on the Chinese Government is foolish and shortsighted, and is doomed to fail. China has always sought to develop its relations with the United States. We hope the United States will consider the overall importance of our long-term mutual interests, and stop interfering in China's internal affairs, so as to avoid harming our bilateral relations."

The television news announced tonight that 2 of the 21 student leaders who had been placed on a wanted list on Tuesday had been captured. It said that Zhou Fengsuo, a 22-year-old physics student in Beijing, had been turned in by his sister and her husband. The television program showed the couple being interviewed by the police.

The other student leader who was reported arrested was Xiong Yan, a 24-year-old graduate law student in Beijing. The circumstances of Mr. Xiong's arrest were not reported.

The authorities also announced the arrest of 32 people who were arrested at the Beijing rail station while trying



Agence France-Presse

A young man in handcuffs being escorted by soldiers yesterday on a street in Beijing. Authorities continued to search for and arrest suspects in the recent unrest in and around Tiananmen Square.

to flee the capital. Most were apparently workers who had been involved in the democracy movement.

One More Official Reappears

The news program also showed one more Politburo member, Yang Rudai, the Sichuan province party leader, which suggested that he may not be purged in the restructuring now under way in the Communist Party leadership. Mr. Yang's appearance means that only two Politburo members are unaccounted for: Zhao Ziyang, the national party's General Secretary, and Hu Qili, who supported Mr. Zhao in favoring conciliation with student leaders.

If only Mr. Zhao and Mr. Hu are purged from the Politburo, which now has 16 full members and one alternate member, that would be a milder shakeup than was originally feared when Mr. Zhao and Mr. Hu disappeared from view nearly three weeks ago, the day before the declaration of martial law.

The detailed account issued today of the events of June 3 and 4, when troops opened fire on civilians and killed hundreds or perhaps thousands of prodemocracy demonstrators and passers-by, recounted events in a way very different than did Western correspondents who were on the scene.

The report, issued by the Beijing Communist Party Propaganda Department, suggests that "a certain small group of people" had "plotted to arrest party and state leaders and seize political power."

It said the group, financed by "overseas reactionary political forces," attacked the army on the night of June 3, killing nearly 100 soldiers and policemen and wounding thousands. Only then, after exercising extraordinary restraint, were the troops obliged to fire their weapons, the official history asserts. As a result, it says, about 100 civilians were killed and nearly 1,000 were wounded.

While this version of events is sure to be widely circulated in China in the coming weeks, it bears little relationship to the scenes that actually took place on the Avenue of Eternal Peace, or Changan Avenue, and in other parts of Beijing, as witnessed by this reporter and other correspondents.

While many civilians did attack and kill soldiers, using clubs, firebombs and their bare hands, the violence did not begin solely with the demonstrators. It began on both sides almost spontaneously when the troops arrived and tried to push their way forward.

The troops repeatedly fired their machine guns directly at crowds of demonstrators, including those who posed no threat, including those who were fleeing as fast as they could run. From interviews with doctors and hospital officials, there is no doubt that far more than 100 civilians were shot, stabbed or beaten to death, and that civilian casualties far outweighed military casualties.

Thrust onto Center Stage

Reporters in Beijing scramble to cover a confusing drama

CNN Tokyo bureau chief John Lewis and his four-member crew arrived at Beijing's Tiananmen Square to spend another night covering the standoff between Chinese demonstrators and government troops. Decked out in ponchos and straw hats to protect themselves against the rain, the crew surveyed the scene as tens of thousands of protesters continued to defy the martial-law edict ordering them to disperse. Exhausted after working two straight days with little or no sleep, Lewis and his colleagues curled up on the square's wet pavement and went to sleep. At sunrise, as Lewis awoke, he found dozens of amused Chinese demonstrators taking pictures of *him*.

For the U.S. journalists who have spent the past three weeks covering the historic protest in Tiananmen Square, the mixture of curiosity, awe and fascination was mutual. "Long ago, when I dreamed of being a reporter," said CBS *Evening News* anchor Dan Rather last week, "this is the sort of story I dreamed of covering." Aside from its inherent drama, the China story is special because it has thrust the journalists themselves onto center stage. Aware that the eyes of the world were upon them, the students played to the TV cameras to voice their demands for freedom and democracy. Like the demonstrators, reporters have been operating under the constant threat of a crackdown. Meanwhile, the shifting working conditions imposed on them by the government became a weather vane of the power struggle going on behind the scenes.

First came the May 20 declaration of martial law, which restricted journalists from conducting interviews or taking photographs. It soon became apparent, however, that the rules were hardly being enforced. The Voice of America's Mandarin news broadcasts, the most credible source of information in the eyes of the demonstrators, were reportedly jammed, but only on some frequencies. Live TV transmissions by satellite were suspended and restored, then suspended again. As the possibility of live coverage came and went, videotaped reports flowed freely out of the country to satellite stations in Tokyo, Hong Kong and even Moscow. Entry into China proved surprisingly easy as journalistic reinforcements poured into Beijing from around the world. One 747 arriving late last week carried only 50 passengers, 40 of whom were newspeople.

By the time the latecomers arrived, the story was in a holding pattern. The previous week's images of hundreds of thousands of Tiananmen demonstrators were no longer news. "The China story is beginning to elude us," said ABC's Ted Koppel in one of last week's most honest appraisals. "There appears to be a struggle for power at the highest level of government in China, but we cannot see it or measure it or describe it in any detail."

To fill the gap, CBS tried to recapture some of the drama of the preceding week. When China Central Television announced that it would be shutting off its satellite-transmission facility on Wednesday, CBS booked the last block of time, hoping to recreate a scene similar to the one a few days earlier, when viewers saw Chinese officials ordering Rather off the air. Sure enough, that night's CBS *Evening News* showed Rather at his anchor desk in New York City, interviewing Beijing correspondent John Sheahan. When Sheahan's picture suddenly disappeared from the screen, Rather abruptly cut him off in midsentence, even though Sheahan's telephone connection remained intact. "We timed it so that if [the satellite] did get cut, it would happen during the report," admitted producer Lane Venardos.



Sheahan talks to Rather . . . **. . . as the satellite transmission . . .** **. . . is cut off in Beijing**

CBS producers deliberately timed it so they would lose the satellite in the middle of a live interview with the anchorman.

With the importance of images fading, temporarily at least, there was little in the way of solid analysis. After declaring martial law on nationwide TV, Premier Li Peng was not seen in public for five days; Deng Xiaoping and party leader Zhao Ziyang, the other key players in the power struggle, remained out of sight even longer. During this period of uncertainty, solid information was the scarcest of commodities in China, and wild rumors abounded. There were even reports that Deng was fleeing into retirement in the U.S. Protesters in Shanghai, Xian and Lanzhou staged memorial services for Beijing hunger strikers, although none had died. "People are learning about major government changes and about the biggest student movement in China's history from Popsicle sellers and newspaper dealers," said Zhang Weiguo, a reporter on Shanghai's *World Economic Herald*. "This is not a way to inform the people." —*By Laurence Zuckerman. Reported by Jaime A. FlorCruz/Beijing and Gayle Ray/Atlanta*

Revolution by Information

China's students wage high- and low-tech war on the blackout

BY LARRY MARTZ

Knowledge is power. As long as there have been tyrants, they have tried to keep their thrones by getting information first and keeping it from their subjects. For almost as long, revolutionaries from Martin Luther to the Ayatollah Khomeini have tried to undermine authority by using new technology to spread the truths their enemies were trying to suppress. But China's rebellious students, aided by a network of allies in the United States, have taken subversion to unprecedented technological levels, both sophisticated and primitive. It was revolution by fax machine, computer and word of mouth, by photocopier and wall poster, by direct-dialed phone calls, shortwave radio and letters in the mail. And China's hard-line leaders, trying to keep a bloody secret of the massacre in Beijing, found the truth as irrepressible as it has been lately in Poland, Hungary and the Soviet Union itself.

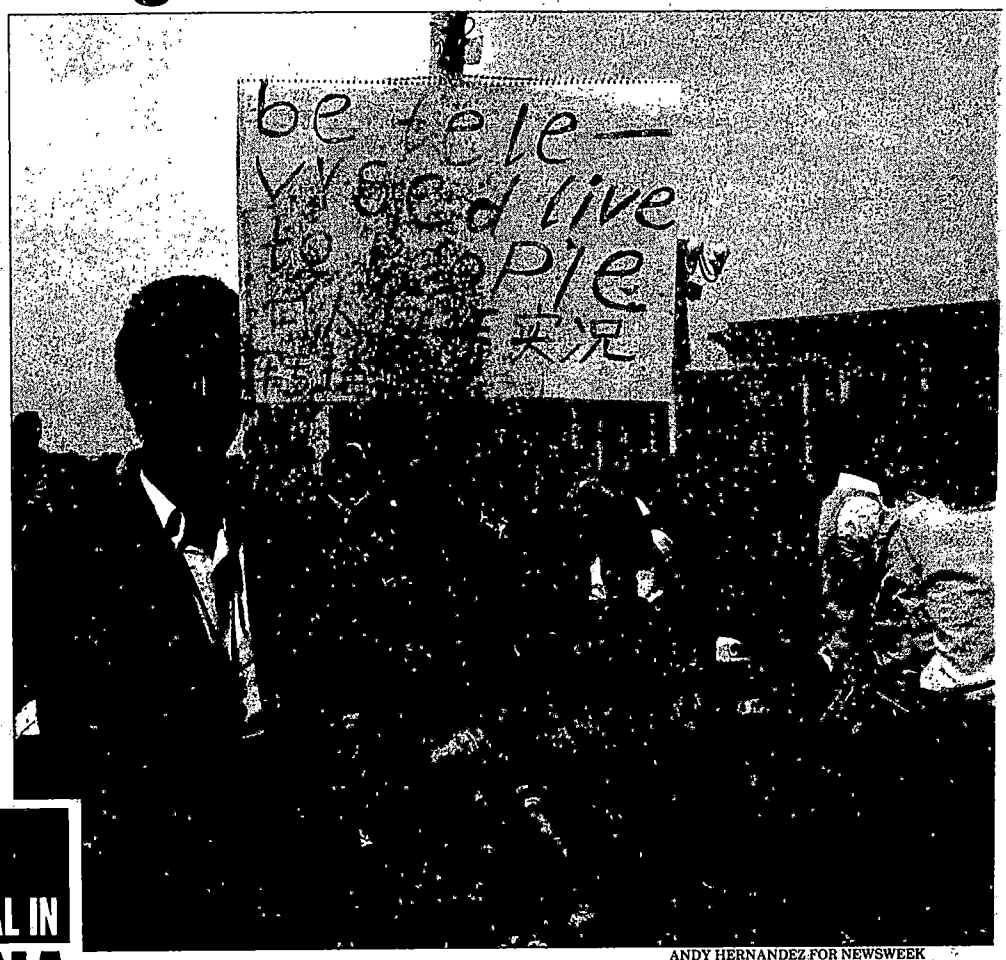
Will the truth make China free? Almost surely not any time soon: repression works. Millions of Chinese still don't know what really happened in Tiananmen Square; the hard-liners seem firmly in control. They are showing us, says analyst Helmut Sonnenfeldt of the Brookings Institution, "that for a limited time, at least, you can squeeze some of the toothpaste back in the tube and manipulate the news to impose on people a version of the truth that large numbers of them know to be false." But the uprising underlines again the fact that technology is as subversive as it is essential. "None of these economies—from the Soviets to the Poles, the Hungarians to the Chinese—are going to be in any sense competitive unless they accommodate and absorb the essentials of the information revolution," Sonnenfeldt says. In the long run, if the communist nations don't want to stagnate, they have to become more open.

From the beginning, the uprising was a battle of images. The students played carefully to the world's TV cameras, while Deng Xiaoping and his colleagues treaded just as carefully to save as much face as they could during Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to China. After the crackdown, the struggle was for 1.1 billion Chinese hearts and minds—and here the leaders had the clear edge. Some 80 percent of the Chinese live in timeless rural toil, far from the relative sophistication of cities and campuses. There are peasants who haven't yet found out that Mao Zedong is dead. Deng had only to convince his people that a few troublemakers were being properly disciplined. From the day martial law was declared in Beijing, a news blackout descended.

But keeping people in the dark isn't as easy as it used to be. Deng's decade of modernization has brought vast change; the beginnings of a free market have enriched even peasants and enlarged China's view of the world. The number of letters delivered in China has doubled in the past decade (chart). Some 800 million Chinese now have access to television, says former U.S. ambassador Winston Lord. They have seen images ranging from irreverent reporters questioning Ronald Reagan to the People Power revolt in Manila. And the wider view has changed Chinese education: in sharp contrast to the Cultural Revolution, the Beijing students were quoting Abraham Lincoln and Thomas Jefferson to back up their demands for democracy.

Boom boxes: Thus the news blackout was ragged from the start. The next day in the eastern city of Nanjing, says UCLA political scientist Richard Baum, who was visiting there, a crowd of 100,000 gathered in the town square, clustered around students who perched in trees with boom-box radios tuned at peak volume to the Voice of America. While they listened to detailed accounts of the action in Beijing, scribes took notes of the broadcasts and made them into wall posters to be hung all over the city. "Information was really flowing," says Baum. News of the protests spread by phone and neighborhood gossip; within days, students returning to the provinces from Beijing were also telling the story.

Half a world away, many of the 40,000 Chinese students at U.S. universities were caught in a storm of grief and anger at their government. Many of them were already plugged into computer networks to swap news about China and tips about U.S. life;

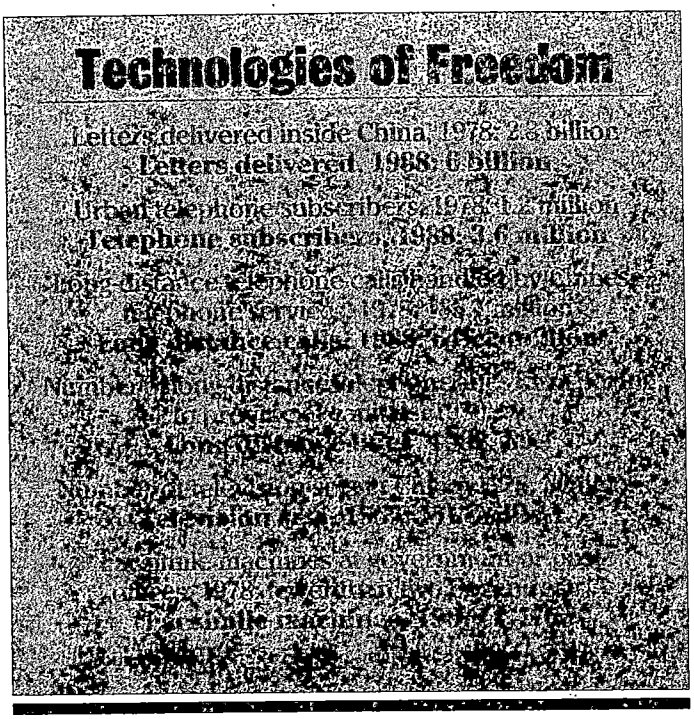


ANDY HERNANDEZ FOR NEWSWEEK

Playing to the world's cameras: *A placard courts the foreign press*

UPHEAVAL IN CHINA

now the networks, SCC and China-Net, became the nerve centers of an extraordinary information raid—an effort to send Western accounts of the protest and crackdown back to China. On campuses across the country, Chinese students organized to write letters to their hometowns, make phone calls to any numbers they could find in China, rally U.S. opinion and lobby Washington for a firm response and raise money for the rebels in Beijing. Their main goal was to discredit the Beijing propaganda. "Every single word that the People's Daily prints is the opposite of the truth—exactly the opposite," said 29-year-old Xingyu Chen, a graduate engineering student at the University of Wisconsin. In phone calls to relatives, friends and strangers, the students found widespread ignorance about the massacre. "My own parents in Hunan knew nothing," said David Long, 27, a biochemistry graduate at the University of Massachusetts. "I've called everyone I know and told them to tell 100 other people."



Blind faxing: Family members were usually willing to believe their stories, the students said, but strangers tended to demand evidence. Copies of news photos and a few videotapes have been mailed into China in response. But the most surprising weapon in the information raid turned out to be the facsimile machine. Installed widely in Chinese universities, hotels and the offices of international businesses, the machines could be reached by phone to make instant copies of photos, news accounts and even Chinese-language newspapers printed in America. The students collected about 1,500 fax numbers in China from anyone who knew them. They posted the numbers on their computer bulletin boards and sent their messages without any idea who was at the other end—the electronic equivalent of a note in a bottle. In China, students, hotel waiters or office workers retrieved the messages; then they were reproduced by the hundreds in photocopiers and put on public display. In Shanghai last week, such posters festooned scores of immobilized city buses at major intersections, with crowds reading the bulletins.

On the large scale, by far the most effective dispenser of truth was the Voice of America, which responded to the massacre and blackout with some of its finest hours. The government-run radio network stepped up its programming in Mandarin to 11 hours a day, adding new frequencies to evade jamming. VOA officials say they usually have 60 million regular listeners in China. In the crisis, the number may be as high as 400 million. And last week VOA cameras in Washington started beaming the service's first TV news program via satellite to about 2,000 dish antennas in China. Most of them are at military installations, but "that's exactly the point," said VOA director Richard Carlson: to make sure the Army, a major player in the power struggle, gets an accurate account of what's going on.

But as the hard-liners tightened their grip on power last week, they fought harder to stem the tide of information. Jamming of VOA radio resumed for the first time since 1978—not very effectively. "The Chinese just aren't as good jammers as the Soviets," said a VOA official in Washington. Photographers were increasingly harassed and roughed up, and their film was often confiscated. Troops in Beijing warned journalists that they would "shoot to kill" anyone taking pictures of soldiers out on operations. Some Westerners wondered why the Chinese didn't simply cut off telecommunications. That wouldn't be realistic—"There's no way to shut it off unless you shut down all of China," said Jessica Lipnack, a communications consultant in Newton, Mass. But monitoring of overseas lines was obviously stepped up. The students in America found it harder to telephone to China, and people they reached were increasingly nervous about taking the calls. Some would hang up after just a sentence or two, and some fax transmissions were cut off abruptly. "If you dial several dozen numbers and get through once, you're lucky," said Fan Lu, a student from Beijing who just got a doctorate in physics at Rice University.

In the euphoria before the apparent triumph of the hard-liners, there were optimists who saw the students' information raid as part of a world victory for free flows of information and thus for democracy. The sweeping recent changes in Poland and Hungary could be traced to computerized voting lists, high-tech *samizdat* and sophisticated communications, all tolerated by increasingly permissive governments in a trade-off for economic progress. In the Soviet Union itself, Gorbachev's *glasnost* now included *magnitizdat*: underground videocassettes that recorded the doings of separatist rebels in the Baltic republics. "From China to Poland, the disintegration of communist systems is taking place in front of us," said Charles Gati, who specializes in Eastern Europe at Union College in Schenectady, N.Y. "To maintain what you call a totalitarian system with thousands of Xerox machines around is no longer possible." That's surely an exaggeration; from South Africa to East Germany, repressive governments have clung to power no matter how much information seeps into their countries. But they do pay a price, in economic clout and lowered living standards, and it's not likely that any major nation will follow that course for long. Even in China, says Winston Lord, "There's no question that the genie is out of the bottle. They cannot go back to the secluded Middle Kingdom."

Big Brother: Brooding on the future, George Orwell long ago warned that technology would be an instrument of tyranny—a warning symbolized by Big Brother's two-way telescreen in "1984." Orwell was right, and tyrants are indeed using the latest electronic gadgetry to eavesdrop, pry and monitor their subjects' behavior. He was also wrong: somehow technology keeps giving people new ways to get around the oppression it makes possible. When China pulled the plug on live TV coverage of the student protests, still video cameras kept sending photos over telephone lines to America. "Only if we stop innovation and invention will Big Brother get the upper hand," says researcher Paul Saffo of Institute for the Future, a think tank in Menlo Park, Calif. But nothing in this struggle is automatic; technology alone doesn't win or keep freedom. For that we need courage, the spirit that blazed so briefly and gallantly in Tiananmen Square.

With CARROLL BOGERT *in Beijing,* DOUGLAS WALLER *and* MARGARET GARRARD WARNER *in Washington,* MICHAEL ROGERS *in San Francisco and bureau reports*



BILL PIERCE FOR USN&WR

Confrontation. *The throngs in Tienanmen Square draw their inspiration from sources ranging from Plato to the Voice of America*

Forcing change on a reluctant China

Stubborn student protesters know what they want—human rights, democracy, honesty—but not how to achieve it



TOM HALEY—SIPA PRESS

At the ready. *How long would the police be patient?*

Ten years ago, schoolboy Xiao Wang was enthusiastically helping his parents tie small beribboned bottles on towering poplar trees along Beijing's Avenue of Eternal Peace to celebrate the return to power of Deng Xiaoping, whose first name means "little bottle." Last week Wang, now a university student, was enthusiastically breaking small bottles on the gray stones of Tienanmen Square to symbolize students' criticism of Deng and to underscore their demands for political freedom and human rights.

Wang and his fellow demonstrators admit they have much to learn about the history and meaning of slogans like "Long live democracy." They are equally imprecise about how to introduce democracy to a huge nation that has no experience with it. But they will not back down easily, if at all, from their demands for wider participation in government, greater freedom of expression and an end to high-level corruption.

"We are not against the government," Wang emphasizes, "but it must make changes in the system. I don't know how this should be done, but I know it has to be done quickly." Sweeping changes probably will not come overnight. That is not the Chinese way, and it would be virtually impossible in a nation of 1.1 billion people, even if its leaders wanted radical change, which they most assuredly do not. Deng, though a thoroughgoing revolutionary, is as afraid of "disorder under heaven" as generations of Chinese emperors. So the first priority is to re-establish order, using a dialogue with students, repression or any other means that promises to end the unrest that erupted after the death of former Communist Party chief Hu Yaobang, a reformer.

But important changes almost certainly will be made. The reasons include the need to inject some Chinese-style *glasnost* into Deng's reforms, the surprising strength and sophistication of the student protest and the evident public support for some of the biggest demonstrations in China's history. "There is no doubt that the current situation is a crisis," says a State Department China specialist. "It is a clear manifestation of great differences between the leadership and what many, many people want."

In some important ways, Deng and his chief lieutenants appear to have ignored or overlooked political and intellectual changes that were taking place alongside—and sometimes because of—their ambitious economic-reform program. Despite tight controls on the media, there has been a great increase in the amount and kind of information available to China's elite, which includes most students. The intellectual elite resents getting such a small share of the profits from China's economic reforms. Finally, the Soviet Union and other Communist nations have been talking

about or even holding multicandidate elections.

Many of these changes are apparent in talks with students comparing the present campaign with the unrest in 1986, just before Hu was deposed. "We made a mistake in 1986 by making general demands for democracy," explains an activist at Beijing University. "This time we came up with specific demands. We want press freedom [because] that is the first step toward democracy. We want elections like Gorbachev's. We want *glasnost*. We want leaders to be responsible to the people. We want a dialogue with the government."

China's students are no longer operating in an intellectual vacuum. "Many of the Western classics from Plato to Locke, and modern writers, are translated into Chinese," says Yang Xiaoping, now a law student at Columbia University in New York. "A lot of foreign professors teach classes in political theory in China. One of the most important channels [of ideas] is the more than 10,000 Chinese who have studied abroad. The Voice of America and the BBC also are important."

Students repeatedly cite dissident Yugoslav writer Milovan Djilas's book *The New Class*. They also take ideas from several recent Chinese authors who argue that "a time of affirmation" for young people has now come, and from Yen Jiaqi's essay "From Disorder to Order," which urges replacement of China's traditional one-man rule with a rule of laws made by many.

Hu's death was a catalyst for the student unrest, but not its only cause. At least some demonstrations would have marked the 70th anniversary of the May 4 Movement, a series of protests against corrupt government and foreign imperialism that helped lay the foundation of socialism in China, and ultimately, of the Communist success in 1949.



The vigil. *Victory signs anticipate change, but no one is certain what form it will take*

But very few of the protesters know much about China's most dramatic experience with student political activity: The Red Guards who spearheaded the disastrous "cultural revolution" that Chairman Mao launched in 1966. The hope of those who do remember is that the current protest leaders will be level-headed enough to prevent history from repeating itself.

by James Wallace with Dusko Doder in Beijing and Henry Trewhitt and Louise Lief in Washington

MEANWHILE, IN MOSCOW

Twilight of the dinosaurs

Across the border in the Soviet Union, the storms raged not in the streets but in the chambers of the Central Committee. Four years of Mr. Nice Guy hadn't worked, so Mikhail Gorbachev broke out the dynamite. When the smoke cleared the abominable "No" men, 110 relics of the Leonid Brezhnev era long since swept from other jobs, had lost their seats on the powerful committee and their ability to stall Gorbachev's reforms. The action, and the *Tass* announcement of the "voluntary" resignations, came straight out of a much darker era in Soviet history.

Why had 110 bitter old conservatives chosen to fade away, though they were entitled to keep their seats until the next party Congress in 1991? It wasn't gentle persuasion. For one reason, they got to keep their public dignity and pensions this way. For another, the alternatives were disgrace or prison. KGB files contain ample evidence of official corruption, and Gorbachev was ready to use it. Survivors who somehow missed the message, including the half-dozen party bosses who later rose to warn that the Communist Party was rapidly losing control, heard a supremely confident Gorbachev coldly answer that the housecleaning wasn't necessarily over.

The Central Committee had been summoned ostensibly to deal with the defeat of three dozen regional and local party bosses in the March 26 election. Led by Leningrad party boss Yuri Solovyev, one of the losers, angry hard-liners blamed runaway reform, the media, party radicals and extremists of all stripes for the humiliation in the first contested elections in 70 years. Rubbish, said Gorbachev. The elections were a victory for *perestroika*. The losers lost because they resisted change and hid from the people.

Gorbachev warned that shortages of housing, food and consumer goods are growing, despite reforms, and that the voters blamed party candidates. He added that official bungling and slothful workers wasted billions of rubles last year while the party, including the Central Committee and the Politburo, waffled. "We can no longer put up with mismanagement that compromises *perestroika*."

If Gorbachev set out to remind his people where they live, and what can happen when you cross the head man, he succeeded admirably. He did not speculate about what might happen to the head man if the Soviet Union's economic implosions continue.



G. MERILLON—GAMMA/LIAISON

Poland. *Shipyard workers formed Solidarity as a trade union, but now it has become a legal political party*

The battle for democracy

Suddenly, popular will is defying dictatorship on many fronts

In dozens of unlikely places this spring, from Panama and Poland to Chile and China, democracy is fighting back. A few years ago, the legions of popular government were in retreat, fleeing the forces of totalitarianism on both the right and the left. But today, something startling is stirring in the world: A counterrevolution is gaining strength. Whether it's the students of Beijing, a river of humanity jumping its banks and flooding the city with its frustrations, or the peasants of Bolivia, so eager to vote that Election Day became a "festival of democracy," people across the globe are reaching hungrily for the chance to shape their own destinies.

One dramatic symbol of that yearning is the visit to China this week of Mikhail Gorbachev, the Soviet leader. He comes as a hero—a pioneer of democracy, of all things—a name shouted in the streets by crowds protesting Beijing's repression. Chinese leaders, terrified of further demonstrations during Gorbachev's trip, have promised to "carry forward political restructuring" and meet journalists complaining about restrictions on press coverage of student unrest. Back home, a new poll by the Soviet Academy of Science ranks Gorbachev as the second most admired man in the country's history, just after Lenin.

The poll is a remarkable event on several counts. It is a measure of the power unleashed by Gorbachev's reforms that right behind him comes Boris Yeltsin, the former Moscow party chief who won a stunning victory in Soviet elections last month after urging even swifter change. But the most extraordinary aspect is that the poll of 1,231 Muscovites was even taken. One may only imagine the effect on a population accustomed to following the state's orders now suddenly being asked what their opinions are—as if their opinions might actually influence policy.

Democracy is a complicated thing, taking shape in different ways in different places. Human-rights watchdog Freedom House says that more than 60 percent of the world's population now lives under governments considered at least partially free, the highest rating ever. As Secretary of State James Baker said earlier this month, "The quest for democracy is the most vibrant political fact of these times." But democracy is hard to plant and harder to grow. "It would be a profound mistake to take the survival and success of democracy for granted," says Representative Stephen Solarz (D-N.Y.), a senior member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee. "Its durability will depend on the ability of governments to translate the promise of democracy into a better life for their people."



P. CHAUVEL—SYGMA

Haiti. *In many countries, the price of political freedom remains high*

Translating the yearning for democracy into genuine "people power" is a dangerous business. In Panama, a military dictator who felt compelled to buttress his legitimacy by holding an election blatantly tries to steal votes, then cancels the outcome altogether. In El Salvador, voters weary of guerrilla warfare and economic collapse turn to a right-wing party long associated with murderous death squads. In Venezuela, hundreds die in riots triggered by austerity measures imposed by an elected government tottering under the burden of massive foreign debt.

Democracy is a way of defining the



NOVOSTI/SYGMA

Soviet Union. *It was the first free election under Communism, but candidates took quickly to the rough-and-tumble of politics*

relationship between governor and governed; it is not a policy. Popular governments must meet the test identified by Solarz—providing a better life for their people. That is why democracy is still so fragile in so many places, from Argentina to Pakistan. And that is why lawmakers from both parties worry that the Bush administration, while glorying in the triumphs of freedom, could well be undermining democratic regimes through shortsighted policies on debt, trade and aid.

Bullets and ballots

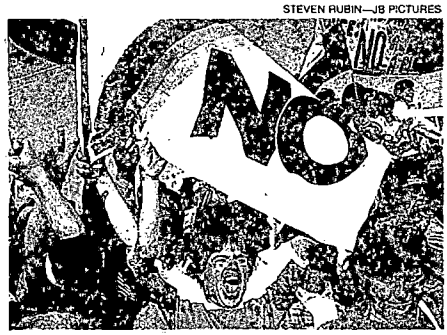
At the moment, democracy is clearly advancing for two principal reasons: Economics and simple human nature. Like grass sprouting through the tiniest crack in a sidewalk, the impulse for individual expression pushes constantly upward, resisting attempts to trample it. After waiting 3 hours to vote, a woman in Panama said of the dictatorship: "I think they just hope we'll give up and go away." But the military rulers, having rigged the returns in advance, were stunned to find the opposition had not given up. In El Salvador last March, at least 39 people were killed trying to vote on Election Day, but the turnout at the polls was still impressive. In the Philippines three years ago, students used chains and ropes to tie themselves to ballot boxes, protecting the precious paper inside from government goons bent on shredding the election.

But it would be wrong to assume that even those students, lashed to ballot boxes in the Philippines, had a coherent, well-reasoned view of democracy. They did not sit around reading "The Federalist" papers or have "a conversion on the road to Damascus," as Senator Christopher Dodd (D-Conn.) puts it. A leading cause of the democratic revolution today is negative rather than positive, pragmatic rather than idealistic. People in dozens of countries are fed up with the failure of centrally planned economies to produce an adequate level of goods and services; they want something better. "Time for a change" is the oldest political slogan in the book, and *democracy* has become a rallying cry, a mantra that stands for the idealized good, chanted by people with little idea what phrases like "rule of law" or "freedom of the press" really mean. It is common in China to see shirts emblazoned with random English words, like *sport* or *ace,* which somehow mark the wearer as modern. At times, the word *democracy* seems to have that same faddish appeal, a political version of a Coca-Cola sticker on a store window. But the unhappiness with the current system in many places is undeniable. "First, something has to be broken; then, you worry about fixing it," says Stephen Hess, a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution. "And all over the world, things are breaking down for other systems."

One glaring malfunction in many Communist countries is the failure to keep Marx's appealing promise of egalitarianism, the force that was supposed to regenerate the system. Once exposed to those blessings, according to theory, the young would happily follow their elders into party ranks. As it has turned out, the combination of Western influence and the evident failure of the system around them has created a generation gap of sorts. The young seem especially conscious of class distinctions in the so-called classless society, well aware that the party elite in the Soviet Union, for example, still zooms around in its own symbols of superiority—black Zil limousines. (In the Soviet Academy of Science poll, nearly half of the respondents blamed ideologically and morally corrupt leaders and officials for inhibiting "progressive development" in their country.) In China, students rally around such slogans as "fight corruption" and "oppose privileges." Anthony Downs, author of two books on democracy, describes the pattern: "The ruling class has usurped to itself special privileges. That is widely known and perceived and has created a great deal of cynicism."

That cynicism might not be so pronounced if the ruling elites also had produced prosperity for the masses. But with endless lines and barren shelves an unavoidable fact of everyday life in the

STEVEN RUBIN—JB PICTURES



Chile. *From China to South America, protesters say no to dictatorship*



China. *News of "people power" has leaped across borders and outraced the clutches of government censors*

Communist world, popular anger keeps mounting. "If everyone is equal because everyone is poor, that is not especially appealing," observes Downs.

What is worse—much worse—for totalitarian regimes is that people living under them *know* democracy has won. At one time, autocratic rulers could control communications and isolate their people from the outside world. Books could be banned, radio waves jammed, travelers restricted. But modern technology, from satellites to computers, makes it increasingly difficult to hold back the flow of news—and when people have an independent source of information, they also gain an independent authority that undermines the state's control. The striking photo image of soldiers tearing down the barbed-wire fence between Hungary and Austria emphasized how irrelevant physical borders and barriers have become.

Representative Sam Gejdenson (D-Conn.) recalls seeing on a recent visit to the U.S.S.R. an American magazine cover wiped clean of ink by countless eager readers. Senator Richard Lugar (R-Ind.) says that shortly after the Philippine elections, he found political leaders in Latin America wanting to talk about the startling events in Manila, which they had watched live on the Cable News Network. In times of turmoil, Chinese students cluster around radios to hear the Voice of America because it often provides the best account of events in their own country. Last week, Polish trade unionists started publishing a newspaper that Lech Walesa, the union leader, hailed as the only independent journal "between the Elbe and the Pacific."

"*Glasnost* keeps lapping *perestroika,*" according to Helmut Sonnenfeldt, an expert on the Soviet Union who has worked for Henry Kissinger. And as Eastern workers learn how far they lag behind the West, their authoritarian leaders' problems deepen. Fears have long been voiced, by George Orwell among others, that technology tends to strengthen a police state, providing more-effective means to monitor dissident activity. But it also can inhibit police, who are less eager to crack down on protesters in full view of TV cameras.

Freer travel only aggravates comparisons between political and economic systems. Turkish and Yugoslav guest workers in West Germany take home liberal ideas along with their deutsche marks, and in rural villages where plastic footwear is the norm, their new leather shoes are a cause for wonder. Nearly every student China sends to the U.S.—and there now are 32,000 of them—comes home a potential revolutionary.

Teaching and turmoil

A little learning can be a dangerous thing for totalitarian regimes, even when students never leave home. Nicaragua's Sandinista government has embarked on a mass literacy program, but as Representative Lee Hamilton (D-Ind.) notes, "The problem is: When you teach a man to read, you can't control what he reads." In the Soviet Academy of Science poll, slightly more than half the respondents favored transferring all or most economic decisions away from the state, and better-educated groups consistently opposed centralized control. The same educated Soviets blamed the state party system for their country's problems, while less educated citizens blamed "foreign centers" and other forces promoting "false values."

This growing sense of comparative disadvantage builds up enormous pressures, forcing planners of state-controlled systems to create individual incentives and encourage entrepreneurship to kick-start economic revival. A Chinese brewery specializing in the export trade today buys virtually all its raw materials on the free market, gives workers production bonuses and employs a Danish public-relations firm to promote its products abroad.

But the desperate search for economic vitality inevitably leads to political vitality as well. Authoritarian and totalitarian rulers alike are learning that when the coercive hand of the state is lifted from one area of life, it becomes harder to maintain a tight grip on others. Individuals told to think for themselves in order



Pakistan. *Leaders like Benazir Bhutto have sparked a democratic resurgence*

to boost their production start wanting to boost their participation as well. "There's an interaction between the two," says Hamilton. "To have a successful economy, you have to release individual initiatives and entrepreneurial skills; the system has to have a looseness, a freedom about it. And that gets applied in a political sense as well as in an economic sense."

Religious groups also have come to play an important role in many countries. They can help accentuate the importance of the individual, nurture nationalist feelings against foreign rulers and provide practical support to democratic movements. In South Korea, fundamentalist Christian churches gave reformers both a gathering place and a spiritual focus. In Poland, Roman Catholic masses are festooned with Solidarity banners, and priests have preached the union gospel from the pulpit. In Nicaragua, the Catholic cardinal remains a rallying point for the opposition. And in Panama, the 12 Catholic bishops issued their own election count, contradicting the military rulers and urging them to "respect the will of the people."

Great social forces, like great rivers, must be tamed and tapped by special individuals, leaders who seize the moment and set an example. Mikhail Gorbachev is hardly a democrat as Americans define the word, but no one doubts any more that he wants to transform Soviet society, liberalizing it in the process. Gen. António Ramalho Eanes, the former President of Portugal, and Felipe Gonzáles, the current Prime Minister of Spain, helped lead their countries out of the ruins of dictatorship and prove to the world that fascism can give way to democracy. Lech Walesa has kneaded the raw stuff of Polish pride into a resilient institution. Corazon Aquino has made Philippine "people power" a worldwide slogan and source of inspiration.

Ronald Reagan, too, has played a role, proclaiming the virtues of the American democratic model—a "shining city on a hill," as he likes to put it. Even critics like Hamilton admit that Reagan's salesmanship has helped inspire democratic movements around the world. "We ought not to overstate it," he says, "but neither should we ignore it." Adds Representative Henry Hyde (R-Ill.): "I don't want to sound like a nativist booster, but clearly America has been very successful. Witness the legions of people who want to come and live here."

That American tendency toward self-congratulation can edge perilously close to the sin of pride, however, and no foreign politician worth his megaphone wants to buy a political system labeled "Made in the U.S.A." Often in the not-so-distant past, Washington praised popular rule in one breath and backed dictators in the next—especially those promising trouble-free, anti-Communist stability in strategically important regions. The Shah of Iran and Anastasio Somoza of Nicaragua come to mind, as does former Philippine President Ferdinand Marcos, who enjoyed staunch backing from the Reagan White House until he and his cronies became more of a liability than an asset.

Debt and danger

Complaints mount on Capitol Hill that the Bush administration is not putting enough effort into sustaining democratic regimes. Ten of the 15 countries with the highest foreign indebtedness are nascent democracies, mainly in Latin America, and many of them are struggling to satisfy both creditors and constituents at the same time. The Brady Plan, named for Treasury Secretary Nicholas Brady, urges banks to write off their most onerous outstanding loans and holds little promise for early relief.

Congress is also at fault, often putting short-term politics ahead of long-range national interests. Recurring attempts to curb textile imports threaten a major source of hard currency for some fledgling democracies; so do quotas on foreign-grown sugar. Americans seem eager to provide aid if a country is under military siege, but then they lose interest when the fight shifts to the less glamorous, often more costly, economic arena.

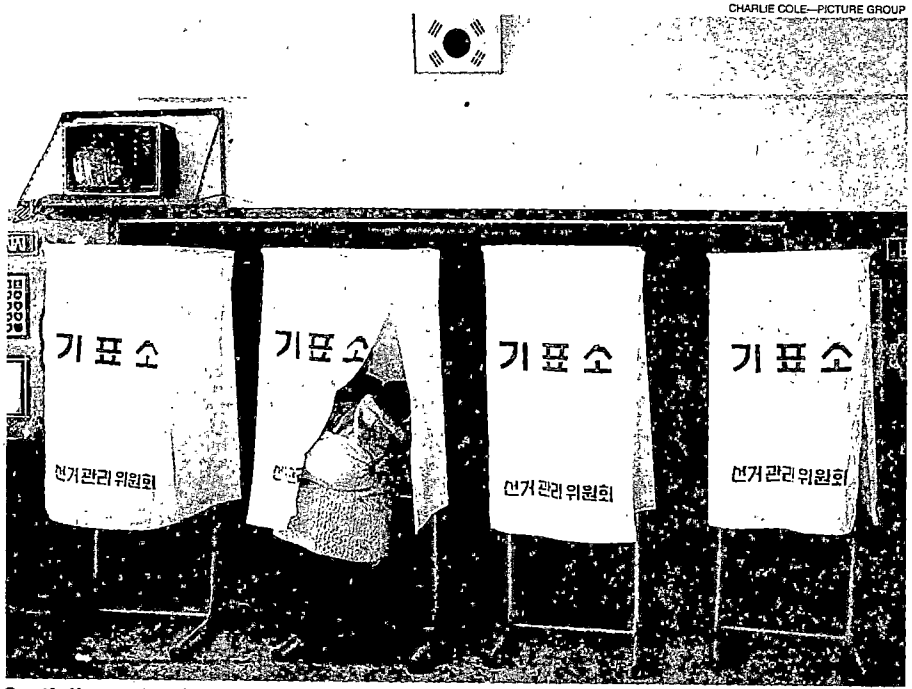
One of Washington's stickiest problems is how to react to nationalist outbursts in the Soviet Union. The U.S. wants to encourage freedom of expression and participation in places like Georgia and Estonia, but policymakers fear that if dissidents move too fast, they could jeopardize Gorbachev's position, triggering a backlash by "Russia first" conservatives. That is why Solidarity leaders in Poland are willing to accept partially rigged elections for now while slowly creating institutions like parties and newspapers that can shoulder the burdens of full democracy in the future.

James Madison warned in "The Federalist" No. 10 about the risks to democracy posed by aggressive "factions." In some countries, religious and ethnic cleavages run so deep that the mutual tolerance needed for democracy seems painfully absent. In Afghanistan, the tribes that united against the Soviet invasion are splintering as they try to form an alternative government; sectarian strife continues to fracture Northern Ireland, where attempts have repeatedly failed to resolve the antagonisms between Catholics and Protestants through democratic means; Israel seems incapable of absorbing its Arab minority into the mainstream, and in Cambodia, negotiators cannot decide what to do about the Communist Khmer Rouge, who show no signs of accepting the norms of democratic—or, for that matter, civilized—behavior.

But for all its flaws, this is a good season for democracy, a time of genuine hope and excitement in many places that life can be better. "It is taking off like a prairie fire," Hyde says of the democratic spirit. "Now, we have to pray it doesn't rain." ■

by Steven V. Roberts

CHARLIE COLE—PICTURE GROUP



South Korea. *In the voting booth, democracy gains its edge*

Senior China official cuts short D.C. visit

By BARBARA REHM
News Washington Bureau

NY DAILY NEWS 5/24/89

WASHINGTON — Wan Li, a senior Chinese official abruptly cut short his visit here yesterday to return to Beijing, where he is expected to convene an urgent session of the national legislature to debate Premier Li Peng's handling of anti-government demonstrations.

U.S. officials believe Wan, head of the National People's Congress and a member of China's ruling Politburo, may try to move against Li and other hardliners who have tried to crack down on student and worker protests.

Wan met for an hour with President Bush at the White House before flying home. In the meeting, Bush called on the Chinese Communist government to stop jamming Voice of America broadcasts, a major source of news for the protesters.

An administration official said Wan may try to use the legislative session to oust Li, who declared a widely ignored martial law decree Saturday. Wan is an ally of Zhao Ziyang, the Communist Party chief who has opposed Li's call for military action against the students.

The White House said Bush told Wan the U.S. was "strongly committed to democracy around the world. It is the underpinning of our being as a nation. I urge non-violence and restraint in your present situation."

Secretary of State Baker, who met twice with Wan yesterday, said the Chinese leader told him Beijing wanted "to continue the process of opening up and reaching out" to the West.

Baker was asked by reporters if he was disappointed that the name on the lips of the Chinese students calling for democracy was that of Gorbachev and not Bush.

"Let me tell you," Baker snapped, "they may have that name on their lips, but they have ... the policies of the West in mind."

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VOA SERVICES TO THE USSR AND EASTERN EUROPE
AT-A-GLANCE

Russian --- On the air 15 hours daily, with vastly increased live programming, radio bridges, and roundtables. Recent interviews with Boris Yeltsin and leading Soviet reformist and government economists are among the highlights.

Ukrainian --- On the air four hours daily, including the unprecedented first bridges earlier this month with Radio Kiev on religion and the environment. Both hour-long discussions were rebroadcast in full by VOA and Radio Kiev.

Uzbek --- On the air two hours daily, with an estimated regular listening audience of 3.5 million, the third largest for VOA in the Soviet Union. We are the most-listened-to international broadcaster in the central Asian republics, by a wide margin.

Azerbaijani --- On the air an hour daily, and recent phone contacts with Azerbaijani academicians at Baku University, dissident spokemen, and Azerpress, the Azerbaijani news agency, have enhanced our sourcing at a critical time.

Armenian --- On the air an hour and a quarter daily, this service distinguished itself following the massive earthquake 13 months ago. VOA Armenian has built good local contacts and a network of stringers in the Armnenian diaspora.

Georgian --- On the air 45 minutes daily, VOA Georgian last September hired its first new staff member in about six years. The de facto hiring freeze prohibits hiring of another solid broadcaster and expansion of Georgian to an hour daily. The recent ethnic unrest in Georgia has been thoroughly covered.

Lithuanian --- On the air an hour and a quarter daily, VOA Lithuanian is one of the best small language units at the Voice. We plan to send service chief Romas Sakadolskis to Vilnius next month for the elections, and to explore placement of VOA programming on a commercial station, M-1 --- the first of its kind in Soviet-controlled territory.

Estonian --- On the air an hour and a quarter daily, VOA Estonian at present has only seven staff members but is in daily contact with telephone sources in Tallinn.

Latvian --- On the air an hour and a quarter daily, VOA Latvian sent its service chief to Riga in the autumn of 1988 as ferment began in the Baltic states, and also has developed a number of contacts in the republic.

Polish --- On the air four hours daily, the Polish Service has just initiated the most extensive placement effort ever for VOA in Eastern Europe. This consists of a daily newscast, special feature programs on the Polish-American community and American press opinion, and music shows (popular hits and Willis Conover). Placement on Warsaw 1 via USIA television satellite subcarrier gives VOA an additional audience in the millions. We are seeking donation of a receive dish for Warsaw 1 from the private sector.

Hungarian --- On the air two and a half hours daily, VOA Hungarian pioneered radio bridges in Eastern Europe in 1988. Guests have included a former Hungarian state minister, Nobel laureate Edward Teller, and Congressman Tom Lantos, as well as other leading personalities in Hungary and the U. S. Last weekend, we expanded VOA Hungarian medium wave from an hour to two hours each evening.

Czechoslovak --- On the air three hours daily, VOA Czechoslovak commands a listenership of about 38% of the adult listening population in the country, according to RFE research. As President Vaclav Havel was being sworn in, Radio Prague turned to VOA for full archival material in Czech and Slovak on the famed playwright and rebroadcast this extensively in its special coverage.

Romanian --- On the air two and a quarter hours daily, VOA Romanian added an hour for eight days in late December to report the fall of Nicolai Ceausescu, his and his wife's summary trial and execution, and the subsequent dialogue among the National Salvation Front and other factions. Yesterday, the Romanian Service registered another VOA first: a conversation with a cross-section of citizens in Timisoara, the cradle of the Romanian revolution. It was our first radio bridge with Romania.

Bulgarian --- On the air one and one half hours daily, VOA Bulgarian has benefited from periodic on-scene coverage by VOA correspondents during the fall of Todor Zhivkov and the attempt of the party to reform itself.

Serbo-Croatian --- On the air an hour and a quarter daily, there has been extensive coverage this week by NEB correspondent Ron Pemstein and the Yugoslav Service's Barry Brkic of the historic party congress.

Slovene --- On the air a half hour each morning, Slovene has drawn upon the same source materials for its news-related transmission.

Albanian --- On the air an hour daily, VOA Albanian is watching closely for signs of change in the Ramiz Alia regime and reporting double sourced information about this as it surfaces.

THE VOICE OF AMERICA
A Brief History

"We are living in an age when communication has achieved fabulous importance.... There is a new and decisive force in the human race, more powerful than all the tyrants. It is the force of massed thought -- thought which has been provoked by words, strongly spoken...."

That comment might have been made in December 1989 when hundreds of thousands of demonstrators -- armed only with thoughts -- took to the streets of Prague, Leipzig, and Bucharest to change the political face of Central and Eastern Europe.

It was actually spoken a half-century earlier -- in 1939 -- by the American playwright Robert Sherwood who was about to become a speechwriter for President Franklin Roosevelt and, in time, the "father" of the Voice of America.

In 1939, however, the United States was the only world power without a government-sponsored, international radio service. The Netherlands had been the first country to direct regularly-scheduled broadcasts beyond its own borders, inaugurating shortwave programming to the Far East in 1927. Seeing radio as an instrument of foreign policy, the Soviet Union built a radio center in Moscow and was broadcasting in 50 languages and dialects by the end of 1930. Italy and Great Britain started their respective "empire services" in 1932 with France going on-the-air the following year. 1933 found Nazi Germany building a massive network of transmitters and beaming hostile propaganda into Austria. The same year, Berlin began shortwave broadcasts to Latin America. In the Far East, meanwhile, Japan was using radio to promote its national ambitions.

Despite the efforts of many prominent figures, including New York Congressman Emmanuel Celler (who introduced bills in 1937, 1938, and 1939 to create a government station that could respond to German propaganda), the United States entered the 1940's with no plans for establishing an official U.S. presence on the international radio spectrum. America's shortwave resources consisted of just over a dozen low-powered, commercially-owned and operated transmitters.

In 1941, several of these private transmitters were leased by the U.S. Coordinator for InterAmerican Affairs (CIAA) to broadcast to Latin America. In mid-1941, President Roosevelt established the U.S. Foreign Information Service (FIS) and named speechwriter Sherwood as its first director. Driven by his belief in the power of ideas and the need to communicate America's views abroad, Sherwood quickly rented space for his headquaters in New York City, recruited a staff of talented journalists, and began producing material for broadcast to Europe by the privately-owned American shortwave stations. Sherwood also talked with officials in London about the prospects for relaying FIS material over the facilities of the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC).

With Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor and Germany's declaration of war against the United States, Sherwood moved into high gear. He called the well-known theatrical producer, author and director John Houseman in Hollywood, asking that Houseman come to New York and take charge of radio operations at FIS.

In December 1941, FIS made its first direct broadcasts to Asia from a studio in San Francisco. On February 24, 1942 -- 79 days after the attack on Pearl Harbor -- FIS beamed its first broadcast to Europe via BBC medium and long wave transmitters. The announcer William Harlan Hale opened that German language program with the words: "Here speaks a voice from America." The name took hold and within a few months, it was used on all Foreign Information Service broadcasts.

VOA - THE WAR YEARS

From the beginning, VOA promised to tell its listeners the truth. As John Houseman said later, "In reality we had little choice. Inevitably the news that the Voice of America would carry to the world in the first half of 1942 was almost all bad. As Japanese invasions followed one another with sickening regularity and the Nazi armies moved ever deeper into Russia and the Near East, we would have to report our reverses without weaseling. Only thus could we establish a reputation for honesty which we hoped would pay off on that distant but inevitable day when we would start reporting our own invasions and victories."

By June 1942, VOA had a new organizational home -- the Office of War Information (OWI) -- and was growing rapidly. Twenty-three transmitters had been constructed and 27 language services were on the air when the Allied summit took place in Casablanca. At the end of the war there were 41 broadcast services.

THE POST WAR PERIOD

As the war drew to a close, however, many VOA broadcast services were reduced or eliminated. Then in late 1945, a State Department-appointed committee of private citizens chaired by Columbia University professor Arthur McMahon advised that the U.S. government could not be "indifferent to the ways in which our society is portrayed to other countries." Consequently, on December 31, 1945, the VOA and CIAA's broadcast services to Latin America were transferred to the Department of State, and Congress reluctantly appropriated funds for their continued operation in 1946 and 1947. The hesitancy to support international broadcasting all but disappeared in 1948. That year, members of Congress were heavily influenced by the escalation of the Cold War and hostile international broadcasting by the Soviet Union and Soviet-controlled countries. The Berlin blockade in 1948 confirmed the need for an American radio voice to the world. The enactment of the Smith-Mundt Act that year gave permanent status to America's international information and cultural exchange programs which included the Voice of America.

THE COLD WAR ERA

For the next two years, there was debate in the government about the proper role of America's official international broadcasting arm. Was it to report the news and reflect America or was it to be used as

A Brief History

an instrument of U.S. foreign policy and as a "weapon" against the Soviet Union? Congress saw it increasingly in the latter role. With the outbreak of the Korean War in 1950, new language services were added to VOA and plans were laid for construction of large transmitter complexes on both the east and west coasts of the United States.

In early 1953, Senator Joseph McCarthy chaired several weeks of hearings designed to investigate programming and engineering practices at VOA and allegations that there were "subversives on the staff guilty of negligence favoring communism." The inquiry also examined management practices and plans to build new VOA transmitters. While the charges of subversive activity were never proven, widespread dismissals and resignations followed. In the wake of the hearings, Congress reduced VOA's budget, the transmitter construction program was halted, and a number of language services were terminated.

TURNING POINTS

Even before the McCarthy hearings ended, however, a commission appointed by President Eisenhower had begun a review of U.S. foreign information activities, including VOA. The commission -- chaired by former President Herbert Hoover -- concluded that these programs should be separated from the Department of State, and on August 1, 1953, the U.S. Information Agency came into existence with VOA as its single largest element. A year later, the VOA headquarters was transferred from New York to its present site on Independence Avenue, SW, in Washington.

The crises in Hungary and the Suez, the beginnings of American-Soviet summitry, and the dawning of the space age in the late 1950's and early 1960's offered new opportunities for VOA. Reliable and comprehensive reporting of the news and creativity in reflecting America were reemphasized. In 1959, a limited vocabulary, slow delivery of English broadcasts -- called Special English -- was inaugurated to facilitate comprehension for millions of listeners. In 1960, USIA Director George Allen endorsed the Charter that had been drafted by VOA staff members to provide a formal statement of the principles that would govern VOA broadcasts. The Charter said -- in part -- that:

(1) VOA will serve as a consistently reliable and authoritative source of news. VOA news will be accurate, objective, and comprehensive.

(2) VOA will represent America, not any single segment of American society, and will therefore present a balanced and comprehensive projection of significant American thoughts and institutions.

(3) VOA will present the policies of the United States clearly and effectively, and will also present responsible discussion and opinion on these policies.

In July 1976, Congress passed and President Ford signed a bill, making the VOA Charter a federal law.

ESPRIT DE CORPS

For 48 years, a dedicated staff endowed with a strong sense of mission has sustained and enhanced Voice of America broadcasting, in periods of expansion or contraction and in periods of crisis or calm.

It began with those who joined VOA in 1942. A complete roster of the men and women who formed and nourished the Voice in its infancy, John Houseman recalled, "would reveal a collection of native and foreign luminaries in their various fields -- journalists, publishers, executives, actors, directors, economists, philosophers, poets, artists, musicians, educators, and financiers of such celebrity in their past and future lives that it is almost impossible to believe they were all ever assembled under one roof." Collectively, they endowed the organization with an enduring esprit de corps.

Twenty-five years later, former director John Chancellor wrote: "There's a peculiar sort of ramshackle excellence about the Voice of America. I came to work there with the standard conceptions and misconceptions of an outsider. I did think of it as a calm and dignified group of broadcasters. To my surprise, I found that I had misjudged the spirit -- indeed, the clamor -- that exists inside the Voice. It was like walking into a stately building to find the residents holding up the walls with broomsticks while carrying on a terrific argument. There is a fine, antic sense of madness about the place and after a year and a half of taking my turn at the broomstick, I view the Voice and its employees with a feeling of pride and affection...."

"It is important to note," he continued, "the extraordinary diversity of talent and background brought to the Voice by its broadcasters. There are scholars, politicians, journalists, wanderers and proud exiles. They are, to a remarkable degree, people of spirit and intelligence, whose passion is to represent the United States in the best possible manner."

DECADES OF PROGRESS

In the 1960's and 1970's, VOA took giant steps toward becoming the world's leading international broadcaster. Henry Loomis' long tenure as Director from 1958 to 1964 not only produced the VOA Charter, but extensive increases in technical facilities and programming for every world area. John Chancellor's promise in 1965 that VOA broadcasting "would swing a little" resulted in new and livelier program formats.

Greater creativity was introduced in both English and foreign language programming. News-gathering resources were increased, making possible more live, on-the-scene reporting. In 1969, when Neil Armstrong set foot on the moon, nearly 800 million people were tuned to the Voice or to the hundreds of stations around the world that were relaying VOA's live coverage. In 1977, VOA became the first international broadcaster to use a full-time satellite circuit to deliver programming from its home studios to an overseas relay station -- in this case, the VOA Arabic program from Washington to the Voice transmitters on the Greek island of Rhodes.

During Kenneth Gidden's tenure as director from 1969-1977, VOA dramatically enhanced its credibility through its straightforward reporting of two events that traumatized the nation -- the war in Vietnam and the constitutional crises posed by Watergate. VOA's reporting not only drew praise from the American press, but from listeners in every part of the world area as tens of thousands wrote, expressing admiration for VOA's comprehensive and objective coverage.

The 1973-1980 cessation in Soviet jamming, an expanding audience in China, and the introduction of new or increased programming for listeners in Iran, Afghanistan, and Poland were opening up

vast new audiences for VOA. As Giddens had predicted, however, VOA's potential to reach an ever increasing number of the world's citizens was being handicapped by insufficient resources. As the 1970's came to an end, the gap between VOA's extensive programming requirements and the level of funding had led to serious deficiences in both personnel and facilities. Almost every language service was short-staffed. It was not unusual to find translator-announcers working two and three weeks without a day off. VOA's antiquated studios and master control complex were breaking down with increasing frequency despite the best efforts of a dedicated technical staff skilled in fabricating spare parts no longer available in the market.

Listeners in many parts of the world were complaining that VOA signals sounded weak and distorted. By the early 1980's, many VOA transmitters were more than thirty years old and some were over forty. Almost none were capable of producing the 500,000-watt signals being generated by VOA's leading competitors. And, the competition itself was increasing. In the mid-1980's, some 160 stations were crowding the international spectrum with upwards of 25,000 hours of programming a week!

RENEWAL: THE COMMITMENT OF THE 80'S

"The truth is mankind's best hope for a better world," President Reagan told Americans in a national radio address on September 10, 1983, as he reported on the urgent requirements to modernize VOA. Joined by Congress, the Reagan Administration launched -- what was planned as -- a comprehensive $1.3 billion program to rebuild and modernize VOA's programming and technical capabilities. Although that modernization program has been modified and its size greatly reduced over the past four years to conform with the government-wide budget constraints, substantial technical and programming improvements have been made.

Since the mid-1980's, more than a dozen new "state-of-the-art" studios have been constructed, a new Master Control complex built and installed, and a World Operations Control Center built to coordinate and direct VOA's domestic and overseas relay (transmitter) stations. A Satellite Interconnect System ("SIS") is being put in place to provide clearer, more reliable program feeds from Washington to the relay stations. And, construction is underway at one of the several new relay sites planned under the modernization program. Eight new 500-kW transmitters have been put into operation and others have been ordered from the manufacturer.

On the programming side, a new multilingual word processing system, known as "SNAP," has been installed in the VOA newsroom and in most of the language services to expedite script writing and editing.

1985 saw the Voice of America inaugurate two important new efforts, VOA Europe and Radio Marti. The latter provides 24-hour-a-day Spanish language programming to Cuba. VOA Europe delivers especially designed English language programming "round-the-clock" to local radio and cable affilates in some 16 European nations.

As the 1980's ended, VOA was offering more than a thousand hours of direct broadcasts a week in 43 language to an estimated audience of close to 130 million regular listeners. Millions of other listeners were hearing VOA programs as they were rebroadcast by local radio stations in Asia, Africa, Europe, and Latin America.

1989 was an extraordinary year for the Voice of America. In the late spring, VOA Mandarin and Cantonese broadcasts were increased as they brought tens -- perhaps, hundreds -- of millions of Chinese accurate reports of the pro-democracy movement that filled Beijing's Tiananmen Square and the streets of dozens of other Chinese cities. In the fall and winter, VOA described the historic changes sweeping Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union -- changes that some in the media have ascribed, at least, in part to the Voice and other western broadcasters.

In a recent statement, VOA Director Richard W. Carlson said,

"Millions in China, Poland, Hungary, Czechoslavakia, Burma, Romania, and Bulgaria -- as well as sub-Saharan Africa -- will tell you how VOA inspired them this past year and for many years before that. Their quest for freedom continues. And so does the VOA's mission as an intellectual greengrocer to the world, providing food for the sustenance of common ideals...." ■

VOA
VOICE OF AMERICA

"Broadcasting to the World"

Congress of the United States

House of Representatives

Washington, DC 20515

JUL 31 2 35 PM '89
OFFICE OF DIRECTOR
EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT

July 25, 1989

Mr. Richard W. Carlson
Director
Voice of America
330 Independence Avenue, S.W.
Washington, D.C. 25047

Dear Mr. Carlson:

We are writing to express our strong support for the U.S. Information Agency's radio service, Voice of America, and its increased efforts to broadcast information about the recent Chinese student pro-democracy movement into mainland China.

In the weeks since the bloody military crackdown on student protestors in Tiananmen Square it is our understanding that Voice Of America has gone to heroic lengths to ensure that critical news of the continuing crisis is received by as many Chinese citizens as possible.

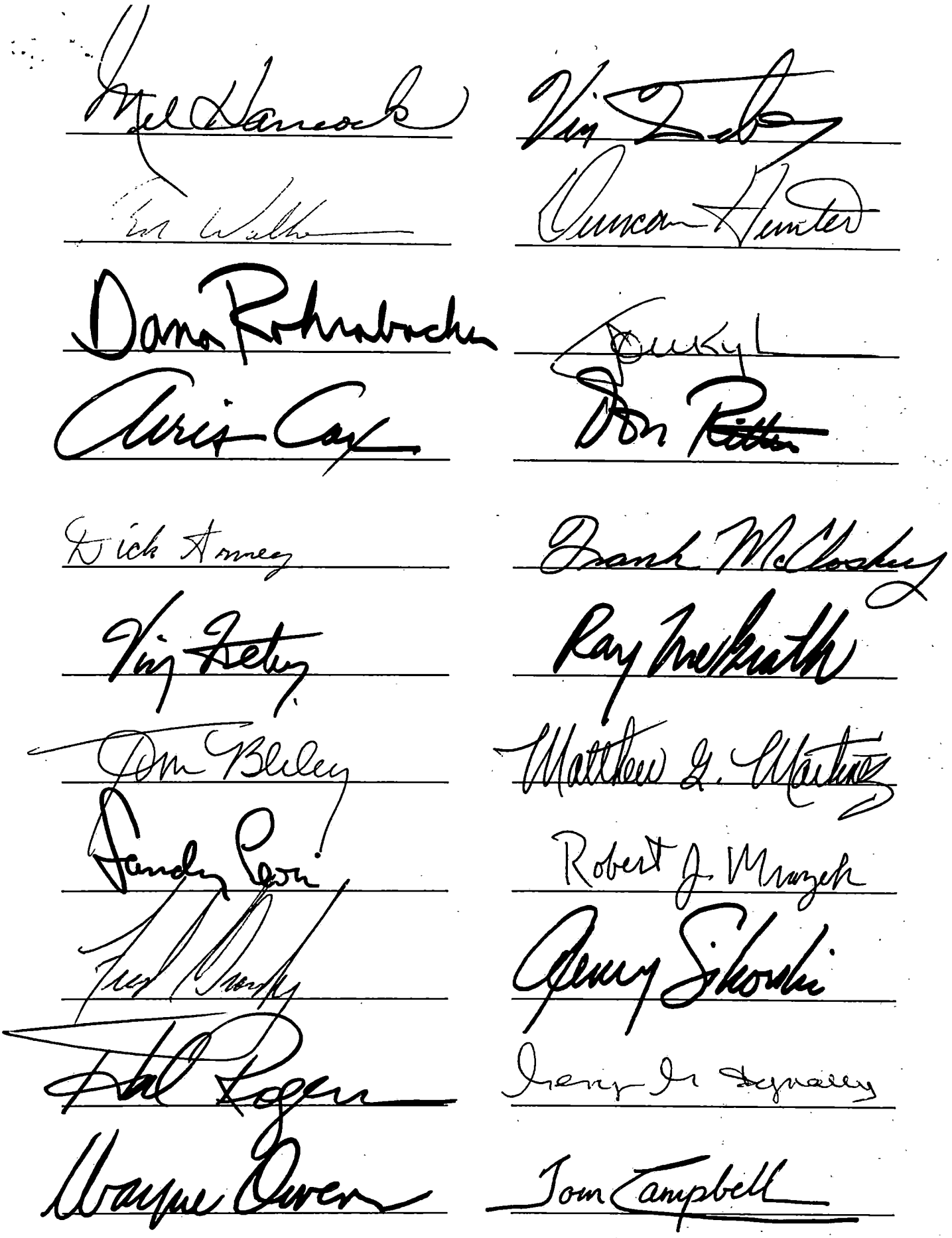
The twenty-five percent increase in daily broadcasts to China since the uprising and continued attempts to add frequencies and transmitters to counter government jamming are efforts we believe deserve particular recognition.

It is our firm belief that these vital transmissions must continue to be increased. The strongest weapon available to the Chinese people is the truth and VOA is without question the most powerful and direct way to get the truth to the Chinese people.

We commend your determination and hard work in bringing the voice of democracy to the troubled Chinese population and believe that ongoing VOA operations merit continued Congressional support in the future.

Sincerely,

Cass Ballenger



Helen Dobbs Brantley

Steve Schiff

Jolene Unsoeld

Ron MacDonald

Jamie Morello

Ralph Angle

Charlie Rose

Cardiss Collins

Hamin Fish Jr

H Martin Lancaster

Ed Jones

For her distinguished and selfless contributions, Mrs. Hoggard received many commendations and awards. Among her achievements she was recognized as a Distinguished Nevadan by UNLV. She was named woman of the year by several clubs and was honored by the American Red Cross, NAACP, Las Vegas Rotary Club, Zion Methodist Church and Wesleyan Service Guild, and the Clark County Classroom Teachers' Association. But, one of the most noticeable honors and probably the most lasting memory of her is the Mabel W. Hoggard Elementary School.

"Only when the horizons of all children have been brodened—when children are motivated to move ahead, to secure the education they must have in order to fill positions of responsibility in our society—then, and only then, will we be able to make much needed change possible without undue painful conflict," Mrs. Hoggard said in 1974, when she spoke to the Clark County School Trustees, who renamed Bonanza Elementary School in her honor.

Mrs. Hoggard had a great impact on children, the community, the church, the NAACP and people everywhere she went. Her dedication to children and her contribution to her profession and her community earned her the respect and love of all whose lives she touched. She was admired by many friends, coworkers, and countless Las Vegans and her passing leaves a void that will not easily be forgotten. Her boundless energy, talent, and zest for life serves as a true inspiration to us all.

Mr. Speaker, the passing of Mrs. Mabel Hoggard is a great loss to all Las Vegans and Nevadans, but she leves behind a legacy for which her family and all Americans can be proud.

NEWPORT HARBOR LAWN BOWLING CLUB'S 50TH ANNIVERSARY

HON. C. CHRISTOPHER COX

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 15, 1989

Mr. COX. Mr. Speaker, it is my privilege today to recognize the 50th anniversary of a California institution, the Newport Harbor Lawn Bowling Club. Lawn bowling, a challenging and exhilarating sport, has enjoyed great popularity around the world in this millennium. Nowhere is the tradition more properly represented than in Orange County, CA.

In 1937, William V. Jones arrived in the Newport area from British Columbia. He raised more than $2,000 to build a lawn bowling field and, with the cooperation of local officials and the assistance of many volunteers, a green was ready by the summer of 1938. The articles of incorporation were prepared and filed with the California Secretary of State in 1939, which is why we now recognize the club's 50th anniversary.

Mr. Speaker, the sport of lawn bowling has a long and noble history. Its origins can be traced to 13th century England, when the first of the more than 4,000 clubs that exist today was founded in Southhampton. As the first club remains strong and active, so does the Newport Harbor Lawn Bowling Club. The Newport Harbor membership, now numbering 120, is dedicated to preserving the great traditions of the sport for future generations. I ask my colleagues to join me today in saluting the Newport Harbor Lawn Bowling Club upon its 50th anniversary.

KANSAN COLONEL EARNS RECOGNITION

HON. JAN MEYERS

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 15, 1989

Mrs. MEYERS. Mr. Speaker, it is with great pleasure that today I pay tribute to a fine constituent of the Third Congressional District of Kansas, Col. David A. Ballentine. In August, Colonel Ballentine will be retiring from his position as deputy director of the Marine Corps Reserve Support Center in Overland Park, KS.

A native Kansas, Colonel Ballentine has served in the U.S. Marine Corps for the past 23 years. His Marine Corps career began in 1966 and, since that time, he has distinguished himself by valiantly earning the Distinguished Flying Cross and the Air Medal with Two Gold Stars. He has been the deputy director of the Marine Corps Reserve Support Center since December 1988.

Apart from these achievements, Colonel Ballentine has distinguished himself as an active member and deacon of the Overland Park Christian Church. He is a model citizen and soldier, who sets the ideal example for Kansans and all Americans.

Colonel Ballentine has now decided to return to his birthplace in Bonner Springs and raise his family.

I commend Colonel Ballentine for his years of service, dedication, and generosity. His service has not gone unnoticed, and it will certainly be long remembered.

Mr. Speaker, I wish to express my appreciation to Colonel Ballentine for his honorable service to our country and its people.

VOICE OF AMERICA—STILL THE BEST BARGAIN IN AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY

HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 15, 1989

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, media reports tell of the explusion from Communist China of two American journalists for allegedly violating martial law restrictions and inciting counterrevolutionary activities.

One of those expelled is Alan W. Pessin, the bureau chief of the Voice of America, the international broadcasting service of the U.S. Government. Mr. Pessin has been covering China since 1984 and, according to the Chinese, engaged in "illegal newsgathering."

It should not be news when a totalitarian government expels an American journalist for doing his job. Totalitarian governments, like that of Communist China, have no conception of a free press.

But in one sense the expulsion of Mr. Pessin is good news. By that I mean that it reminds us of the importance of the Voice of America. In an age of high-tech gadgetry, of television by satellite, of fax machines and glasnost, the Voice of America may have seemed to some to be old-fashioned, a "relic of the Cold War" as some have said.

To the contrary—the Voice of America remains, as it has been since World War II, a voice of freedom, of solid, factual news, of opinion that is labeled opinion and of clear, authoritative, official U.S. policy. The jazz programs of Voice of America's Willis Conover have introduced millions in Europe and Asia to the best of American culture and, in doing so, have opened a window through which freedom of artistic expression could be glimpsed by those long denied such freedom.

If the expulsion of Mr. Pessin reminds us of the importance of the Voice of America, perhaps it was worth the price. We in the United States, who are used to freedom of information, and who take it for granted, forget how important a free flow of information can be to those who lack freedom.

I just want to congratulate the Voice of America, its director Richard Carlson and the entire staff. An organization whose representative is expelled for telling the truth to those denied freedom deserves the support and the applause of the American people. I hope our colleagues recognize the importance of this great American institution and that we provide the funding and support its needs. The Voice of America remains, what it has been for years, the best bargain the American people have in foreign policy.

TRIBUTE TO CSABA KUR

HON. JAMES A. TRAFICANT, JR.

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 15, 1989

Mr. TRAFICANT. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to pay tribute to Csaba Kur, a Hungarian-American artist, who came to the United States in search of the American dream and is now bestowing the world with his invaluable gifts of art.

Csaba war born in Hungary in 1926 and arrived in America in 1951 impoverished. Driven from his homeland by the Red Army, he sought refuge in Germany where he received his preliminary training in the arts. Mr. Kur began his career creating prints with water colors, but soon moved to creating statues, for which he is most famous today.

Mr. Kur has sculpted many works that can be seen in public buildings in Chicago, New York, and Cleveland. He also has a statue in the permanent collection at the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts in Washington, DC. Presently he runs his own gallery in my 17th Congressional District of Ohio and teaches classes to individuals in hopes of spreading his love of art to others. His expressionistic style of art captures the deep meaning behind all of his subjects.

Mr. Speaker, Csaba Kur has truly made an outstanding contribution not only to my district but also to the world. The recording of history in his manner will allow the events to live on forever in a true to life form. I am extremely grateful for his contributions, and consider it an honor to represent him.

strengthen our foundations of freedom and opportunity.

COMMENDING VOICE OF AMERICA

(Mr. JONES of Georgia asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. JONES of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, at a recent memorial service in Atlanta for the victims of the Beijing massacre, a number of Chinese students stressed to me the vital importance of the Voice of America in the Chinese struggle for greater freedom.

Civilized people around the world have watched the tragic events in China with sadness and outrage. Now the Chinese Government is engaged in an all-out propaganda offensive to rewrite history.

But, "The truth will set you free." That is why perhaps as many as 300 million Chinese are listening to the Voice of America's broadcasts in Mandarin, Cantonese, and English. With all other sources of information deliberately distorted, VOA has become the premiere source of news in China. The Chinese people respect VOA. They trust VOA to bring them an honest account of events in their own country. VOA has now extended broadcast hours, added a medium wave signal, opened telephone hotlines, and switched to all-news programming in order to keep the Chinese people informed of events that will determine their future. In response, the Chinese Government is jamming VOA, has issued bitter denunciations of VOA coverage, and yesterday expelled VOA Beijing Bureau Chief Alan Pessin. But the spirit of freedom cannot be silenced.

This crisis demonstrates the importance of international broadcasting. I hope my colleagues will join me in commending the staff of VOA for their tireless efforts, which have earned the respect and admiration of listeners around the world.

IN SUPPORT OF A BILL TO ELIMINATE GOVERNMENT WASTE

(Mr. BROOMFIELD asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Speaker, late yesterday I introduced a bill that I believe will eliminate some of the most incredibly needless Government waste I've ever heard of.

Millions of dollars worth of expensive equipment is being sent to the ocean floor on U.S. Navy ships because the Navy is either unable or unwilling to do anything about it.

America's do-it-yourselfer who spends his Saturday mornings at the hardware store would not believe what the Navy is throwing away: band saws, grinders, motors, lathes and vises, milling machines, rotary pumps, and electric amplifiers are just some of the items.

My bill would help save the taxpayer those wasted dollars by requiring that old Navy vessels used in target practice or sunk as artificial reefs be partially scrapped before being used.

America may be the most wealthy Nation in the world, but we are not so wealthy that we can afford to dump millions of dollars worth of sophisticated equipment to the bottom of the ocean floor.

□ 1010

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER

The SPEAKER. The Chair will interrupt the 1-minute speeches to receive a request from the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. SHARP].

APPOINTMENT OF CONFEREES ON H.R. 1722, NATURAL GAS WELLHEAD DECONTROL ACT OF 1989

Mr. SHARP. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's table the bill (H.R. 1722) to amend the Natural Gas Policy Act of 1978 to eliminate wellhead price and nonprice controls on the first sale of natural gas, and to make technical and conforming amendments to such act with Senate amendments thereto, disagree to the Senate amendment and agree to the conference asked by the Senate.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Indiana? The Chair hears none, and appoints the following conferees: Messrs. DINGELL, SHARP, TAUZIN, LENT, and MOORHEAD.

DOE NUCLEAR WEAPONS CONTRACTORS MUST BE HELD ACCOUNTABLE FOR ENVIRONMENT AND SAFETY VIOLATIONS

(Mr. SKAGGS asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. SKAGGS. Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing a bill that I believe will make a significant contribution toward improving safety and accountability at our Nation's nuclear weapons plants.

It is astonishing but true that when a nuclear weapons plant contractor is fined for breaking the law, the chances are good that the U.S. Department of Energy [DOE] will pay the fine. This is a terrible policy, and a slap in the face to every American taxpayer. My bill would stop the DOE in all but the most exceptional cases from reimbursing contractors who are penalized for breaking the law. The bill also directs DOE to reform its contractor award fee system to emphasize safe operations and environmental soundness at its facilities.

When an ordinary American citizen breaks the law, he knows he may be punished for the violation. The same goes for U.S. companies. Our system is not foolproof, but the fact that people know they may be held accountable for their actions means they are less likely to break the law in the first place.

It is precisely this accountability that is still lacking at the Department of Energy's nuclear weapons plants.

When a DOE nuclear weapons contractor violates the law, they often simply pay the fine knowing they'll be promptly reimbursed. This is particularly the case where DOE contractors break important environmental or safety laws, despite the danger to public health and safety that might be involved. This DOE policy undermines basic and very important incentives for contractors to follow the law. It has encouraged a scofflaw attitude on the part of some of our contractors, because they know they will get off scot-free even if they are caught red-handed.

You would think that after the shocking events and disclosures at these nuclear facilities over the last several years—after years of woeful mismanagement and callous indifference toward the public health—after the DOE has sent the taxpayer a bill for $150 billion to fix up and clean up its act—after 75 FBI agents raided the Rocky Flats plant in my district to look into criminal allegations of illegal dumping and burning of toxic chemicals and wastes—you would think that the Department would end this insane and incredible policy.

You would think that the DOE would want to do something to rebuild its public credibility, that the Department would want the public to see it punish wrongdoing, not reward it. Especially when that wrongdoing has potentially profound implications on the lives and health of people living in communities surrounding these plants.

But they have not. After all this, it is stunning to me that it is still DOE policy that, when a nuclear weapons plant contractor is fined for breaking the law, DOE pays the fine.

One of the more glaring examples of this happened late last year at Rocky Flats when the contractor, Rockwell International, was fined $47,500 for violating the law by haphazardly storing equipment that was leaking deadly, cancer-causing PCB's. After fighting the fine for months, using DOE lawyers, Rockwell finally agreed to pay the fine. In this case, Rockwell didn't even have to wait to be reimbursed—they apparently paid the fine right out of a U.S. Department of Energy advance funds account from which Rockwell could write checks.

Frankly, if I were a contractor, I would be embarrassed to admit my company refused to take responsibility

last—and most offensive—practice. Many of the smaller companies claim that it will take them some time to adjust to the loss of this service. They will need to perform a greater amount of calculations themselves to get to each rate. I think it might be wise to let the industry adjust to the new, truncated system before taking additional steps which might further disrupt the market. The insurance industry plays an important role in the smooth functioning of our economy; we must be cautious before making significant changes in the Federal statute regualting it.

REMEMBERING WATERGATE: KEY SENATE REPORT ISSUED 15 YEARS AGO TODAY

HON. FORTNEY PETE STARK

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 13, 1989

Mr. STARK. Mr. Speaker, 15 years ago today the final report of the Senate Select Committee on Presidential Campaign Activities was released. The evidence contained in the report elucidated the fact that "campaign practices must be effectively supervised and enforcement of the criminal laws vigorously pursued against all offenders—even those of high estate—if our free institutions are to survive."

The report included 35 legislative proposals including an independent and permanent public attorney, a Federal Elections Commission, limits on cash campaign contributions by individuals, reforms in reporting procedures and restrictions on solicitation of campaign funds by presidential staff, tightening of laws involving use of Federal agencies to aid the election of candidates.

An article in the Hartford Courant dated July 12, 1974, effectively indicates the need for immediate reforms in the Presidential campaign process: "America is getting numb. We are losing our ability and capacity to react. And this is a dangerous condition. Inability to remove one's shelf from peril, whether through lethargy, exhaustion or sheer fascination, usually is fatal. This holds for subzero weather, and certainly chilling Watergate."

Many people would have liked to be able to forget Watergate. Recorded testimony before the various committees has reached several million sentences. When the average citizens turned on his or her television set or radio during the summer of 1974 that person received an intense assault on their senses dealing with the Watergate affair in various ways. This caused many people to hide from the truth in an effort to shield themselves from the complexities of the entire fiasco.

However this report needs to be remembered. It holds 35 essential warnings to prevent another corruption of our Constitution. Now that we have been warned it is up to us to heed the warnings or suffer the consequences for forgetting.

PERSONAL EXPLANATION

HON. JIM BATES

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 13, 1989

Mr. BATES. Mr. Speaker, I was unavoidably absent on Friday, June 23, 1989. Had I been present, I would have voted:

"Yea" on roll No. 106, approving the Journal of Thursday, June 22, 1989; and

"Yea" on roll No. 107, approving the Senate amendment to H.R. 2042, the fiscal year Department of Veterans Affairs supplemental appropriations bill.

PROBLEMS CREATED BY PEOPLE WITH DUAL ADDRESSES

HON. JIM SAXTON

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 13, 1989

Mr. SAXTON. Mr. Speaker, today many individuals and families live under a dual address. One of these is their mailing address. The second address is their locatable address which usually includes a house number, always the name of their road or street, and the name of town in which they reside.

But why must there be two addresses for these people? It creates untold opportunities for confusion. One of my constituents tells the story of a neighbor who was seriously burned in a home accident—yet the emergency squad had difficulty finding him because they were using his mailing address to find him. His mailing address included the name of a town in which the victim did not live.

Today, I am introducing a bill to help put an end to this address confusion. My bill, the Locatable Address Bill provides that if a municipality and its governing body decide that the address confusion within the locale is out-of-control, then they may, at their option, adopt a single address system. That system would require that the proper name of the town be included in the third and last line of every address within that time. But there is one caveat—the proper ZIP Codes for each address must also be used. In other words, this legislation does not change the ZIP Codes already in place.

For example, there are two residences in my district that share the same mailing address, 701 Delaware Avenue, Riverside, NJ, 08075. One is actually located in Riverside. The other is in a town called Delanco that is in the Riverside Post Office delivery area. Under my bill, the town of Delanco would be allowed to use the ZIP Code of the Riverside Post Office, making their address 701 Delaware Avenue, Delanco, NJ, 08075. In that way each residence would have one locatable address.

In other words, this bill would permit the fundamental right of municipalities to correct faulty address systems to facilitate the location of property and people by anyone within the township.

One immediate advantage to my proposal is that it will save aggravation and money. When a town seeks to regain its identity, what does it do? The answer, of course, is that it seeks to have its own post office built. This bill allows that town the ability to gain its identity without engaging in a protracted fight with the Postal Service for a new post office.

Second, by adopting a locatable address system, the job of the rural mail carrier should be made easier. He or she knows more specifically where a letter should be delivered—the house, the street, and the town. They need not be confused by three roads with the same name in three different towns, which, unfortunately, all have the same third different towns which, unfortunately, all have the same third line address. Instead, the third line will indicate exactly what town the letter is going to.

The discrepancies with a dual address system also impacts census figures, the cost of insurance, and inaccurate tax payments to municipalities by states.

In fact, I recently received a letter from the mayor of Southampton Township, NJ. The letter reads as follows:

DEAR SOUTHAMPTON TOWNSHIP RESIDENT: Your township nees an accurate census and is asking for your full cooperation and special help so that we can get the best possible census result.

This is very important since the census results affect our Federal and State funding, our congressional and State representation, and a host of county, State, and Federal programs.

The address on your tax bill reflects the newly assigned property number, the street name, and the name of the postal facility that delivers your mail. To eliminate confusion we need you to write "Southampton TWP." on the census form so your count will be obviously credited to our township, not to one of the five other townships or municipalities where our delivering post offices are located. This is very important.

I urge you to join me in allowing municipalities to remedy this critical situation. Support the locatable address bill.

THE IMPORTANCE OF VOA

HON. BOB McEWEN

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 13, 1989

Mr. McEWEN. Mr. Speaker, over the past few months, we have heard and read of the phenomenal impact of the Voice of America in China. As many as 300 Chinese—more than the population of the entire United States—may be listening to VOA on a regular basis for the news they can't get from their own media. This alone is an awesome accomplishment and one worthy of recognition.

But Chinese is just 1 of the 43 languages in which VOA broadcasts. In a number of countries, VOA is the leading international radio station—sometimes even more popular than the local radio station. As Poland reforms its political system for the first time in 40 years, VOA presents the American model of democracy and covers news of Solidarity in Polish. In Iran, convulsing after the death of the Ayatollah, VOA broadcasts in Farsi provide a voice of accuracy, stability, and reason. Radio Marti broadcasts in Spanish told the Cuban people the truth about the rampant corruption and human rights violations in their country long before the Castro regime did.

Mr. Speaker, VOA is a vital national resource. Richard Carlson, the Director of the

Voice of America, and his staff should be proud of their unswerving dedication to informing the world. All Americans should likewise take pride in such an effective representative overseas.

THANK YOU, CHIEF KENNEDY

HON. CLARENCE E. MILLER

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 13, 1989

Mr. MILLER of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to publicly commend the 33 years of devoted service to the Amanda, OH, Township Fire Department rendered by retiring fire chief Dale E. Kennedy.

Chief Kennedy joined the fire department in 1956, and has served as a fireman, lieutenant, assistant chief and, for the past 8 years, chief of this unit. The Amanda Township Fire Department provides fire protection to three central Ohio townships containing 100 square miles and hundreds of families, farms, and businesses. The department is a volunteer unit in the truest sense of the word: Its firemen and women receive no pay or reimbursement for their community service work and fire protection.

For more than three decades, Dale Kennedy has been a stable element in this impressive unit. He has worked tirelessly for the improvement of the community and its citizens. He has upheld the responsibilities of each post held in the department and the region is proud of his efforts.

It is fitting that he is being honored by his community upon his retirement. Collectively, the good citizens of the region will have a chance to say thank you for his leadership, professionalism, and personal interest in the well-being of the area. I want to express my gratitude, as well, and bring his record of service to the people of central Ohio to the attention of the U.S. House of Representatives. Oftentimes, this Nation looks for those who make a difference. It need look no further than Amanda, OH, and in the person of Dale Kennedy. His influence, investment, and impact of good will, hard work, and service will be long remembered and deeply appreciated for years, and years, to come. Thank you, Dale.

H.R. 2655

HON. DAN SCHAEFER

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 13, 1989

Mr. SCHAEFER. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to commend the Foreign Affairs Committee for including special development language in H.R. 2655, the Foreign Assistance Authorization Act.

Specifically the committee, in section 1102, refocuses America's objectives for economic assistance and development programs. This language stresses the pursuit of four new policies; economic growth, sustainable development, poverty reduction, and pluralism. These objectives serve both the interests of the United States and the recipient country.

The first two objectives will lead these countries into self-reliance. Not only will these countries reduce their dependency on the United States and foreign assistance, they can be a role model for other developing countries. Perhaps in the future these countries could begin their own foreign assistance programs. Japan is a superb example of a once devastated country contributing to worldwide development. The latter two objectives will address the quality of life in the developing countries. Through the conquest of poverty, illness, and ignorance, these countries can become stalwart supporters of freedom.

Again, I commend the committee for recognizing the need to set specific objectives in the distribution of American assistance. These are noble objectives and I was glad to support this legislation which the House recently passed.

THE DEATH OF COLOMBIAN GOV. ANTONIO ROLDAN BETACUR

HON. BENJAMIN A. GILMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 13, 1989

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, just a few short days ago on June 27, we noted the assassination of Jorge Leon Vallejo, a Colombian human rights activist who was kidnaped by gunmen and found shot dead outside of Medellin, home base of the drug cartel bearing the city's name. It is with deep regret that we must now mark the passing of yet another Columbian martyr in the ongoing international struggle against drugs, Antonio Rolden Betacur. On June 5, 1989, Antonio Roldan, along with three bodyguards and three other individuals, was killed in a car bomb explosive.

The late Mr. Roldan was the Governor of Antioquia, one of the most violent states in all of Colombia, and whose state capital is Medellin. Governor Roldan was also one of the foremost human rights leaders in Latin America. This outrageous attack upon the Governor illustrates the impunity with which the drug lords eliminate the legitimate leaders of that beleaguered country.

Governor Roldan was well aware of the risks he was taking by daring to defy the drug kingpins. He was not blind to the drug traffickers' contempt for democracy. At the very moment that his life was so brutally snatched away, Governor Roldan was on his way to deliver a speech denouncing political violence and praising his late colleague, human rights leader Hector Abad Gomez, who was killed for his anti-drug stance in August 1987. Yet like so many other brave souls who have sacrificed their lives for freedom and justice, Governor Roldan was willing to accept the risks which come with standing up for one's beliefs. He condemned paramilitary death squads and paid the ultimate price for his courage. May all of us be so blessed with the courage of our convictions.

Tragically, Governor Roldan is far from being the only one of his countrymen forced to pay with their lives for their convictions. In the past several years, over 50 judges, including half of the Supreme Court, the Attorney General as well as scores of other law enforcement personnel, government officials, journalists, and private citizens have lost their lives in drug related murders.

Colombia is far from being alone in its problems. Wherever drugs are found, death and destruction follow in its wake. The murder of New York City patrolman Edward Byrne is a reminder that all nations are vulnerable to drug-related crime and violence.

Mr. Speaker, far too many good people both at home and abroad have died already as a result of illicit narcotics. Drug trafficking and abuse threaten the very fabric of democratic societies. We must not allow the sacrifice of Governor Roldan and the hundreds and thousands of other brave individuals like him to be empty ones, lest we forget who we are, and what we stand for as a Nation.

There is much that we must do to combat drugs. Crucial work needs to be done both on the streets of our cities and in the jungles of Central and South America. We must educate our children to say "No" to drugs, and we must rehabilitate those for whom the message comes too late. We must help our Latin American allies take back the land from the drug growers in Latin America, and we must take back the streets from the drug dealers in our own cities. Governor Roldan and others have led the way, but their struggle is not over. We must now continue to pursue their goal of eliminating drug abuse and trafficking. If we do not, then Governor Roldan's death will have been in vain.

THE ALLEN PARK VA HOSPITAL: 50 YEARS OF HEALTH CARE SERVICE

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, July 13, 1989

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in honor of the 50th anniversary of the Veterans' Administration Hospital in Allen Park, MI, in my congressional district. This occasion marks 50 years of service to the veterans of southeast Michigan and serves as a testimony to our commitment, as a nation, to care for our honored veterans in their times of need.

In 1937, Henry and Clara Ford donated to the Federal Government the land on which the Allen Park facility now stands. On July 27, 1939, a groundbreaking ceremony was held paving the way to a six-story facility that housed 350 general medical/surgical beds. The hospital admitted its first veteran on April 15, 1939.

Since then, the Allen Park facility has expanded. To handle the increased medical care needs of World War II veterans, two 10-story wings were added in November 1947. In October 1960, two three-story wings were constructed to serve as an outpatient clinic and administration offices.

Today, the Allen Park facility is a campus-like complex consisting of a large, multiwinged, 611-bed hospital with seperate outpatient, administration, and maintenance buildings. It provides inpatient care to over 6,000 veterans and records over 25,000 outpatient visits every year. The Allen Park facility is a complete health care facility, providing surgical, neurological, psychiatric, and intermediate care, as well as nursing home care.

In September 1988, Congress passed legislation providing funding to establish a dual

to Congress July 21. Within the last few days, EPA officials defeated an attempt by some administration officials to renege on a commitment to reduce nitrogen oxide emissions from automobile exhaust, sources said.

Bush's original proposal appeared to signal a crackdown on companies that emit toxic chemicals believed to cause cancer and other health problems, stating that "EPA would set a standard based on the best technology currently available."

But Hawkins, who held the job of assistant EPA administrator for air during the Carter administration, said the standard proposed in the draft legislation is a "watered-down definition . . . deliberately drafted to require EPA to set weak technology requirements."

Hawkins also questioned the Bush administration's commitment to reducing acid rain. "They're playing all sorts of games with this," he said of the draft legislation plans to cut sulfur dioxide and nitrogen oxide.

Hawkins suggested that nitrogen oxide reductions pegged to the year 2000 could well be erased by emission gains in the interim. Nitrogen oxide emissions "may be as much as 2 million tons more in 2000," he said. "Then a 2 million ton reduction would be no reduction at all."

In the summary of Bush's original proposal, the figures were simply added "for a total reduction of 12 million tons in acid rain-causing emissions."

Rosenberg denied that there was any attempt to conceal the fact that nitrogen oxide reductions would be pegged to the year 2000. Any attempt to calculate the reduction otherwise, he said, "would raise the cost of this bill dramatically."

On pollution-control technology for toxic chemicals, Rosenberg said the administration had always meant to allow for consideration of cost and other factors. "This is absolutely what we intended all along."

And Rosenberg defended the administration's decision to count past reductions in industrial sources of sulfur dioxide toward the 10 million-ton goal set for the year 2000. "Our assumptions are credible and will achieve the reduction," he said.●

TV MARTI

● Mr. LIEBERMAN. Mr. President, as one of the original cosponsors of the Senate bill to authorize TV Marti (S. 375), I have followed with great interest the development of a television broadcast service to Cuba. Together, TV Marti and Radio Marti would be a powerful antidote to Fidel Castro's steady stream of propaganda.

The Voice of America, and its Director, Richard W. Carlson, are working hard to make TV Marti a reality. I would like to share with my colleagues Mr. Carlson's June 13 op-ed in the Miami Herald, which effectively makes the case for the TV Marti service.

The article follows:

[From the Miami Herald, June 13, 1989]

NEWS OF TV MARTI—BREAKING FIDEL CASTRO'S INFORMATION MONOPOLY

(By Richard W. Carlson)

The Voice of America (VOA) is only a few months away from the first broadcast of TV Marti, the proposed television service to Cuba. Last year Congress provided $7.5 million to run a 90-day test broadcast of news, information, and entertainment programs. If the test proves successful, Congress and the Administration have proposed $16 million a year to fund TV Marti.

The reason for TV Marti is simple. We believe that the Cuban people have a right to see and hear information denied them by their own government. In a recent speech, President Bush described TV Marti as a way to "break the monopoly on information that Castro has held for 30 years."

As glasnost spreads in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, as millions in China seek democracy, Fidel Castro's Cuba remains impermeable to reform. Political dissent still leads to prison. Freedom of expression in nonexistent. The Castro government has a firm grip on all newspapers, magazines, radio, and television. The only uncensored, non-idelogical information available to the 10 million people of Cuba comes from outside the island, much of it from Radio Marti, the surrogate station run by the VOA.

VOICES OF AMERICA STANDARDS

TV Marti will be Radio Marti with pictures. Its accurate balanced news and information will meet the highest VOA standards. If TV Marti is only half as successful as Radio Marti, it will fulfill its mandate. After four years on the air, Radio Marti, has become the most popular radio station in Cuba.

That a U.S. Government station, broadcasting from studios in Washington, has twice the audience of the next-most-listened-to station in Cuba is a testimony of Radio Marti's credibility and to the hunger of the Cuban people for uncensored information. When asked to explain the rise of a courageous human-rights movement in such a tightly controlled society, Cuban dissident Richardo Bofill said, "It's quire simple. It can be traced to May 20, 1985, when Radio Marti went on the air."

Like the television proposal, Radio Marti initially received a hostile reception from some in the U.S. media and Congress. Before Radio Marti started broadcasting, news stories warned of U.S./Cuban "radio wars" and military conflict. Editorials called Radio Marti "the dumbest idea since the Edsel" and "a meritless redundancy." Critics claimed that the station would be the mouthpiece of ideologues and anti-Castro Cuban refugees in Florida. They said that it would mire in Cuban-exile politics. Today, these same people praise Radio Marti and recognize the broadcasts for what they are: a demonstration of America's commitment to the free flow of information and an intellectual lifeline for millions.

TV Marti is surely the most closely watched television startup ever. Six Government agencies, six congressional committees, the National Association of Broadcasters, private consultants, and other interested parties are all keeping an eye on the gestation and birth of TV Marti.

SAFEGUARDS AGAINST INTERFERENCE

So too are the Cuban people. Cubans are eagerly purchasing videotapes and saving for VCRs to tape TV Marti programs, including American movies and entertainment shows. This may not be motivated solely by optimism, but perhaps by a desire to avoid the wrath of neighborhood watchdogs for the Defense of the Revolution and to be able to tape TV Marti for discreet, late-night viewing.

Every possible safeguard will be taken to prevent interference with existing U.S. and Cuban TV stations. As a precaution, Congress is expected to provide funding to compensate U.S. broadcasters in the event that either TV Marti or Fidel Castro interferes with domestic stations. It is interesting to note that the apocalptic vision of widespread Cuban retaliation against Radio Marti—which pundits predicted in 1985—never materialized. In fact, no compensation claims were filed with the FCC for Cuban interference that occurred after Radio Marti went on the air.

No doubt Havana's agitation over TV Marti can be traced to Castro's respect for the medium's power to help shape opinion—especially when TV brings unsettling images of democracy and free expression. Should Castro attempt to jam or disrupt TV Marti, he will vividly demonstrate to the world Cuba's flagrant disregard of the basic rights of its people.

NO MIRACLE SOLUTION

TV Marti is no miracle solution to the repression and fear in Cuba. But, as Ed Murrow said, "No computer clicks, no cash register rings when a man changes his mind or opts for freedom. . . . [A]bove all, it is what we do, not what we say, that has the greatest impact overseas."

By extending to Cuba our respect for intellectual freedom, the United States again exposes the hypocrisy of Castro's 30-year dictatorship. The success of Radio Marti proves that we can do it calmly and reliably, TV Marti will go one step further, using the most powerful medium ever developed.●

CONGRESSMAN ROHRABACHER ON SCIENCE

● Mr. KASTEN. Mr. President, we too often forget that the key to progress in any society is freedom of inquiry—the unlimited liberty of the human intellect to discover and understand truths, and to use these truths to improve the life of the community.

This principle is as true of political science as it is of the natural sciences. Democracy and capitalism work because they are based on the truth about man—a truth that we rediscover whenever men and women are left free to work and create and build their own futures.

A society based on democratic capitalist principles, therefore, is the greatest possible catalyst for scientific inquiry. Our truth-seeking spirit forever pushes the boundaries of science to explore what they can yield for the spiritual and material benefit of man.

A recent article in the Milwaukee Journal by our distinguished colleague, freshman Congressman DANA ROHRABACHER of California, expresses this fundamental truth with great clarity. I call it to the attention of all Senators—and I ask that it be included in the RECORD.

The article follows:

[From the Milwaukee Journal, June 22, 1989]

COLD FUSION ATTEMPT CONTINUES NOBLE LINEAGE OF SCIENCE

(By Dana Rohrabacher)

Every great idea has three stages of reaction: 1) It won't work. 2) Even if it works, it's not useful. 3) I said it was a great idea all along.—Arthur C. Clark.

It has been almost three months since two obscure chemists at the University of Utah held a press conference to announce that they had found something truly incredible in their test tube. Their reported discovery of cold fusion, if accurate, would usher not only science but all aspects of modern life into an era of growth and improvement that

VOICE OF AMERICA REPORTS CHINA TURMOIL

HON. RALPH REGULA

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 14, 1989

Mr. REGULA. Mr. Speaker, all Americans watched the tragic events in China with a mixture of shock, sadness, and anger. However, in China, the official media has yet to accurately report on the massacre in Tiananmen Square and the subsequent turmoil. That is why as many as 300 million Chinese are listening to the Voice of America's broadcasts in Mandarin, Cantonese, and English.

Since the crisis began, VOA's reputation for accurate, balanced news has drawn a huge audience. Some estimate that VOA has as many as 400 million listeners on a daily basis, despite deliberate jamming of the Chinese programs.

VOA has added broadcast hours, opened telephone hotlines, and switched to all-news programming in order to keep the Chinese people informed of events that will determine their future.

I hope my colleagues will join me in commending the staff and leadership of VOA for their tireless efforts. Their ability to make some sense of the chaos has earned them the respect and admiration of listeners around the world.

I would also like to share the following article, "Signals of China's Hope and Turmoil" from the Washington Post.

SIGNALS OF CHINA'S HOPE AND TURMOIL AT VOICE OF AMERICA, BROADCASTING TO BEIJING BECOMES A PERSONAL MISSION

(By Jacqueline Trescott)

Inside the blue studio Anita K. Tong and Dah H. Lin read over the news script written in bold black Mandarin characters, eyeballed the wall clock and waited for the signal to start. Then, after a few bars of "Yankee Doodle Dandy," they spiritedly read news summaries slugged "China Unrest," "China/U.S. Evacuation" and "Hong Kong/China" to an audience estimated at 200 million people and growing by the hour.

Part of the Voice of America team now acknowledged as the main source of information for the Chinese about the ongoing crisis in China, Lin and Tong are radio veterans, sharing 42 years as American government broadcasters. On the air they are smooth, unruffled and focused. But inside their office cubbyholes, where the teapot is plugged in, the fan mail stacked up and scenes of family and geography give China a fond immediacy, the conversations illustrate their individual distress and sadness, and the tangled threads between their professional duties and their personal lives.

"It's been terrible," says Tong, a native of Beijing. "It is really inhumane to kill innocent students. They are only asking for freedom. . . . We are all angry, sad and hopeless because we don't know how to help. Now the news is so black. We don't know what is going on." She says she worried about her sisters and brothers in China all weekend.

"I have a younger brother who is a professor of engineering and I thought he was involved. I tried for hours before I got through [on the phone] to my sister," she recalls. A small woman comfortably into her grandmother years but refusing to pinpoint her age, Tong laughed at how relieved she was to learn her brother was out of Beijing last weekend.

Lin, who admits to 57, says he, too, tries to keep his emotions in check on the aor. But he says it's not easy. "I watched television when the tanks crushed the people. I just feared the worst. And I cried and shook," he said. His emotions, he says, are still churning. Over the weekend he talked to one of his three children, Judy Lin, 23, a financial analyst and graduate of the University of California at Berkeley, who had demonstrated with other Chinese Americans over the weekend. "I encouraged her and I wanted to be with her," says Lin. "For the last several days when the students gathered at the Chinese Embassy I wanted to go, but because of my job I can't demonstrate."

The deep well of emotions and ideas the events in Tiananmen square have touched in the bureaucratic recesses of the VOA have surfaced many times since the Beijing government declared martial law May 20. On Monday, Richard Carlson, the director of VOA, was walking through the China branch offices and saw one of the broadcasters weeping as he worked at his typewriter. "They report to places where there are ties intellectually, culturally . . . mind and heart kinds of ties that you don't have in a normal news operation," says Carlson. Yesterday he came to work around 5 a.m., brought several boxes of doughnuts and saluted the staff for its exhilarating work under pressure.

"Everybody here has a warm attachment and hope for the best for China," says David Hess, chief of the Chinese language service, who lived in China for 17 years. "As the shouting started, people would have a piece of news that they just couldn't believe and they would have tears streaming down their faces while they were translating that piece. It was disbelief. It was frustration, it was anger, it was sorrow and all of these mixed together.

Since Saturday the Chinese branch of VOA has been broadcasting 11 hours of news in Mandarin each day, up from 8½. It also has a daily 30-minute broadcast in Cantonese. Most of the staff has been working 10- to 12-hour shifts. The turmoil in China caught the Chinese section with no staff to spare. In recent years it has lost highly trained specialists to better paying jobs and because of budget tightening hasn't filled many slots. The branch has 41 full-time employees, most of whom are Chinese Americans and speak fluent Chinese. In the last few days they have assigned four student volunteers to the bureau's three shifts; they plan to hire six contract employees immediately and are trying to hire 15 permanent staff people.

For years the VOA, the worldwide radio network of the U.S. Information Agency, has had a loyal following in China and, according to Carlson, "during the darkest months of the Cultural Revolution there was a saying: The only school that is opened is the VOA.'" Its three correspondents in Beijing since October 1981 have become household names. The British Broadcasting System is also heard in China, using a powerful signal from Hong Kong, but it airs only two hours a day.

Chinese media people tell us that there are Chinese government studies that give us a daily audience of 60 to 100 million. We have telephone calls that tell us that now with the agitation . . . we have between 300 and 400 million a day. We have reports from every city that all shortwave radios are sold out of all stores. We have reports that they are playing our reports over loudspeakers at the universities," says Hess. "The only other media more pervasive is rumor. It is inaccurate, it's wild and it's emotionally agitated."

In their resolution condemning the "brutal use of force" by the Chinese government, Sens. George Mitchell of Maine and Robert Dole of Kansas directed the VOA late Tuesday to increase its Chinese language programming. Carlson, the chief of an already stretched staff, says quickly the senators are right but may be overlooking the recent cutbacks in the agency's budget.

Over the weekend the branch also established a telephone line, promoted in its Mandarin broadcasts, and began soliciting news tips and feedback about the strength of the VOA signal. For the first time since 1978, the Chinese government started jamming the broadcasts May 21. It caught the agency off guard, says Carlson. In recent days the agency has started using a 1-million-watt AM transmitter in the Philippines and has included anti-jamming instructions in some of its broadcasts.

The telephone line, which originates in China and has been receiving an average of 100 calls a day, has brought some authentic news stories. On Sunday the Washington office received a call from Wuhan saying masses of citizens had blocked all traffic on the Change River bridge for 12 hours. The VOA, says Hess, waited six hours to get two independent sources of confirmation. When that happened, they inserted the call's description into the news report. "So we took the report from six hours early in Chinese and said, 'and this report from Wuhan.' So we had it . . . a little later but it had the immediacy of being a report by a Chinese in Wuhan."

Yesterday C.H. Hsieh, a writer and editor at VOA for 17 years, was demonstrating the ease of translating the English scripts into Mandarin. He types English on the ordinary computer keyboard and the screen produces the Mandarin translation. Called SNAP, it provides its own sensation of orderliness in the bureau. The last two weeks, Hsieh said, have been hard. "We have been touched, proud, but ashamed of the government's actions. We know the students are the hope of China."

BALTIC FREEDOM DAY

HON. WM. S. BROOMFIELD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 14, 1989

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Speaker, I wish to join my colleagues in supporting House Joint Resolution 184, to proclaim this day as "Baltic Freedom Day". As a cosponsor of this resolution, I wish to congratulate my friend from Michigan, Mr. HERTEL, and Mr. RITTER of Pennsylvania for their leadership and hard work on this important issue.

This resolution sends a clear message to the Soviet Union that the United States Government and the American people continue to oppose the illegal occupation of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. While President Gorbachev continues to talk about openness and restructuring in his country, and proclaims himself to be a man of peace, the Soviet Union continues to oppress the people of the Baltic nations.

It has now been 50 years since the signing of the infamous Nazi-Soviet Pact. That treaty not only provided for the ruthless division of Poland by the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany, but it also gave the Soviet Government a free hand in the Baltic nations. The nations of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, enjoying their independence after centuries of Russian rule, were forcibly annexed into the Soviet Union.

aries in this country from the tremendous expenses of catastrophic illnesses.

Among other things, this legislation provides new or expanded Medicare coverage for prescription drugs, hospital fees, and outpatient costs. Without this bill, a Medicare beneficiary could spend his or her life's savings on a sudden, devastating illness.

While I support legislation that protects senior citizens. I have been concerned about the future effects of this legislation on senior citizens. For this reason, I believe that the Congress should enact legislation that delays further implementation of the catastrophic care law for 1 year, with the exception of the spousal impoverishment provision which is scheduled to become effective later this year. All benefits scheduled to take effect after 1989 and the collection of the supplemental premium should be included in the delay while Congress reviews the law. Benefits that have already gone into effect such as unlimited hospital care coverage, hospice care, and expanded skilled nursing home coverage should not be affected.

Delaying further implementation of the catastrophic care law will give Congress an opportunity to review the funding mechanism through public hearings. It is important that the Congress carefully review the financing of the law to determine what, if any, changes need to be made in the law to ensure that the needs of senior citizens are truly being met without unduly burdening them financially. The intent of the catastrophic care legislation was to protect senior citizens and disabled Americans and help alleviate their medical expenses. We must make sure that further implementation of this law does not undermine our intent or serve other purposes.

GAO STUDY SHOWS THAT A CIGARETTE EXCISE TAX INCREASE WILL REDUCE TEENAGE SMOKING

HON. MICHAEL A. ANDREWS

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 24, 1989

Mr. ANDREWS. Mr. Speaker, today, I am enthusiastically announcing a report prepared by the General Accounting Office [GAO] at my request. I asked the GAO to examine the effects of teenage smoking and the effects of an increased cigarette excise tax. With this study I wanted to find a way to prevent the growing number of our teenagers who become addicted to nicotine and to find a way to prevent the tragic number of premature deaths.

GAO has found that increasing the excise tax on cigaretts will stop teens from smoking. This point is no longer debatable. Raising the excise tax by a quarter a pack will stop at least 500,000 teenagers from smoking. For every four teenagers who quite smoking, one premature death can be prevented.

We can no longer tolerate the large number of young smokers. About 1 of every 6 teenagers smokes cigarettes. And the numbers are rising. In the latest Gallup youth survey, 13 percent of younger teens said they had smoked in the preceding week, a 3 point increase since 1987.

In the 100th Congress and again in the 101st Congress, I introduced the Smoking Cost Recovery and Education Act, H.R. 718. In an effort to control the long-term effects of smoking, my bill increases the cigarette excise tax by a quarter a pack. The 25-cent increase will raise $4.4 billion in revenue in 1 year and a total of $21.8 billion over 5 years.

Ninety percent of the revenue collected by my bill will be used to offset the estimated $22 billion smoking-related health care costs each year. The remaining 10 percent wil set up an education and counteradvertising campaign aimed at youth.

Higher cigarette prices directly affect the pockets of our teenage smokers. Because most teenagers have less disposable income, they will be more sensitive to higher priced cigarettes. If they buy fewer cigarettes, they smoke less.

The current excise tax on cigarettes is worth half of its 1951 value. Then the cigarette excise tax was 8 cents. Today that 1951 tax would have to be increased nearly fivefold to 38 cents to adjust for inflation. We must raise the excise tax substantially to make up for the loss in value.

The future of our children and our country is at stake. Each year, 1 million young people start smoking—that's about 3,000 every single day. The GAO study also states that high school seniors who smoke are more often female and white. Half of the 41- to 65-year-old smokers surveyed in 1960 by the Office of Smoke and Health started smoking before the age of 18 and they have never quit. This information shows us clearly how smoking is addictive.

In 1988 the Surgeon General labeled smoking as an addictive habit. Adolescents are generally unaware of the nicotine addiction that develops when experimenting with as few as three packs of cigarettes. We must start at an earlier age to educate our children about the health risks of tobacco use. We need to educate our teenagers about how smoking jeopardizes their health and our health.

Persistent smoking wreaks havoc on the health of both the smoker and nonsmoker. A young smoker significantly increases his or her risk of developing symptoms to diseases that usually appear in adulthood—lung cancer, heart disease, and strokes. More females are now dying of lung cancer than breast cancer. About 390,000 deaths occurred in 1985 due to high incidence of smoking habits.

Smokers also put the public health at risk. Nonsmokers inhale secondhand smoke. As a result, nonsmokers become much more susceptible to cancer and other smoking-related diseases. Close to 50,000 deaths have resulted from nonsmokers inhaling smoke passively.

I have long been a strong proponent of reducing the high number of tobacco users in our country. I initiated the Tobacco Use in America Conference in Houston on the 25th anniversary of the Surgeon General's first report on smoking. The Congressional Task Force on Tobacco and Health, on which I serve, evolved from the Houston conference as a way to focus on the public policy issues surrounding the use of tobacco products.

We must make a long term commitment to our teenagers who do not understand how smoking endangers their welfare and our welfare. The GAO report concludes that we can discourage teens from smoking and prevent the increasing number of cigarette addictions by raising cigarette excise taxes. Teenagers will stop smoking if we raise the cigarette excise tax. Join me in supporting the Smoking Recovery and Education Act, H.R. 718, and the lives of our youth.

CHINA UNREST

HON. MICHAEL DeWINE

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 24, 1989

Mr. DeWINE. Mr. Speaker, although news from China no longer dominates the front pages, the situation in Beijing, in Shanghai, and throughout China is hardly business as usual. Thousands are reported to have been arrested—students, professionals, and laborers alike. Dissidents are beaten and forced to confess on national television. The Chinese Government is using the big lie technique with frightening effectiveness. By clinging to the fantasy that hooligans and ruffians were behind the protests and no civilians were killed in Tiananmen Square, China has created martyrs of the soldiers who were also killed in the June 4 massacre.

The Voice of America has been the single most effective United States presence in China. Under the most difficult circumstances—constant jamming, the expulsion of VOA's Beijing bureau chief, and a staff decimated by SE Service, VOA is a lifeline for tens of millions of listeners. VOA has ably represented the finest ideals of truth and democracy to the Chinese people. Through careful, balanced journalism, VOA has kept the Chinese people informed of events in their own country and, perhaps more importantly, of the world's condemnation of the Chinese Government's brutal crackdown. As VOA Director Dick Carlson told the Foreign Affairs Committee recently, it is times such as these when accurate information becomes the most sought-after, the most expensive, and ultimately, to the authorities, the most dangerous commodity.

Mr. Speaker, I ask my colleagues in the House to join me in congratulating Mr. Carlson and his staff for their inspired leadership.

PUERTO RICO'S PLEBISCITE CONTINUES TO DRAW INTERNATIONAL ATTENTION

HON. JAIME B. FUSTER

OF PUERTO RICO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 24, 1989

Mr. FUSTER. Mr. Speaker, as I had explained before in another insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Puerto Rico continues to receive international attention as the political status plebiscite bills are considered in the Congress. Hearings on these bills—which would offer voters in Puerto Rico a choice between statehood, independence, or an enhancement of the existing commonwealth status—have been concluded in the Senate and should be held in the House sometime in September.

I should now like to draw to the attention of my colleagues an article on the plebiscite

TRIBUTE TO THE VOICE OF AMERICA

HON. GUS YATRON
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 7, 1989

Mr. YATRON. Mr. Speaker, I ask my colleagues to join me in paying tribute to the Voice of America for the way it has represented the American ideals of freedom and democracy during the extraordinary events now taking place in China.

Over the past few weeks, the world has been captivated by the courageous students in Tiananmen Square and their counterparts throughout China. Americans watch their emotional appeals for democracy as they happen, thanks to satellite technology and our free press. But the Chinese do not yet have that freedom. They turn to VOA, a radio station broadcasting from halfway around the world, to find out what is happening in their own backyard. VOA's accurate and balanced news reports have earned the respect and admiration of more than 100 million Chinese listeners who want to know what the rest of the world is saying about China not the latest official news from Beijing. The Chinese Government considers VOA so important to the burgeoning democracy movement that it has started jamming VOA broadcasts for the first time in more than 10 years.

The evidence of VOA's impact can be found in large cities and small towns throughout China. Foreign correspondents report that bustling Tiananmen Square quiets to an eerie hum as the VOA broadcasts begin. Students painstakingly transcribe the VOA news bulletins on large posters for those who can't get to a radio. As the prodemocracy movement built up momentum, the Washington Post reported, a young Chinese worker from the countryside told of hearing two versions of the events in Beijing—one from the Central People's Radio and one from the Voice of America. The two accounts were so startling in their differences that he decided to make the 4-hour trip to see for himself. Once he got to Beijing, he realized the VOA coverage was accurate and he stayed to march for freedom of the press. VOA officials have heard hundreds of similar stories since the students took to the streets.

VOA did not garner this huge audience by chance or due to the recent turmoil. It has earned the respect of listeners in China and around the world through a tenacious adherence to the facts. The VOA is required by law to be accurate, objective, balanced, and comprehensive in its news reporting. As events in China unfolded, dedicated VOA journalists worked around the clock to confirm the latest news from Beijing, Shanghai, Guangzhou, and elsewhere. VOA correspondents in Beijing have sacrificed any thought of sleep to provide eyewitness accounts of the activity. And perhaps most important, VOA relayed news of the demonstrations in 42 other languages to hundred of millions of listeners around the world, thus ensuring that Tiananmen Square will become a global symbol of hope and freedom.

Mr. Speaker, I hope my colleagues will join me in saluting the hardworking staff and leadership at the Voice of America for a job well done.

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Minority Chief of Staff

July 13, 1989

Mr. Bruce S. Gelb
Director
U.S. Information Agency
Washington, D. C. 20547

Dear Mr. Gelb:

I would like to take this opportunity to commend the United States Information Agency for its swift and effective response to the recent events in China. I was impressed with the Agency's ability to extend its resources--radio, television, and print--in the service of public diplomacy. And I was heartened by the Agency's concern for the physical and intellectual well-being of its exchange grantees, Chinese and American. Over past several weeks, USIA has ably demonstrated its importance to the United States and the cause of democracy.

The Voice of America of course deserves special mention. I have always been a strong supporter of VOA as a potent way to reach millions of people around the world. Under Dick Carlson's leadership, VOA's tireless efforts to keep the Chinese people informed has strengthened my belief in the vitality of radio. Mr. Carlson is a highly effective advocate for your Agency. His appearance before the International Operations Subcommittee helped focus Congress' attention on VOA's vital role in fostering freedom in China and many other countries.

I hope you will convey my praise to USIA's staff in Beijing, Washington, and around the world. I look forward to working closely with our nation's public diplomats in the future.

In offering these words of congratulations, I continue to be concerned about the downgrading of VOA facilities in the authorization and appropriation levels. I refer in particular to Botswana, Liberia and the Caribbean. It also appears that despite your good work with respect to China, VOA used very old, almost obsolete technology. The time has come for VOA and the Subcommittee on International Operations to meet and discuss your plans for the future.

Sincerely,

MERVYN M. DYMALLY, Chairman
Subcommittee on International Operations

THE VOICE OF AMERICA WORKS TO ADVANCE INTERNATIONAL FREEDOM OF THE PRESS

HON. OLYMPIA J. SNOWE

OF MAINE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, November 17, 1989

Ms SNOWE. Mr Speaker, the dramatic and tragic events in China last June highlighted the Voice of America's key role in supporting the efforts of those struggling for democratic reforms around the globe. Even now, in the face of the Chinese Government's severe crackdown on all forms of internal dissent, VOA continues to impede the Government's efforts to rewrite the history of Tiananmen Square.

The Voice of America does more, however, than tell the world about the United States or broadcast uncensored information to regions without a free and open press. Over the past few years, VOA has reached out to media professionals around the world, particularly those from developing countries, to train them in the principles, techniques, and responsibilities of a free press. This effort is spearheaded by VOA's innovative International Training Center, which has brought more than 1,000 foreign media professionals to the United States for training.

Last year, the International Training Center and the University of Maine jointly established the Institute of Media Studies for the Developing World. This institute draws upon the skills of Maine's talented Franco-American population to conduct its programs in the French language, thus providing a unique opportunity for individuals from Francophone developing nations to receive training in the United States and to experience directly American culture and ideals.

To highlight the work of VOA's International Training Center and the new Institute of Media Studies for the Developing World, I would like to draw my colleagues' attention to an article in the August/September issue of Voice magazine.

VOA's Institute of Media Studies for the Developing World

(By Judith Lathan)

By the end of 1989, more than 1,000 foreign broadcasters will have participated in VOA's International Training Center. "Its courses," says VOA Director Richard Carlson, "combine classroom training with actual hands-on experience in our VOA studios and Newsroom, under the guidance of highly trained professionals who understand the problems faced by journalists in developing countries."

"One of the Center's most innovative and exciting projects," according to its director Harry Heintzen, "is an institute, co-sponsored by VOA and the University of Maine, for teaching journalists, broadcasters, and media executives from the French-speaking world." In March, the institute offered training for radio and television managers from Haiti and 11 African nations (Benin, Burundi, Central African Republic, Ivory Coast, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritius, Togo, and Zaire). Heintzen described the institute, which was designed to provide a French-speaking ambience for students who have little or no English, as "the fulfillment of a long time dream."

In the past, VOA has offered courses and workshops on news writing and reporting, production, and management in English, French, Spanish, Arabic, and Creole. These courses have been taught by VOA staff and by instructors from the private sector. The new institute takes advantage of the bilingual nature of the state of Maine, where 25 percent of the people speak French. It provides the visiting journalists and executives an opportunity to experience American life in their own language—without interpreters. "They can interact with ordinary Americans in Maine who, as second and third-generation descendants of French-Canadians, have no difficulty understanding them," said Heintzen.

The visiting media executives began their training in Washington attending lectures on the American press at VOA headquarters, observing a State Department news briefing, visiting VOA's Africa Division on VOA's Creole languge service, and exploring the U.S. Congress. They visited Senator Majority Leader George Mitchell of Maine. He welcomed them by saying, "The state of Maine is honored to share its French cultural and linguistic heritage with people from Francophone countries.

In Maine, Dr. Guvenc Alpander of the University of Maine than led a two-week management seminar in French and organized field trips to nearby places of interest. The students saw the state capital where they were guided by a French-speaking state senator, the Maine Public Broadcasting System, and the offices of the Bangor Daily News.

Evariste Degla, director of the Benin Press Agency, said that "we learned a lot about the management of human resources, time management, and identification of needs and objectives; they are the major priniciples we'll try to put into practice."

Moutssa Daggo, Deputy Director-General of Chad's Ministry of Information, who found the program at the University "captivating," said "we'll try to use some of the movtivation techniques to motivate our employees."

Jean Andriamarisata, of Madagascar's Radio and Television, was enthusiastic about several ideas he picked up on "nonmonetary incentives for motivating employees as a key way to develop employee loyalty." He said he was "very pleased to be in Maine, where the lack of English was not a barrier to exploring the local environs."

Ivorian Press Agency director Samba Kone claims the the seminar "made us ponder whether we were good or bad mangers. . . . I now delegate much more responsibility to my staff," and added, "I have begun to see the benefits since I am less tried at the end of the day." Kone was impressed by how the American press "reports the fact without any slant" and by the clear delineation between the editorial page and the rest of the paper, "which is the opposite of what is usually found in the Francophone press."

"The warmth of the welcome provided by the citizens of Maine overcame the rigors of the cold and snow," said Haitian National Radio and Television Director-General Jacqueline Andre in praise of her winter workshop experience. She especially valued the "closeknit relationship" she developed with here African colleagues. "Members of the group exchanged useful information and found the discussions with one another quite rewarding."

Jacques Raoul Rivet, director of daily and weekly newspapers in Mauritius, echoed Andre's enthusiasm for the hospitality in Maine

The idea for international training began in VOA's Africa Division when Harry Heintzen, a former journalist and U.S Foreign Service officer who had served in Ethiopia and Morocco, was its director The pilot project was a course taught at VOA for Liberian broadcasters during the summer of 1983. "Media professionals from more than 90 countries have participated in VOA's training programs since then," says Heintzen. "Almost half of them have been French-speaking journalists, mostly from Haiti, but also from Francophone Africa. With congressional budget cuts, we've had to become more imaginative in exploring new funding sources."

"The VOA training programs bring journalists primarily from the developing world to the U.S. to learn skills and to observe our free and independent press and its role in a democratic society," says Heintzen. "The main reason we teach journalism the way we do is to help develop a free press, which is indispensible to democracy. We at VOA have made a profound impact on Haitian journalism, especially since February 1986 when former president Jean-Claude Duvalier was forced from power. In Haiti, where only about 20 percent of the population is literate, radio is the most important medium. The radio is 'an oral newspaper.'"

In July 1988, Heintzen received the U.S. Information Agency "Director's Award for Outstanding Creativity" for planning and implementing a comprehensive journalist training program for Latin American and Caribbean journalists. He used the award money to start a fund to help Haitian journalists study at the University of Maine.

The University of Maine experience is being duplicated for Spanish-speaking journalists this summer. VOA and San Diego State University in California will cooperate in training senior journalists from Latin America who, according to the International Training Center's director Heintzen, "would not normally study in the U.S. because of the language barrier. They will be able to file their news stories while they are here. We found the success of our earlier VOA seminars hinged on the ability of visiting journalists to report on their briefings and interviews to their home media. Basically, our concept will draw on the linguistic and professional expertise of VOA, the University, and the Hispanic-American community in San Diego," says Heintzen. "VOA has developed a model involving a whole state and a university that we hope other universities will adopt."

In May 1989, VOA and the University of South Carolina School of Communications at Columbia cooperated in a training program for senior journalists from Guyana.

The International Training Center is planning several other seminars in the next few months. A VOA and University of Maine workshop for Franch-speaking women managers will begin in August. Elizabethtown College in Pennsylvania has agreed to establish a pilot program in September for broadcasters from southern Africa, who will be provided partial scholarship in an accelerated journalism degree program. And, VOA and the University of Southern Mississippi are planning a course for journalists from the Caribbean in November

THE ECONOMICS OF FARM SUBSIDIES

HON. PHILIP M. CRANE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, November 17, 1989

Mr CRANE Mr. Speaker, over the past several years Congress has been debating, and eventually granting, different types of

STEPHEN J. SOLARZ
13TH DISTRICT, NEW YORK

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SEP 26 9 58 AM '88
OFFICE OF DIRECTOR
EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT

September 20, 1988

Honorable Richard W. Carlson
Director, Voice of America
330 Independence Avenue, SW
Washington, D.C. 20547

Dear Mr. Carlson:

Over the Labor Day recess I made a brief visit to Burma, which as you know has been experiencing considerable political turmoil of late. While in Burma, I was struck by the number of people -- officials, opposition leaders, and common citizens alike -- who mentioned, without any prompting on my part, the important role the Voice of America was playing in keeping them informed of current developments in their country.

Indeed, to my astonishment I learned that many Burmese knew of a resolution adopted by the US Senate last month, which called for the establishment of genuine democracy in Burma. What was surprising was that I myself, who make a special effort to stay informed on all aspects of US policy in the Far East, had not heard of this particular resolution. When I asked my interlocutors how they happened to be so well informed, I was invariably told that they had heard about the resolution from VOA.

The pro-democracy forces in Burma were greatly cheered by news of this resolution, as well as by the other indications of US backing for their democratic aspirations that they had learned about from VOA. Here is a concrete case where you and your agency have been a powerful force working for the promotion of democracy.

I salute the Voice of America for its fine job in Burma, and throughout the world. Keep up the good work.

Sincerely,

STEPHEN J. SOLARZ
Member of Congress

SJS:rmh

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United States Senate
COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES
WASHINGTON, DC 20510-6050

July 18, 1989

Dear Colleague:

I want to bring to your attention an amendment to S. 1160, the State Department authorization bill, to be offered by Senator Helms, myself, Senators Boren, Kasten, Pressler and Murkowski. The amendment would restore $35 million for the Voice of America modernization program so that work may proceed on schedule and within budget on new relay stations in Thailand and Morocco. While the Administration request for this program was $89 million, the bill now before us provides only $36 million. A reduction of this magnitude will cripple the effort we began in 1983 to replace and refurbish VOA's aging facilities and equipment.

Information is a powerful tool; and shortwave radio has proved an effective means of circumventing official news distortion and censorship by reaching listeners directly with accurate and timely information. The critical role of the VOA during the recent crisis in China was evident to all. I can think of no better example of where our investment in VOA -- estimated at two cents per listener per year -- has paid such enormous dividends.

But how many are aware that the VOA facility in the Philippines, which broadcasts to China, is our only shortwave relay station for all of China and East Asia. It is made up of 35 year old transmitters, now stretched to the limit with the increased demands for broadcast hours to China as well as the several other language service broadcasts carried by the Philippines station. In many parts of the world, VOA's signal is weak, distorted, or nonexistent because of similarly antiquated equipment.

The new Thailand station would vastly improve VOA's signal to China, as well as to other critical areas of the Near and Far East. Nearly half the world's population will be within listening range of the Thailand station. In addition, the Thailand station would be an enormous help in overcoming jamming -- such as was recently directed at VOA from China. Yet the bill before us would bring to a halt construction of this vital communications link.

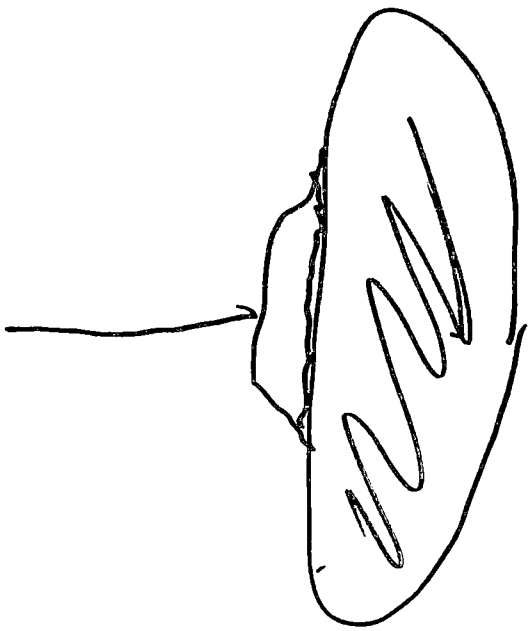
Some might argue that VOA has outlived its usefulness. As the China crisis vividly demonstrates, nothing could be further from the truth. VOA still provides a vital service to millions of listeners worldwide, but it cannot continue to compete in the realm of information and ideas into the next century with decades-old equipment.

VOA clearly demonstrated its utility during the China crisis. Approval of this amendment, and continuation of the vital modernization program, will ensure that the United States has the capability to respond, with sufficient power and clarity, to the next crisis -- be it in Asia or elsewhere.

If you would like to cosponsor this amendment, or have any questions, please contact Pat Buckheit at 4-3353.

Sincerely,

John Glenn



Voice of America
Washington, D.C. 20547

VOA
USIA

THE VOICE OF AMERICA
A Brief History
and
Current Operations

In an average week, all around the world, more than 130 million persons tune their radios to the Voice of America, the global network of the United States Information Agency.

But when extraordinary events take place, either in the United States or abroad, this basic listenership increases dramatically.

Today, the Voice broadcasts in 43 languages. The first VOA broadcast (in the German language) went on the air 79 days after the attack on Pearl Harbor, February 24, 1942. That broadcast included the statement:

> Daily at this time, we shall speak to you about America and the war -- the news may be good or bad -- we shall tell you the truth.

This has been the aim of the Voice of America ever since.

The first U.S. Government broadcasts were to Latin America. These programs, however, were not identified as the "Voice of America." The first programs with the VOA identification were under the supervision of the Coordinator of Information. His responsibility was to carry information about the United States and its policies to all parts of the world except Latin America, which was the responsibility of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs.

A few months after VOA went on the air, the Office of War Information (OWI) was established, with the Voice of America as its radio division.

The need to inform overseas peoples about the United States, its aims, culture and history did not end with the cessation of hostilities. The functions of the OWI and the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs were placed under the Department of State.

In January 1948, the Congress enacted legislation (Public Law 402, the Smith-Mundt Act) to "promote better understanding of the United States in other countries." This act established the information program as a long-term adjunct of United States foreign policy, with VOA as an integral part.

The Hoover Commission, in its Reorganization Plan #8, recommended that the information program be separated from the State Department. Congress approved, and on August 1, 1953, the United States Information Agency, of which VOA was a part, came into being as an independent agency reporting directly to the President, but taking policy guidance from the Department of State.

From its origins in 1942 to the present, the Voice of America has varied its broadcasting activities, depending on the availability of facilities, the size of its appropriations from Congress, and the international situation. During the first few months of its operation, VOA broadcast in English, German, French and Italian. At the wartime peak, VOA was broadcasting in some 40 languages. At the end of the war the schedule was reduced to 24 languages. During the Korean War, expansion brought the number of languages to 46. Twelve of these were dropped in 1953. In 1955, direct shortwave broadcasts in Portuguese to Portugal were started. VOA programs in English, however, are heard throughout Europe and around the world.

Radio is the only regular means of communicating America's story to large audiences in the countries dominated by Communist governments. The first Russian language program was broadcast by VOA in February 1947. Today the Russian language service is on the air 16 hours a day, supplemented by 5 hours of Ukrainian, 1 1/4 hours of Armenian, 3/4 hours of Georgian, 2 hours of Uzbek and an hour of Azerbaijani programs. Additionally, VOA broadcasts in Albanian, Bulgarian, Czech, Estonian, Hungarian, Latvian, Lithuanian, Polish, Romanian, Serbo-Croatian, Slovenian and Slovak. To East Asia, there are broadcasts in Cambodian, Cantonese, Chinese, Korean, Lao, Russian, Ukrainian and Vietnamese, and in the Western Hemisphere, Spanish programming is beamed to Cuba and Latin America.

While the people of Communist countries, which heavily censor the flow of news and information, continue to be important audiences for VOA, they are by no means the only groups regularly listening to the Voice of America. In the 1980's, VOA reaches millions of listeners in Africa, in English, French, Hausa, Portuguese, Swahili, and Amharic. Listeners throughout Central and South America and the Caribbean follow VOA broadcasts in Spanish, Portuguese and English. Asian languages beamed to non-communist countries include Burmese, Indonesian and Thai. VOA Arabic broadcasts reach listeners throughout the Middle East. VOA Farsi (Persian), Dari and Pashto languages broadcast to Iran and Afghanistan. Broadcasts to South Asia are beamed in Bangla, Hindi and Urdu. VOA also broadcasts in Greek and Turkish languages to Greece and Turkey.

Since 1942, the Voice of America has developed an integrated network of 112 transmitters in different parts of the world. All broadcasts originate in Washington, D.C. and are transmitted by microwave, satellite and telephone land lines to 33 transmitters in the United States and by shortwave relay and satellite to 79 transmitters overseas. The U.S. transmitters are located in Greenville, North Carolina; Bethany, Ohio; Marathon, Florida; Delano and Dixon, California.

The 79 VOA transmitters in other countries include those in Belize; Monrovia, Liberia; Tangier, Morocco; Munich, Germany; Kavala and Rhodes, Greece; Woofferton, England; Poro and Tinang, Philippines; Bangkok, Thailand; Colombo, Sri Lanka; Antigua, West Indies; Selebi-Phikwe, Botswana; and Quesada, Costa Rica. At Poro and Bangkok, VOA has medium wave transmitters of a million watts power each. The total power of VOA transmitters worldwide is more than 25,515 kilowatts.

The Voice of America is continuing to improve its technical facilities. Since December 1975, VOA has been utilizing satellite service carrying transmissions from studios in Washington, D.C. to its west coast transmitters. In July 1977, the VOA began carrying programs to relay stations in Greece by international satellite. Satellite service to our transmitters in the United Kingdom and Munich, West Germany followed shortly after. Satellite service to the Philippines began in 1979. More recently, satellite circuits have been added to Tangier, Morocco and Monrovia, Liberia. As service becomes available, VOA will utilize satellite circuits to feed the remaining overseas stations. When all of these new satellite circuits are operational, the worldwide quality of VOA broadcasts will be greatly improved.

Headquarters for the Voice of America is in Washington, D.C. It was originally located in New York City, but in 1954 was moved to Washington.

VOA maintains news bureaus in Boston, Chicago, Houston and Miami and news programs centers in New York and Los Angeles, with overseas correspondents in Abidjan, Amman, Bangkok, Beijing, Bonn, Cairo, Geneva, Hong Kong, Islamabad, Jerusalem, Johannesburg, London, Mexico City, Munich, Nairobi, New Delhi, Paris, Rio de Janiero, Rome, San Jose, Tokyo and Vienna. Besides its own correspondents, VOA is able to call upon many part-time reporters in the United States and overseas to provide program material.

In addition to its direct broadcasts, VOA services foreign radio audiences through the placement of taped "package" programs, thousands of which are sent each year to USIA offices in foreign countries. These tapes are used by local stations in addition to simultaneous relays to certain VOA programs.

While 43 languages are used on VOA's direct broadcasts, additional languages are used for regular or occasional "feeds." These feeds originate in this country and are sent either by cable or shortwave to USIA offices abroad for placement on domestic radio stations, or directly to such stations.

U.S. Information Agency offices abroad also originate radio programs in approximately a dozen languages for use on local stations. Parts of these programs are based on VOA-supplied tapes and scripts.

The Voice of America Radio Marti Program began broadcasting to Cuba on May 20, 1985. Created by Public Law 98-111, the Radio Marti Program broadcasts 17 1/2 hours daily. Programs include news, commentaries, interviews, short features, music, popular drama and in-depth focus programs on current affairs. The broadcast headquarters are in Washington, D.C.; news and program bureaus are located in Miami and a transmitter in Marathon, Florida.

In October 1985, VOA resumed broadcasting to Western Europe for the first time in 25 years. The new service, called VOA-Europe, broadcasts around the clock in English. VOA-Europe originates in Washington, with program additions in Europe. Its program format resembles a modern "full-service" American radio station, with hourly world newscasts, public affairs programs, Americana segments, and European and American music and cultural events. Emphasizing a high quality stereo audio signal, the broadcasts travel via satellite to European FM stations and cable systems.

The day-to-day operations of the Voice of America are guided by the words of the VOA Charter, which became law on July 12, 1976 when Congress passed a new section of the law under which VOA operates:

> The long-range interests of the United States are served by communicating directly with the peoples of the world by radio. To be effective, the Voice of America must win the attention and respect of listeners. These principles will govern VOA broadcasts.

1) VOA will serve as a consistently reliable and authoritative source of news. VOA will be accurate, objective, and comprehensive.

2) VOA will represent America, not any single segment of American society, and will therefore present a balanced and comprehensive projection of significant American thought and institutions.

3) VOA will present the policies of the United States clearly and effectively, and will also present responsible discussion and opinion on these policies.

All newscasts broadcast by VOA daily are carefully prepared. In the handling of any unofficial material about which there may be some doubt, the details must be verified by a minimum of two independent sources. Accuracy is placed ahead of speed, although VOA news must compete with other international and national broadcasters.

While VOA is part of the United States Government, the viewpoints of opposition leaders and other important segments of American public opinion are presented in an effort to provide perspective and balance. The editorial opinions of American newspapers and radio and television commentators are used to inform foreign audiences about the attitudes and opinions of the American people on subjects of international interest. Significant national figures are interviewed regularly on a wide variety of subjects -- cultural, scientific, economic, social, etc.

Music, sports and the lighter aspects of American life are included in VOA broadcasts. For example, the program "Music USA", which includes jazz and popular music, has been on the air since 1955 and has attracted a tremendous audience around the world, especially in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

The Voice of America reflects what is happening in this country and the world. It informs, it explains, it enlightens. It provides a background and a context in which a listener can better understand the how and the why of what is going on in the United States.

VOA BROADCASTING TO EASTERN EUROPE AND THE USSR

SUMMARY

VOA has beamed direct shortwave and medium wave broadcasts for the past 40 years to the USSR, Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Romania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Albania, and the Baltic republics, and provided a feed service to East Germany via RIAS Berlin. We broadcast 385 hours weekly to the region in 19 languages (including English) to reach a regular listening audience of well more than 50 million. Now we are on the threshhold of being able to place materials directly on East European radio stations, and in fact, have already done so in Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia. There is abundant evidence that these broadcasts have helped produce the epochal changes in Eastern Europe these past few months.

IMPACT

Among the most striking testimonies to the impact of VOA:

*"The Czech and Slovak broadcasting service of the Voice of America...has been the most listened-to Czechoslovak radio station. (It has) informed us truthfully of events around the world and in our country as well, and in this way helped to bring about the peaceful revolution which has at long last taken place."

---President Vaclav Havel of Czechoslovakia

*"Ironically, the very vehicles of information that have played such a crucial role in opening up and transforming the East bloc --- Voice of America, Radio Free Europe, Radio Liberty --- are little understood as the leading protagonists in this new era. American foreign policy students I speak to little understand and indeed often scoff at such 'invisible' long-term policy tools. Yet it is these tools that have truly transformed these societies."

---Syndicated columnist Georgie Anne Geyer, writing from East Berlin

*"For the past four years. the impact of Jolyon Naegele, the VOA's East European correspondent, on Czechoslovak politics has been greater than most journalists can dream of in a lifetime. A fluent Czech speaker, Naegele has communicated the ironic nuances of Czechoslovak reality to people inside the country more effectively than anyone else before him."

---Misha Glenny, East European correspondent, BBC World Service

*"Everyone thanked Radio Free Europe and Voice of America for broadcasts that were absolutely critical to what happened at Timisoara. The shootings there were not covered by the Romanian press, but they were reported on VOA and RFE and BBC... sounds of the firing... and interviews. Everyone felt the same way, but it took the news of the events to bring them together. I asked if they will need Radio Free Europe and VOA and the others now. They told me:
'Absolutely!'."

---Congressman Frank Wolf, following his trip to Romania earlier this month

*"Dear Friends, you who tirelessly gave us moral support during the years of the odious dictator. I am sure that I am not the first to send you deepestthanks... We thank you from the bottom of our hearts for keeping us informed, day by day and year by year, about what was happening in the world and in our country... VOA was anxiously awaited every evening and every day. You were the balm for hopeless and desperate souls. In this happiest of new years, we embrace you all."

---Ioana Suculescu, a listener in Bucharest

"It was sheer stupidity. Our press never talked about the war (in Afghanistan), but Voice of America talked about it every day and people listened in huge numbers. Soviet public opinion about the war in Afghanistan was shaped in large part by Western sources of information."

---Vladimir Shegirev, Soviet journalist

PRESENT SITUATION

The VOA Moscow news bureau is essential to accurate reporting of the Soviet Union. Correspondent Andre DeNesnera has filed throughout the action in Azerbaijan, and his direct phone calls to sources in Baku helped keep VOA reporting of Mikhail Gorbachev's most serious domestic crisis accurate and up to the minute. We would like to add a second Russian correspondent in Moscow to backstop Andre, so extensive is the story and so demanding the coverage for so many listeners.

VOA also gave extensive coverage to the Gorbachev visit to Lithuania, to the reform leaders' statements in the Baltic republics, and to the continuing internal debate on Soviet internal economic reforms. Despite glasnost, significant gaps remain in Soviet media coverage of all these events. VOA continues to fill these gaps, and to provide U.S. and Western reaction to the developments.

An important new element in our double sourcing of stories are the direct telephone interviews conducted by VOA in Russian, Armenian, Ukrainian, Azerbaijani, Georgian and Uzbek --- as well as the three Baltic languages. By talking directly with individuals involved in day-to-day events in the various Soviet republics, we stay on top of events and quite often can verify information that is of direct concern to our listeners.

We leased an office in Warsaw in 1989. Since then, we have had several VOA East European correspondents and Polish service reporters on the scene, covering such events as the visit of the high level Presidentially-appointed economic commission to Poland, and the Polish government's austerity program aimed at restructuring its economy. We have also had correspondents in Bucharest, Prague, East Berlin, and Sofia --- and a Romanian Service reporter just yesterday moderated a trans-Atlantic radio bridge between VOA and Romania's western city of Timisoara, cradle of the December revolution.

The historic opportunity for us in the 1990s is the placement of VOA material directly on East European radio stations. On January 19, 1990 we made our first feed of regularly-recurring Polish language material to Polish State Radio. Warsaw No. 1, the prime channel there, is rebroadcasting VOA news and features via a 2,000 KW long wave transmitter which has nationwide coverage. Early each morning, Polish listeners can hear Eastern Europe's first "bilingual" newscast --- English item followed by Polish item --- a service initiated in February 1990. We expect to extend greatly our audience reach through such placements. Requests for VOA material have also been received from state and commercial radios in Prague, Budapest, and Vilnius and we anticipate more in the next few weeks.

THE 1990s

Supporting the concept that the Eastern Europeans need and want a "hand up" rather than a "hand out," USIA is shifting its emphasis from the "what" and "how" to the "how to." This is reflected at Voice of America and at Worldnet TV.

With existing resources, VOA is preparing next month to launch an extensive program series in all 19 USSR/East European languages on how government in a free society works, the fundamentals of Western economic thought and practice, and the "how tos" of management and small business enterprise. Clearly the provision of practical information such as VOA has been doing for years is now needed more than ever, as newly-emerging democracies grapple with solutions under a new order.

RESOURCES

The principal obstacle to covering Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union and seizing new initiatives is the critical budget situation. VOA operating funds have been reduced by $36 million over the past four years.

The adverse impact of this situation can be summarized as follows:
1) We cannot station permanent correspondents in East European capitals, beyond those now in Moscow and the temporary travel of others to Warsaw. To add another correspondent in Moscow, we will have to cut an hour of Russian broadcast time daily.
2) We cannot technically enhance our ability to place materials on the opening East European media markets.
3) Outside expertise needed to prepare regionally-targetted "how to" scripts on the fundamentals of free enterprise and pluralistic societies -- to explain how Western nations function -- will be funded because it is essential, but other programs will suffer.
4) We also lack the flexibility to deal with a crisis. Our transmission facilities to the USSR and Eastern Europe are at full capacity, and a de facto hiring freeze prohibits us from adding staff to deal with an emergency for a significant length of time.

AUDIENCE

The latest available audience figures (late 1988) projected about 26 million VOA listeners in the Soviet Union and 25.6 million listeners in Eastern Europe --- and it is possible that the figure increased at critical intervals during the tumultuous events of the past year. In terms of our direct broadcasts, we now surpass RFE by several percentage points in Czechoslovakia, and have a nearly comparable listenship in Poland --- in both cases with far fewer hours on the air daily. Since jamming of Radio Liberty ceased a little more than a year ago, listenership in the USSR has moved to that station from VOA, and BIB research indicates that RL is slightly in the lead for the first time ever. We have been gaining ground rapidly in Romania since 1986, and expanded our two and a quarter hour daily broadcast by an additional hour on medium wave during the momentous final days of December. A complete listing of VOA East European and USSR Division services with pertinent information is attached.

VOA In The NEWS

(From, *The Washington Times,* **December 18, 1989).**

The Voice of America: Quietly, without fanfare, VOA's unstoppable broadcasts drill a massive hole in the heart of the Iron Curtain, shattering communist regimes' monopoly over information and inspiring captive peoples to pressure their rulers for democratic reforms.



Cheaply-wrapped 'Lucy' returns/2

Shameless tie-ins spoil 'Wizard'/3

life!

Stoppard ascends with his 'Artist'/3

'Eros' helps heal sexual suffering/5

MONDAY, DECEMBER 18, 1989 SECTION E

The Washington Times

Charlotte's Web Charlotte Hays

Status update: WWD

Roses from Tim

Not tying knot?

Bush social life!

Ten Most Significant Media Trends

MEDIA

THE PARTY'S OVER

The '80s in review

First of a nine-part series

Radio Marti has been broadcasting 24 hours a day to Cuba since 1985.

The Voice of America: Quietly, without fanfare, VOA's unstoppable broadcasts drill a massive hole in the heart of the Iron Curtain, shattering communist regimes' monopoly over information and inspiring captive peoples to pressure their rulers for democratic reforms.

Ten Biggest Media Embarrassments

Bob Woodward

Nothing Left to Lose

Nothing but news

Epitaph for the Decade

"The trouble with your profession is that you're all confused about what you have a *right* to do under the Constitution—and the right thing to do."

—Justice Potter Stewart

From: NEWSTAB Delivered: Sun 10-Dec-89 12:40 EST Sys 197 (97)
Subject: VOA * AP Full (Datas
Mail Id: IPM-197-891210-114260099

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AP-BA-12-10 1241

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AM-America's Voices,730
New Roles for VOA, Radio Free Europe on Changing Continent
By RUTH SINAI
Associated Press Writer

WASHINGTON (AP) The tidal wave of democracy sweeping Eastern Europe is creating static for the U.S. government's two major radio stations, whose mission is to beam the virtues of freedom into lands that have none.

But both the Voice of America and Radio Free Europe, synonymous with the battle for world public opinion during four decades of Cold War, reject any suggestion their days may be numbered. On the contrary, they argue, their task now is more important than ever.

"International broadcasters have an important role if we want to see these trends continue," said Robert Coonrod, VOA's deputy director. Despite the lifting of censorship in many East European media, people "still tune in to validate information they're getting on their radio stations. Forty-five years have made them doubtful about their own countries' radios," he said.

Nonetheless, a maverick at VOA has created a stir with an article in the latest edition of Foreign Policy magazine, suggesting a consolidation of the two radio services.

VOA's audience research officer Kim Andrew Elliott says "the functions of the VOA and RFE are becoming less distinct, creating an opportunity to restructure U.S. international broadcasting." He estimates that consolidation could save about $50 million annually.

Elliott, speaking in an interview, also said it is "reasonable to expect that audience numbers will be reduced as domestic radio stations improve" in East European countries undergoing reform. He said there were no figures available yet on listening trends over the past few weeks of upheaval.

Officials at both stations have publicly dissociated themselves from Elliott's views, saying the stations' roles are completely different.

VOA's stated mission is to provide news and programs about American government and society to the world. Broadcasting in 43 languages, it also airs editorials prepared under the guidance of its parent organization, the U.S. Information Agency.

Radio Free Europe, which serves Eastern Europe, and its sister station Radio Liberty, which beams to the Soviet Union, were funded covertly by the CIA until 1971 when Congress took over their budgets and made them a private corporation under the supervision of a presidentially appointed, bipartisan board of governors.

The stations, which broadcast from their headquarters in Munich, Germany, in 21 languages, have a clear mandate: to provide people under authoritarian Communist rule with information about their own countries, in an attempt to bring about political change.

"We'd like to think we played a role in all that's happening now, through the free flow of information we provided through the years," said Patricia Gates Lynch, RFE's director of corporate affairs.

The change sweeping the communist world has provided VOA and RFE with bonanzas _ a cessation of all jamming and a chance to deploy correspondents throughout the Soviet bloc. But it also presents them with unprecedented challenges, not the least of which is competition from newly liberalized radio stations in Eastern Europe.

In response, VOA and RFE have gone into the "how to" business. Both have been airing programs designed to appeal to the new quest for free enterprise in the crumbling communist systems: how to start a new business, how to set up a stock market, etc.

RFE also has provided programs on how other countries write constitutions, design education programs and write legal codes, as the once-communist countries reshape their governments and societies.

The stations contend that between them they have an audience of more than 100 million in Europe.

To generate revenue amid growing U.S. budget austerity, VOA this month began carrying advertising on its programs in Western Europe, said Coonrod. It also hopes to attract European affiliates with the promise of advertising revenue.

RFE is considering a similar move, said Gates Lynch.

But as long as both stations enjoy the broad support they have in Congress, which has kept their funding level at an annual level of $170 million and $190 million, respectively, such a move is unlikely.

Officials at both stations contend that any merger would be a bureaucratic and logistical nightmare: VOA has about 2,800 employees, and RFE about 1700; VOA operates out of Washington, while RFE is based in Germany.

VOA's standing got an important boost when Chinese authorities began their crackdown last June against pro-democracy protesters. The Chinese government has been jamming VOA for months to deter the droves of dissidents tuning in to its Mandarin and Cantonese broadcasts.

"The China experience is fresh in everyone's mind," said Coonrod. "Changes in Eastern Europe are evolving, but they're not yet rooted. We don't know that they're here to stay."

AP-BA-12-10 1241EST

a0555
AM-Romania-Radio,0579
U.S.-Funded Radio Plays Key Role in Romanian Revolt
By ALISON SMALE
Associated Press Writer

BUCHAREST, Romania (AP) The U.S.-funded Voice of America and Radio Free Europe played a key part in preparing Romanians for their revolt by informing them of the changes elsewhere in Eastern Europe, Bucharest residents say.

RFE's broadcasts in Romanian from Munich and VOA's from Washington have a big following among Romania's 23 million people who have had a severely restricted access to Western media.

Media in neighboring Hungary, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and the Soviet Union also helped keep Romanians abreast of Warsaw Pact change.

Clusters of Romanians formed every time Bulgarian state-run Balkan airlines posted the Bulgarian TV schedule in its Bucharest office, and Aeroflot used to display Mikhail S. Gorbachev's latest pronouncements in Romanian in its windows.

But East European and Soviet broadcasts often could be received and understood only on the peripheries of the country, and rarely carried Romanian emigre or dissident views.

Romanians say VOA and RFE kept them abreast of news about their own country, such as a significant letter last spring to Nicolae Ceausescu in which six former Communist Party officials demanded major changes and were arrested because of it.

"We owe thanks to the United States for the help of the VOA and Radio Free Europe," said a staffer at Bucharest's main children's hospital. "Many people were listening to VOA and RFE."

Through RFE, a Western diplomat said, Romanians with little experience of democracy know its terms and progress through the rest of Eastern Europe.

"They've never done it themselves, but they are aware," said the diplomat, speaking on condition he not be identified.

Under Ceausescu, Romanian TV broadcast only two hours a night, and up to 90 minutes of that time was devoted to the president and his deeds.

Radio gave a diet of similar news, and virtually the only item anybody read in the newspapers were the meager sports report and the weather.

Radio and television, which were captured by the revolutionaries who forced Ceausescu from power a week ago, have become beacons of the revolt, spreading vital news through the country.

Even now, however, the dissenting voices who have united against Ceausescu can still communicate with each other _ and with the country _ most effectively through RFE.

Dissidents like Doina Cornea, a former university professor in Cluj placed under house arrest for her critical letters to Ceausescu, poet Mircea Dinescu in Bucharest and writer Dan Petruescu in Iasi, were unable to meet under Ceausescu's totalitarian rule. "They 'met' on RFE," a Bucharest resident said.

Other still powerful remnants of totalitarianism enhance the continued importance of the U.S.-funded radio stations, which can draw on the expertise of many well-informed Romanian exiles.

Two years ago, for instance, Ceausescu's wife, Elena, ordered all Western news agencies into Romania cut, on grounds they were not needed. Delivery has not been restored.

Thus, VOA and RFE are still a primary source of information for Romanians eager to know how their revolution is perceived in the West.

"VOA is the most important broadcast," resident Valentin Hornicar said outside Communist Party headquarters Thursday.

"Not only food and medicine are needed," said Hornicar, 26. "We need magazines and newspapers from all over the United States and all over Europe. We need to see what is being said about us."

AP-BA-12-29 1224EST

Opinion • Commentary

Washington.

Washington's Well-Placed Liars

By Richard Reeves

IN THE GOOD old days, an honest politician was one who lied only when he had to. But now lies are becoming the accepted language of government at the highest levels, the theory being that sooner or later the people of the country will become so confused and disillusioned that they will just mind their own business — and leave governing to well-placed liars.

In the sense that the best defense is a good offense, Washington lying has escalated this year from craven self-defense, despicable but understandable, to calculated offense. It is pitiful to watch old admirals and young Marine colonels swear under oath before Congress that their big bosses were innocent of deceit and deception, then swear under oath in courtrooms that they were only following orders. But on that level of personal survival, who of us is without sin in the most frightened corners of our souls?

That is one thing. It is quite another for an administration, from the president on down, to systematically lie about the most important of their public responsibilities, the defense of the nation against potential adversaries. And the administration of President Bush has been doing that, routinely deceiving the rest of us about such things as our relations with China and the military potential of the Soviet Union.

The China deception, it could be argued, is in the great tradition of not bothering pretty little American heads with things they don't understand. The administration just carried on friendly business as usual with Beijing for the past five months, while the White House said we were doing the opposite, to calm Americans who got a little excited watching our Chinese friends slaughter their countrymen because they built their own Statue of Liberty in Tiananmen Square. There, there, this is too complicated for all of you — go back to worrying about schools and drugs and making money and leave these big things to George.

Far worse, for six months, President Bush and his men have been arguing for increased spending by the Department of Defense to match increased Soviet defense spending — when they knew that the opposite was true, that the Soviets were actually decreasing expenditures on their national security by as much as 20 percent.

Last May 13, President Bush was given a massive and comprehensive, and secret, report he had requested himself from the Pentagon that concluded: "There is broad agreement within the U.S. intelligence community that the Soviet Union . . . has decided to reverse a 20-year pattern of growth in Soviet military spending and force-structure to boost the civil economy and Soviet foreign policy."

A half-year later, on Nov. 7, after reading and being briefed on that report, the president and his vice president were both asserting that Soviet defense spending was increasing. So, through September, was the man in charge of preparing the report, Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney.

How can citizens of a democracy protect themselves against such misinformation, or "disinformation," as we like to call it when the Soviets lie? We can't. Leaking the secret defense report to the *Washington Post*, as someone did this time, produces a bit of a flap and a couple of columns like this, but then the deceptions fade into a dismal maw of mistrust, cynicism and anomie. Without truth and trust, there is no real democracy. If our leaders and representatives do not trust us with the truth, and we come not to trust them, then our 200-year-old experiment in democracy will fail — or become some sort of paternal despotism manipulated by a lying father.

It has always been true that no society is completely safe from lies, particularly lies spoken from on high. But no rulers, no systems, are permanently safe from the truth. That is part of the meaning and the cause of what is happening now in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union — and of what will happen again in China. Rulers suppressed news and invented history, but people remembered. Part of the reason for the rising of new democracies and old cultures in the East has been the determined and repetitive broadcasting of true news and true history from the West. Radio Free Europe, Radio Liberty, the Voice of America and the World Service of the BBC are real but so far unsung heroes of the persistence of the democratic idea around the world.

It is ironic, and more than a little frightening, that American leaders should be lying these days, because it is just about impossible to get away with it in a modern world of instantaneous and pervasive communication — to say nothing of the reporter's dearest friend, the photocopy machine. There will always be, pray God, someone who knows enough and cares enough to go to the *Washington Post* — or into the streets.

People in power here in Washington know that very well. They know their lies will be found out, but they calculate that for their own purposes, the specific short-term gain is worth more than diffused outrage over the long run. "The people," busy with pressing daily concerns, will drop out of debate and dialogue on the most important of public issues.

That lack of interest, sullen though it may be, is the underlying goal of official lying. The message from on high is: "You are not part of this. Mind your own business." Official lying is part of the concentration of power in the hands of the few, our betters like George Bush, completing the transition from the nation as a community with high purpose and a mission to a nation of unattached individuals — confused and uncaring people once called, by sociologist David Riesman, "the lonely crowd." Perhaps what we need is a Radio Free America.

VOA BROADCASTING TO EASTERN EUROPE AND THE USSR

SUMMARY

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---President Vaclav Havel of Czechoslovakia

*"Ironically, the very vehicles of information that have played such a crucial role in opening up and transforming the East bloc --- Voice of America, Radio Free Europe, Radio Liberty --- are little understood as the leading protagonists in this new era. American foreign policy students I speak to little understand and indeed often scoff at such 'invisible' long-term policy tools. Yet it is these tools that have truly transformed these societies."

---Syndicated columnist Georgie Anne Geyer, writing from East Berlin

*"For the past four years. the impact of Jolyon Naegele, the VOA's East European correspondent, on Czechoslovak politics has been greater than most journalists can dream of in a lifetime. A fluent Czech speaker, Naegele has communicated the ironic nuances of Czechoslovak reality to people inside the country more effectively than anyone else before him."

---Misha Glenny, East European correspondent, BBC World Service

*"Everyone thanked Radio Free Europe and Voice of America for broadcasts that were absolutely critical to what happened at Timisoara. The shootings there were not covered by the Romanian press, but they were reported on VOA and RFE and BBC... sounds of the firing... and interviews. Everyone felt the same way, but it took the news of the events to bring them together. I asked if they will need Radio Free Europe and VOA and the others now. They told me:
'Absolutely!'."

---Congressman Frank Wolf, following his trip to Romania earlier this month

*"Dear Friends, you who tirelessly gave us moral support during the years of the odious dictator. I am sure that I am not the first to send you deepestthanks... We thank you from the bottom of our hearts for keeping us informed, day by day and year by year, about what was happening in the world and in our country... VOA was anxiously awaited every evening and every day. You were the balm for hopeless and desperate souls. In this happiest of new years, we embrace you all."

---Ioana Suculescu, a listener in Bucharest

"It was sheer stupidity. Our press never talked about the war (in Afghanistan), but Voice of America talked about it every day and people listened in huge numbers. Soviet public opinion about the war in Afghanistan was shaped in large part by Western sources of information."

---Vladimir Shegirev, Soviet journalist

PRESENT SITUATION

The VOA Moscow news bureau is essential to accurate reporting of the Soviet Union. Correspondent Andre DeNesnera has filed throughout the action in Azerbaijan, and his direct phone calls to sources in Baku helped keep VOA reporting of Mikhail Gorbachev's most serious domestic crisis accurate and up to the minute. We would like to add a second Russian correspondent in Moscow to backstop Andre, so extensive is the story and so demanding the coverage for so many listeners.

VOA also gave extensive coverage to the Gorbachev visit to Lithuania, to the reform leaders' statements in the Baltic republics, and to the continuing internal debate on Soviet internal economic reforms. Despite glasnost, significant gaps remain in Soviet media coverage of all these events. VOA continues to fill these gaps, and to provide U.S. and Western reaction to the developments.

An important new element in our double sourcing of stories are the direct telephone interviews conducted by VOA in Russian, Armenian, Ukrainian, Azerbaijani, Georgian and Uzbek --- as well as the three Baltic languages. By talking directly with individuals involved in day-to-day events in the various Soviet republics, we stay on top of events and quite often can verify information that is of direct concern to our listeners.

We leased an office in Warsaw in 1989. Since then, we have had several VOA East European correspondents and Polish service reporters on the scene, covering such events as the visit of the high level Presidentially-appointed economic commission to Poland, and the Polish government's austerity program aimed at restructuring its economy. We have also had correspondents in Bucharest, Prague, East Berlin, and Sofia --- and a Romanian Service reporter just yesterday moderated a trans-Atlantic radio bridge between VOA and Romania's western city of Timisoara, cradle of the December revolution.

The historic opportunity for us in the 1990s is the placement of VOA material directly on East European radio stations. On January 19, 1990 we made our first feed of regularly-recurring Polish language material to Polish State Radio. Warsaw No. 1, the prime channel there, is rebroadcasting VOA news and features via a 2,000 KW long wave transmitter which has nationwide coverage. Early each morning, Polish listeners can hear Eastern Europe's first "bilingual" newscast --- English item followed by Polish item --- a service initiated in February 1990. We expect to extend greatly our audience reach through such placements. Requests for VOA material have also been received from state and commercial radios in Prague, Budapest, and Vilnius and we anticipate more in the next few weeks.

THE 1990s

Supporting the concept that the Eastern Europeans need and want a "hand up" rather than a "hand out," USIA is shifting its emphasis from the "what" and "how" to the "how to." This is reflected at Voice of America and at Worldnet TV.

With existing resources, VOA is preparing next month to launch an extensive program series in all 19 USSR/East European languages on how government in a free society works, the fundamentals of Western economic thought and practice, and the "how tos" of management and small business enterprise. Clearly the provision of practical information such as VOA has been doing for years is now needed more than ever, as newly-emerging democracies grapple with solutions under a new order.

RESOURCES

The principal obstacle to covering Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union and seizing new initiatives is the critical budget situation. VOA operating funds have been reduced by $36 million over the past four years.

The adverse impact of this situation can be summarized as follows:
1) We cannot station permanent correspondents in East European capitals, beyond those now in Moscow and the temporary travel of others to Warsaw. To add another correspondent in Moscow, we will have to cut an hour of Russian broadcast time daily.
2) We cannot technically enhance our ability to place materials on the opening East European media markets.
3) Outside expertise needed to prepare regionally-targetted "how to" scripts on the fundamentals of free enterprise and pluralistic societies -- to explain how Western nations function -- will be funded because it is essential, but other programs will suffer.
4) We also lack the flexibility to deal with a crisis. Our transmission facilities to the USSR and Eastern Europe are at full capacity, and a de facto hiring freeze prohibits us from adding staff to deal with an emergency for a significant length of time.

AUDIENCE

The latest available audience figures (late 1988) projected about 26 million VOA listeners in the Soviet Union and 25.6 million listeners in Eastern Europe --- and it is possible that the figure increased at critical intervals during the tumultuous events of the past year. In terms of our direct broadcasts, we now surpass RFE by several percentage points in Czechoslovakia, and have a nearly comparable listenship in Poland --- in both cases with far fewer hours on the air daily. Since jamming of Radio Liberty ceased a little more than a year ago, listenership in the USSR has moved to that station from VOA, and BIB research indicates that RL is slightly in the lead for the first time ever. We have been gaining ground rapidly in Romania since 1986, and expanded our two and a quarter hour daily broadcast by an additional hour on medium wave during the momentous final days of December. A complete listing of VOA East European and USSR Division services with pertinent information is attached.

IMPACT OF VOA REDUCTIONS
FY '90-'91

Within the next few months, VOA will be forced because of budget reductions to abolish direct broadcasts in at least six more languages, crippling its mission and effectiveness at a time of unprecedented change. As freedom's march continues in Eastern Europe, China, the Americas and southern Africa, the nation's only publicly-funded global broadcasting organization is in retreat. Today, a strong American Voice to the world is needed more than ever.

There are two ways of averting this catastrophe for U. S. public diplomacy:

1) An immediate USIA appeal for an emergency FY '90 supplemental appropriation, or

2) An earmark of appropriated USIA funds to maintain quality programming at the Voice at its present strength.

The draconian VOA language service cuts will have a greater adverse impact on America's ability to reach mass audiences than any other USIA retrenchment since the mid-1950s. The languages are: Greek, Lao, Slovene, and Turkish (slated to cease broadcasting April 1), and Swahili and Uzbek (on air terminations set for June 1). In addition, VOA likely will abolish its small Cantonese service and reduce its broadcasts in Chinese languages from 13 to the pre-Tiananmen massacre level of nine hours daily.

Without supplemental funds, VOA has no other choice. It must retain quality broadcasting in fewer languages if it is to remain at all competitive in a world where Radio Moscow, Radio France International, Deutsche Welle, and the BBC are all expanding. VOA has to retain core support services to meet the challenge, and any further reductions of these will endanger the accuracy, relevance, and objectivity of VOA broadcasts.

VOA now broadcasts 1,034 3/4 hours weekly in 43 languages. The planned cuts will knock the Voice back by about 78 hours weekly, and irreparably erode VOA's effectiveness. The Voice will cease to be a global broadcaster at a time when the news and information it provides continue to shape events in China, Eastern Europe, southern Africa, and central America. The present 43 languages will be reduced to 37, the number VOA had during the early years of the Carter administration.

These would be cuts not just to the bone, but to the marrow. Since 1987, the Voice of America already has:

-reduced broadcasts by 75.5 hours weekly in 15 languages
-eliminated 222 staff positions, far more than any USIA element
-cut salaries and expenses by the amount Congress authorized as a supplemental when the Voice of America modernization program began
- closed two relay stations and three news bureaus
-eliminated direct broadcasts in Thai and Portuguese to Portugal

VOA's staff, its single most valuable asset, is as committed to quality programming as management. Broadcasters are making real sacrifices to keep the Voice on the air. After the sustained cuts of 1987-89, many are stretched to the limit of endurance to meet VOA standards. Only four of the 43 broadcast services have sufficient staff to do the job. Schedule and frequency cuts already have grieviously weakened VOA's presence on the airwaves in many parts of the world. Morale is plummeting, and it will be in free fall if seven or eight more language services are closed in 1990.

James Reston wrote in the mid-1980s: "Ideas have wings, which can penetrate where missiles dare not penetrate". He was referring to the news and information supplied long distance by VOA and other international broadcasters, the ideas which have helped spawn reform in Eastern Europe and can yet help reinforce the birth of democratic ideals in other lands. Loss of six VOA language services during the next few months is equivalent to amputating those wings, hemhorraging the flow of Western opinions and ideals to those most in need. For example:

*The millions who listen to VOA in Lao and Uzbek would be denied their single most important and objective news source, many with nowhere else to turn. Just as reforms are beginning to come to communist-controlled countries in southeast Asia and nationalism is stirring in Soviet central Asia, VOA would go silent in languages of those regions.

*The loss of Swahili would mean the loss of America's voice in a four-country region of East Africa, critically important given the instabilities which beset the countries to the north.

*The cessation of Slovene broadcasts would deny reform forces in Slovenia access to an important Western voice in perhaps the most crucial year for Yugoslavia since 1948.

*And abolition of VOA Greek and Turkish would kill off promising audience-building initiatives in both services at a time when the United States cannot afford to go dark in NATO's southern flank.

This huge potential loss of audience is inexplicable, when one considers the appetite for uncensored news and practical information about how democracy works in countries such as the Soviet Union, China, East Germany, Romania, Panama, Burma, Yugoslavia, to name a few. Urgent help is needed to ensure that U. S. publicly-funded broadcasting will continue to foster change and shape reform. A modest supplemental of $5.5 million for FY '90 and FY '91 would suffice. It would be the best buy in government and in the world of electronic journalism: 127 million regular listeners at a cost of less than two cents apiece each year.

Attached are supplementary materials on the impact of the proposed VOA language service abolitions.

01/29/90

SUMMARY OF VOA PROGRAM REDUCTIONS
SINCE DECEMBER, 1986

113 language program hours have been cut.

74 1/2 hours of English has been taken off the air in all world regions.

15 language services have reduced airtime.

Direct broadcasts in two languages have been abolished.

The central newsroom lost more than 30 positions.

5 correspondent positions were eliminated.

4 news bureaus were closed: Rome, Mexico City, Hong Kong and Houston.

222 positions have been cut throughout the Voice.

Travel and talent have been reduced substantially, both at least 20%.

In 1987 and 1988, VOA ceased direct broadcasts in Thai and Portuguese-to-Portugal. Since last September, VOA has reduced its direct broadcasts by 42 hours weekly in Arabic, Russian, Spanish, Portuguese-to-Brazil and Polish. In the latter two instances, placement of VOA material was initiated on local or national radio networks.

In 1990, VOA closure of six more language services would actually cost VOA money! VOA would spend an additional $167,540 this fiscal year to shut the services because of closeout costs and relocation expenses. In FY 1991, there would then be full year savings of about $2,869,000, as indicated in the following table. (Net costs are indicated in brackets).

LANGUAGE	FY '90 Costs	FY '91 Savings	Effective Closure Date
Lao	($62,083)	$574,882	April 1, 1990
Greek	1,350	301,230	April 1, 1990
Turkish	38,518	496,896	April 1, 1990
Slovene	30,000	185,878	April 1, 1990
Uzbek	(129,301)	855,401	June 1, 1990
Swahili	(46,024)	455,082	June 1, 1990
TOTALS	(167,540)	2,869,369	

IMPACT OF PLANNED CUTS, LANGUAGE BY LANGUAGE

Lao --- Laos remains a closed society. The media as well as the flow of information are tightly controlled by the government. The population of Laos is 4 million, and there is no way to measure the audience. However, VOA is the only Western international broadcaster into Laos and a recent cable from the charge d'affaires in Vientiane said: "VOA's Lao Service is an essential foreign policy tool... the only method we have for affecting attitudes in Laos on a large scale. We must attribute a major portion of the positive change in the Laotian People's Democratic Republic attitudes to VOA's Lao Service. It represents a vital, unbiased source of news from around the world which is sorely needed to counterbalance the official media".

Greek --- Greece is a NATO southern flank country with a tiny VOA shortwave audience, estimated in the tens of thousands. However, the political situation in the country is precarious, with elections planned for April. Increasingly, VOA is looked to as a source because of improved signal and name recognition. Since 1988, the VOA Greek Service has been working assiduously to place its material on local networks and radio stations. VOA Greek direct broadcasts are now heard in full on a Thessaloniki commercial FM station with an audience of several hundred thousand, and Greek Service reports on the Athens Antenna-FM network reach 800,000 to 1 million listeners. The region is a tinderbox, and at any time, these local relays could be in jeopardy (in the event of a coup d'etat in Athens or conflict with Turkey over Cyprus or the Aegean islands).

Turkish --- Turkey is strategically located between the Soviet Union and Mediterranean and also a southern flank U. S. ally. This country of 52 million is at a crossroads, with leftist parties and Islamic fundamentalists constantly vying for more power. VOA's listenership in Turkey was documented in 1987 at about 400,000, and the Voice is the only international broadcaster in medium wave to Turkey. Last September, VOA improved its broadcast schedule and strengthened both its medium and shortwave transmissions to Turkey. Unlike Greece, there is little prospect of placing VOA material on Turkish electronic media. However, the same logic against cessation of direct broadcasts applies here: the U. S. may desperately need, in the event of a crisis, to reach this crucial region with uncensored news.

Slovene --- The Republic of Slovenia in Yugoslavia has a population of about 1.8 million, most of whom have access to objective news and information from neighboring Austria and Italy. VOA's half hour morning broadcast probably reaches about 150,000 Slovenes. Recently, Slovenian delegates walked out of a Yugoslav Communist Party central committee meeting in Belgrade and separatist sentiment is strong in Slovenia. The BBC and Deutsche Welle are also on the air in Slovene, but VOA is the only broadcast which consistently and accurately reflects news about the United States and American viewpoints to a society susceptible to the same reformist winds as elsewhere in Eastern Europe.

Uzbek --- Uzbek is spoken in the Soviet Republic of Uzbekistan, and also in other Soviet central Asian republics --- as well as in Afghanistan, Sinkiang

Province in China, and a number of other Asian countries with Turkic-speaking populations. About two thirds of the 30 million Uzbek speakers live in Uzbekistan, which has been called the soft underbelly of the Soviet Union --- and the heart of a growing Moslem population with nationalist aspirations. A recent RFE-RL research memorandum indicates that VOA Uzbek's two hours of daily programming are heard regularly by about 3.5 million people. VOA reaches 30% of the core audience in the central Asian republics and is the leading international broadcaster to this strategically-crucial region. During the past year, there have been some stirrings of reform in Uzbekistan including formation of the Birlik movement. Although Radio Liberty also broadcasts in Uzbek, VOA reaches half again as many listeners --- and offers cross-reporting of the Caucasian and Baltic republics of tremendous import to Uzbeks in the USSR and elsewhere.

Swahili --- Swahili is spoken by 50 million people in Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, Zaire and several other African countries. It is the official language of Kenya and Tanzania and the lingua franca of East and Central Africa. Despite a weak signal in East Africa, VOA in a 1988 survey had an estimated audience of nearly 2 % in Tanzania. Eight of the world's top ten international radios broadcast in Swahili. Radio Moscow broadcasts the most in Swahili, three and a half hours daily (more than three times the VOA schedule). Because of budget cuts, VOA had to abolish weekend broadcasting in Swahili in December, 1986. Swahili is a regional language in a strategically-important location flanking the inherently unstable and volatile Horn of Africa. Cessation of VOA direct broadcasts would come at a time when Kenya is increasingly critical of U. S. statements about its human rights record, and Tanzania appears to be receptive to Western-style economic ideas after its failed 30-year experiment with socialism.

VOA AND CHINA: COVERAGE OF MAY-JUNE, 1989

Good morning. It is an honor to be included in this panel on the coverage of the pro-democracy movement in China during what some have called the Beijing Spring of 1989. I would like to thank our chairman, Doug Boyd, for conceiving of this topic and making it all happen.

There's an old Chinese proverb: "May you live in interesting times". For millions of Chinese, those unsung heroes of the worldwide march of freedom last year, the months which preceded the Tiananmen Square crackdown were unprecedented in the history of their country. In a way, what happened in China in April, May and June of 1989 was not new. All the way back to 1919, highly-respected students had turned out en masse from time to time to press their case and influence the authorities. What was new in last year's extraordinary pro-democracy movement was the way others joined in. Never before had a million souls filled Tiananmen Square, their chants echoing against the ramparts of the Forbidden City. During those spring weeks, the throngs in Beijing and 18 other cities coalesced into a national revival of the spirit: the workers, the new in-town residents of the swelling rural metropolitan centers, and yes, even members of the police, local officialdom, and government press. It was a mind-numbing day last May when 1,200 staff members of the Beijing Peoples Daily signed a petition proposing objective news coverage in the manner of the Western broadcasters and news agencies. The global electronic village had arrived in the heart of China --- no longer could Great Walls of officialdom seal off the inner kingdom and isolate its citizens from the world at large.

Anyone in the media who has visited China in recent years stands in awe of the pervasiveness of international sources of information: the radio voices of America, Britain, Australia, CNN, and the explosion of fax communications. Add to this the growth of local television from a few hundred thousand sets in 1976 to nearly 120 million TV sets today. In May, 1989, the microphones and cameras were turned on in China with a new intensity. The scene was Beijing, the first day in the Chinese capital for visiting VOA Chinese Branch reporter Betty Tseu. As Betty approached Tiananmen Square, word of her presence spread like wildfire in a forest of humanity. The throngs clustered about, at first, then parted before a flying wedge of student escorts, as she was hustled to the very center of the vast square and a rendezvous with the leaders of the pro-democracy movement. The roar of hundreds of thousands of voices on the square was akin to that of a thousand Times Squares on New Year's Eve. And then, suddenly, the cacaphony of voices stilled. It was time for the hourly news on VOA Mandarin --- the roar receded to an eerie hum.

Betty and VOA's then Beijing bureau chief Al Pessin cycled around the vast city. They heard Beijing students shouting VOA news bulletins to their compatriots, they could see VOA newscasts splashed on Big Character posters hung all over town. That was Beijing. But even in far reaches of the realm, in English as well as Chinese, there was evidence that reporting of the pro-democracy movement (and what the world was saying about it) was reaching the ears of the people.

Warren Kozak of the Washington Post wrote about it. "It was a warm evening," he recalled, "and my wife and I decided to take a stroll in Chengdu, the

capital of Szechuan Province. As we walked past the card games under the street lamps and the old people watched their grandchildren, we heard a newscast coming from every window, spoken very slowly in English. It was coming from the Voice of America, and you could walk the length of the street without missing any of it."

We at VOA had no way of counting our listeners in the world's most populous nation during the Beijing Spring. Fragmentary data had projected this audience at 17 million, but Chinese authorities in 1988 had themselves estimated listenership at 60 million in normal times (about half VOA's worldwide audience in all 43 languages). Note the qualification "normal times". In times such as April through June of last year, up to the minute information about what was going on in China and global reaction to it were of all-consuming interest to a populace which had never dared before to identify with student protests. A national movement was being born.

In many ways, VOA was extraordinarily lucky --- yet extraordinarily well prepared --- to cover events in China. At the end of March, 1989, we completely modernized and restructured the traditional format of our nine hours daily of Mandarin broadcasts. Updating of the news was sharpened, and additional news summaries were added. A younger, more contemporary sound was introduced, in an evening program block of news and popular music called Washington Express. New features on labor and business were introduced, designed to appeal well beyond the community of young intellectuals and academics. Specifically, we sought to reach the new entrepreneurs in the provinces and countryside who were beginning to earn their own salaries and succeed at their own businesses. Moreover, we were determined to reach

the laborers in the danwei, or work units in the larger cities. Their lives were beginning to change as rapidly as had those of the farmers who were beginning to profit from the reforms of Deng Xiao Ping and Zhao Zeyang.

We also looked to what all of us in journalism saw as a watershed event: the historic visit of Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev to Beijing in mid-May, 1989. We decided to send reporters from the Chinese and Russian branches to augment an expanded bureau in Beijing. The two reporters arrived just a few days after the first student demonstrations began. They, too, moved out on the streets and manned the bureau telephones and joined bureau chief Pessin and his assistant Heidi Chay in bone-wearying days of non-stop reporting and filing. As we all know, history plays fantastic tricks on journalists. But scarcely ever, a trick as monumental as in May of 1989. Then, the Gorbachev visit became a footnote to a much larger story: the stunning revolution which swept throughout China during a series of anniversaries and rallies for ~~five~~ A DOZEN weeks beginning on April 15, 1989.

On that day, a few thousand students appeared in Beijing at the funeral of former Communist Party leader Hu Yao Bang, seen as a reformer. Even after the funeral, however, the students continued to mass. On May 4, the demonstrations escalated yet another notch as the students observed the 70th anniversary of the first Chinese student protests of modern times. Now, the Gorbachev visit was only ten days away --- motive enough for these students to continue appealing for support from other sectors of the population, to expand their encampment on Tiananmen Square to its outer limits and to spur demonstrations in cities across the land. When the Soviet party chairman

arrived, a million Chinese were in the square, and the schedule of official events was disrupted and altered to accommodate the unrest in a capital city which seemed completely out of control.

Gorbachev returned to Moscow on May 18. The pro-democracy demonstrations continued, and it was about this time that Party Chairman Zhao Zeyang made his final public appearance in a discussion with the students. Other members of the top leadership disappeared from view. On May 20, the Chinese authorities declared martial law. The same evening, VOA's monitor in Hong Kong recorded the hourly news in Mandarin —— as he had done countless days since PRC jamming of VOA had ceased in September, 1978. But, as the recording reflects, May 20th, 1989, was to be an infamous day in the history of international broadcasting:

TAPE: CUT 1 (VOA MANDARIN BROADCAST, BEGINS WITH YANKEE SIGN-ON, ENGLISH ID, NEWSCAST IN MANDARIN IN THE CLEAR, AND AFTER 30 SECONDS, GRADUALLY ESCALATING JAMMING TO VIRTUALLY COMPLETE OBLITERATION OF THE SIGNAL). TIME: 0:52

The sound of jamming, back to the airwaves in Asia for the first time in more than a decade. It was the opening shot in many months of move and countermove ——the Beijing authorities determined to re-erect a China Wall of silence around millions of the curious, and VOA equally determined to maintain the flow of vital news and information to the Chinese people,

Until late May, VOA had used only shortwave to reach China. But about 48 hours after jamming resumed, we redirected the million-watt medium wave

(standard broadcast band) transmitter in the Philippines to the Peoples Republic. This reached the coastal cities as far north as the southern suburbs of Shanghai, for a half hour daily in prime listening time and was unjammed. On May 24th, we added two more shortwave frequencies, bringing the total in use to an even dozen. Still, the jamming continued, but there were indications the signal always got through each day, and is still getting through, on the medium wave or one or two shortwave channels.

Back in Beijing, the VOA correspondents and reporters were giving it all they had: interviews with residents, people in the Square, checking and cross-checking the leads received in telephone tips, sifting the facts to make sure that the VOA reports were scrupulously accurate. In the days just before martial law was imposed, the Beijing media (radio and television as well as the newspapers) loosened up and were uncharacteristically candid about the chaos in the country. Then over a weekend in mid-May, there was a tightening up, a return to formalistic government communiques and pro-government skewing of the news. The following week, a return in the local media to fuller reportage. And then, martial law. A bamboo curtain of censorship was the year's final curtain call for the free media in China.

A China hand at VOA commented: "The Chinese audience is much too experienced not to understand these pendulum swings for what they are --- tactical stabs at information control for expediency's sake. They trust the VOA, therefore, not only for the breadth but also for the responsibility of its coverage, and the fact that it's always there the same way. During the cruelest days of the Cultural Revolution (remember, there was jamming then, too), one loyal Chinese

listener put it best: 'You were the only school open in all of China'."

June 3rd, 1989, was a steamy, sultry Saturday in Washington. As early afternoon approached, the Beijing bureau alerted us about unusual troop movements in the vicinity of Tiananmen Square. It was 1 a. m., China summer time. Chinese Branch Chief David Hess was already in at Voice headquarters in Washington, having spent 18-20 hour days keeping a keen eye on events in China. The late evening Mandarin broadcast was already off the air, and David was watching the central newsfile and talking with Al Pessin in Beijing to determine what the latest troop movements signified. And then, the bulletins began crackling across the beeper lines from Beijing. Pessin and Chay were right next to Tiananmen, and in measured tones, they described the tanks rumbling down the main boulevards, and the sweep of the Square, the death and the destruction. Hess requested an early start time for VOA Mandarin that day --- and the Voice went on the air at 4 a. m. China time, to report the rapidly-moving events.

The Square was cleared. The Goddess of Democracy was toppled. Tanks stormed the streets. We call it the Tiananmen Square massacre, but have no way of measuring the full extent of the casualties, bloodshed, and arrests in the rest of Beijing and in other cities of China. A few days later, VOA correspondent Al Pessin located an American professor who wandered the streets of the Chinese capital the night of the massacre. Professor Sheridan Peterson told of venturing out with a friend, in the neighborhood of what was called the Mushudi Bridge. Correspondent Pessin picks up the story from there:

TAPE: CUT 2 PESSIN NARRATIVE AND INTERVIEW WITH PROFESSOR SHERIDAN PETERSON (BEGINS WITH "THE PROFESSOR AND HIS FRIEND..." CONCLUDES WITH PETERSON'S WORDS: "IT WAS JUST SOMETHING THEY COULDN'T... THEY COULDN'T REALLY BELIEVE."

TIME: 1:28

On that June 4th, the Voice of America immediately expanded its broadcasts in Mandarin from eight and a half hours to 11 hours daily, and later in June added an additional hour of Mandarin. We went to an all-news format in the Chinese languages, and expanded medium wave in Mandarin and Cantonese to three hours daily on the one million watt Philippines and Bangkok transmitters. On June 5, former VOA Beijing Bureau Chief Mark Hopkins flew from Boston to Beijing.

On June 7, VOA became the first international broadcaster to send its newscasts VIA SATELLITE on both video and audio in crisis coverage: television cameras recorded the reading of newscasts in Mandarin and in English, and scrolled Mandarin texts were used at the bottom of the screen. In the days immediately following the Tiananmen Square massacre, some estimates were that these transmissions may have reached up to 2,000 receive dishes in the Peoples Republic of China.

Within hours after the crackdown, we installed a special hotline telephone in the Chinese Branch to take in calls on the many local situations throughout the country. We reasoned that people would want to reach us, and might have information of value from datelines which were sparsely covered by foreign

correspondents, or not covered at all. We should remember that even after the massacre, the situation in the country was still very fluid. The leaders were out of sight, and although the 28th army had stormed and retaken Beijing, the reaction of other military units was not at all certain. In these circumstances, accurate, objective, and up to date information was crucial. These were days of great uncertainty.

Immediately after the special phone was installed, we were getting more than a hundred calls a day from China. All the ~~news~~ NEWS tips, however, had to be verified by other sources before we would use them on the air. The call I remember most vividly was from Wuhan, in central China. A student phoned the Chinese Branch and said that other students by the hundreds were blocking the north-south railway bridge in the city --- the main transportation artery between southern and northern China. Although the student gave us permission to use his voice and his account on our Mandarin broadcast, we held the story for six hours until the VOA Newsroom received independent confirmation of the account from Wuhan.

By the end of the first week after Tiananmen, the tide began to turn. The telephone calls dropped precipitously... on Friday to perhaps 30, on Saturday to a dozen, on Sunday to one or two, and after that, silence. Coincidentally, on the second Monday following the crackdown, June 12, the government-controlled Chinese press began to open up a barrage of attacks against VOA and the international media. On June 14, correspondent Al Pessin received a phone call summoning him to the Beijing city government's offices. In a wood-paneled reception room just a block from Tiananmen Square, an

official accused Pessin of "violating martial law" through illegal newsgathering, and "distorting facts, spreading rumors, and instigating turmoil and rebellion." Chinese television cameras where whirring away as these charges were made, and Pessin was ordered to leave Beijing within 72 hours.

"When the official finished what he had to say," Al Pessin recalled later, "I asked permission to make a statement. I told the official the Chinese accusations were patently false. I told him that as our tens of millions of listeners in China and around the world know, VOA reporters the best, most accurate, the fairest and the best-balanced news that we possibly can. I told him that our only motive is to tell the truth --- and looking directly at him, I added: 'Governments do not always like that'."

In the months since Tiananmen, the Chinese government-controlled media have continued to assail VOA reportage. They expelled correspondent Hopkins in July, but assistant Heidi Chay filed nearly every day until relieved by a new resident VOA correspondent, Stephanie Nealer, early last month. We continue to get indications that despite the continued intensive jamming of VOA's 13 hours a day of Chinese language broadcasts, the information gets through. Wuer Kaixi is perhaps the most famous of the student activists who fled China right after the massacre. He said late last year: "Everybody knows about Eastern Europe and the changes there from the Voice of America and the BBC. For example, a friend of mine just came from China and told us her son, a farmer in the country, listens to VOA every night."

The last thing the Chinese leaders want their people to hear is about walls tumbling in Berlin, free elections in the Soviet republics and Eastern Europe, the isolation of Fidel Castro, and economic reforms in places as far away as Ethiopia and Tanzania and as close by as Mongolia. The Chinese media ~~have~~ were ~~been~~ almost totally silent ~~on~~ about the events of the world in late 1989 -- history on fast foward, as someone called it. We received a compelling letter earlier this month from a Chinese resident of Beijing who courageously signed his name, but whose identity we feel compelled to protect. The letter spoke volumes about a China we don't hear much from today -- the silent majority of the 1990s. Let me read a part of it to you:

"Although the Chinese regime is making an all-out effort to jam VOA broadcasts," the writer said, "we always wait until late at night when the sound is clear to listen. Your programs enable us to understand what is happening in the world, right away and accurately. The collapse of the communist parties in East European countries, particularly the victory of the Romanian peoples' revolution, made us dance with glee. The Romanians' success gave us determination to resist tyrannical communist control." The writer concluded: "I wish to thank all the ladies and gentlemen of VOA Chinese, for you bring to us news of freedom."

Perhaps the Beijing spring of 1989 set events on a new course in the rest of the world for the rest of the decade and well into the 1990s. We at VOA are immensely satisfied to have had a front row seat to report history, as people power began to topple or traumatize regimes from Beijing to Bucharest. Information and ideas matter in the modern world. Our director Dick Carlson

is fond of saying that VOA is "an intellectual greengrocer to the world, providing food for thought to the millions." Perhaps nowhere on earth is that needed more than in a China hungry for straight news, and a diversity of ideas.

Last June, as VOA correspondent Al Pessin was cleaning out his desk shortly before his explusion from Beijing, the office telephone rang. During the last few days, many harrassing or obsene phone calls had come in --- the authorities determined to make the departing bureau chief feel very unwelcome. Pessin almost let the phone ring, but on a hunch, he picked it up. The excited caller asked if, in fact, this was Al Pessin. And after a hesitant, nervous pause, he said: "Don't be discouraged".

Pessin was incredulous. He recalled: "Here was a young man risking his freedom, perhaps his life, to call me to urge me not to be discouraged. I was heading for freedom, for friends, for family. The young man on the telephone had identified himself as a student at a university in Beijing, who had just seen some of his friends gunned down, and his own hopes for freedom and democracy impaled on the bayonets of the Peoples Liberation Army.

"And he was telling me not to be discouraged.

Pessin recalled: "I was lost for words. After what seemed like an eternity, I managed to say: 'Don't you be discouraged'.

"The student at the other end of the line needed no time to collect his thoughts for a response. His instantaneous reply was: 'We will never be discouraged'."

THE LISTENER

30 NOVEMBER 1989 · £1.20

THE CRUMBLING CURTAIN
Prague: Misha Glenny
Moscow: David Smith
Berlin: Alan Watson

CHRISTOPHER TERRILL
Britain: a society built on bullying?

MICHAEL ELLIOTT
The creeping power of M&S

JAY RAYNER
The man who liberated books



CHRISTMAS BOOKS

11 PAGES OF SEASONAL PROBLEM-SOLVING

48

9 770244 392018

Spring Fever

MISHA GLENNY reports on the momentous events in Czechoslovakia.

'Someone shouted "Somebody is being raped!" Another asked "Who?" "Democracy." That's when it started. "We'll give you democracy." ... It was only a second. They began forcing their way inside and at the same time they let loose the tear gas on us. I had to watch out for my glasses because without them I would have been finished... All of a sudden I was hit on the head with a truncheon on the right-hand side. I got an enormous swelling and then straight away I was hit again. I felt my legs shaking. I couldn't stand. I saw the floor and after that I don't remember... I sort of came to, someone was supporting me, blood was pouring down my eyes, my glasses. I couldn't see. I couldn't hear...'

In the above quote Pavel Dvorak describes what happened to him on 31 December 1967, when riot police broke up a demonstration of students from Prague's Strahov student dormitory. The Strahov demonstration was directly responsible for turning the Central Committee against the crusty old Stalinist, Antonin Novotny, who made way for Alexander Dubcek. The power of 2,000 student protesters in Czechoslovakia was felt as far away as the Kremlin. In July 1968, Leonid Brezhnev explained why the Soviets decided to dump Novotny: 'The first disturbing sign was the student demonstration in October 1967... That made us unhappy even if they didn't include political demands.'

On the evening of 17 November this year, Czechoslovakia's Interior Minister, Mr Frantisek Kincl, deployed his special riot squad, the Red Berets, against thousands of student demonstrators marching towards Prague's Wenceslaus Square. The police violence finally provided the impulse for revolution in Czechoslovakia. Kincl, and Milos Jakes, the Party leader, once again demonstrated their profound lack of historical awareness.

Ten days ago, students throughout Czechoslovakia followed the example of their colleagues in Prague and organised an indefinite strike. Until then they had spent their entire lives under a system which is dedicated to stifling genuine political discourse. Yet within hours they had created smoothly functioning strike committees which co-ordinated activity between individual faculties and the country's major cities. I asked many students what they knew about the political work of their fathers and mothers who had played the same vanguard role at the universities in the 1960s. Few of them had any idea, although some were able to name former student activists who are now prominent opposition members. Somehow the political traditions of Czech students which have played a central role in the country's great historical moments this century have been communicated to today's youngsters through the black hole of Gustav Husak's 'normalisation'.

The student strike and the creation of the Civic Forum, the front organisation represent-

ing most currents of the opposition, coincided with the first visible cracks in Party unity. The Prime Minister, Ladislav Adamec, threatened to resign from the Party Politburo and as head of the government in two letters that he sent to Jakes in June and October. According to his spokesman, Miroslav Pavel, he was unhappy about the brake that Jakes was applying on the progress of political and economic reform. Such serious domestic squabbles cannot be kept from neighbours or friends. The moderate wing around Adamec began to grow in confidence and Jakes' phrase 'We won't let the republic be subverted', started to sound hollow. The example of East Germany sounded the death knell for Jakes and his brittle neo-Stalinist order in Czechoslovakia.

The most enduring response to tyranny in Czechoslovakia has always been their delicate, but subversive humour. In the past fortnight, this piece of ideological dynamite has exploded into what has been named 'the happy revolution'. The night before negotiations between Adamec and the doyen of dissent, Vaclav Havel, Czechoslovak TV slipped in a Tom and Jerry cartoon before the news in which Tom, Jerry and Butch the Dog sign an agreement to be nice to one another. Possibly as a pointer to the future, the three ended up chasing one another round the garden again.

Recently, a new 100-Crown note was issued with the bust of Klement Gottwald, Czechoslovakia's first Communist leader, printed on it. Gottwald is not the country's most popular historical figure and the authorities had to withdraw from circulation a large number of the notes on which the printers had inserted a swastika or the word *'Vrah'* (Murdered) on Gottwald's forehead. The 100-Crown note has since become a prized possession, however, after Czechs discovered that by folding it in a certain way, Gottwald's face can be transformed into the spitting image of ET.

Husak, Jakes and the old leadership are colloquially referred to as the dinosaurs. A huge picture of a brontosaurus in the city centre was accompanied by the caption *'Taky meli maly mozky!'* (They had small brains, too!)

By the time such material was appearing, the demonstrations in Prague had been transformed into the most mighty expression of revolutionary intent. Overnight, Prague's Wenceslaus Square became a shrine to free speech. Shop windows were plastered with demands, slogans and photographs of the police brutality, from 17 November. For 20 years Prague's extraordinary beauty had been abused by the Soviet rape of 1968. Within hours the posters and flags had washed away the stain of violence. The two satellite parties, the Socialist and People's, swung round behind the Civic Forum and the students immediately. Their newspapers, *Svobodne slovo* (Free Word) and *Lidove Demokracie* (People's Democracy), became beacons of the revolution. The moment had arrived and the tundra-like structures of normalised Czechoslovakia began to melt before our eyes.

Many factors have contributed to the change in Czechoslovakia. The rise to power of Mikhail Gorbachev was of course a precondition. The tireless and often thankless work of Czechoslovakia's dissident community has played an enormous part in sustaining Czechoslovakia's democratic culture through the period of 'normalisation'. But according to Jirina Siklova, a founder signatory of Charter 77, 21 August 1988, the 20th anniversary of the invasion, opened the last chapter of Stalinism in Czechoslovakia. 'None of us, opposition or officials, believed that 10,000 young people would demonstrate on that day. And when Naegele broadcast his piece that night on Voice of America people throughout the republic realised that something fundamental had changed.

For the past four years, the impact of Jolyon Naegele, the VOA's Eastern Europe Correspondent, on Czechoslovak politics has been greater than most journalists can dream of in a lifetime. A fluent Czech speaker, Naegele has communicated the ironic nuances of Czechoslovak reality to people inside the country more effectively than anyone else before him.

Naegele's success was due partly to one of the cardinal sins committed by Husak and Jakes. While publicly embracing glasnost, they insisted on feeding one of Europe's most educated populations with huge doses of indigestible verbal hogwash. It was this which ensured that the overwhelming majority of the population listened regularly to the VOA, the BBC and Radio Free Europe. The role of these radio stations will now change as the Czechoslovak journalists rediscover the heritage of Capek, Peroutka and Vaculik.

It would be foolish to predict how the new democracy in Czechoslovakia will develop. But of course its political and economic history suggest it has a much greater chance of avoiding the restoration of an authoritarian order than Poland, Hungary or East Germany. But they dare not be complacent. As an ambiguous reminder, one graffiti artist sprayed a police traffic control box with the slogan: This is a Czech sitting here. ■

Misha Glenny is the Central Europe Correspondent for the BBC World Service.

Director Carlson
Director Reed

2 TASKS

Intercommunication / TRAINING

D.C. Jamming US / 9 Soviet languages / E.E. - Romanian / Bulg /

~~[redacted]~~ Not now
~~[redacted]~~ Now Moscow Bureau
Now regular w/ Moscow
Hookups w/ RADIO KIEV

Warsaw One - largest P. A.M. station - We did a line hookup Chic. / N.Y. / GDANSK / Warsaw - 2 hour Polish lang. show on economy. Ran on Polish radio - RADIO station in Budapest - Radio Lodge - taking 24 hrs a day VOA programs - "A" met w/ Sajudis (/lute player & mayors go when A met him) - taking

Vernacular lang. broadcasts -

GET NAME

One contributed Dish
220 min newscasts - one in Polish / one in Eng

So interested in V.O.A. + Amer. programs - ill equipped.

Washington conespondent of Austria - now ~~[redacted]~~ remaining budget cuts of six language services (more restored) "People more" need in Lithuania in time of transition.

GET PHONE

America must never lose its voice.

Rose

Izvestia / Dis. writers testing the system.

Moscow News: March 9: "Information being rationed."

Havel – [CHECK POTUS' YESTERDAYS REMARKS]

On VOA, Havel met Iron eyed Czech lay. Service But he knew them when they spoke – because he knew their voices. [HAVEL same time radio

The voice of America in Czech / in this Romania, etc.

Czech – walkout – Crowd around door applauded

ROMANIAN – CEAUSCEAU relied – catalyst – here to tell POTUS how important.

[redacted]

VOA – D effect of "Who wants to be a worker all their life?" "Arent likely to tell the truth except in entertainment." Emb. not to be allowed. [redacted] We're not [redacted] always right, but we strive to be honest.

Yes on Cross quoting –
Castro blamed Moscow News –
Now we read Moscow News –
Chinese coming Berlin Wall didn't mention B.W. – just as a measure of border restrictions
Cuban media didn't report on Wall / held march on anything else. Never talked about
[redacted] war on Angola – Now, were forcing Cubans needs to be more honest.

DISaffection in U.S.S.R. on Afghanistan, ~~allowable~~ to V.O.A. – hammered on, ~~straightforwardly~~, not ~~polemically~~.

P.L. used [redacted] double

United States Information Agency

Alan

INFORMATION MEMO

WEEKLY REPORT

FROM: VOA - RICHARD W. CARLSON RWC

May 12, 1989

NOREIGA REGIME ATTACKS VOA COVERAGE, FORCES OUR REPORTERS TO LEAVE

Stung by our election coverage, especially an editorial and interview on VOA Spanish, regime officials called the Voice "an organ of disinformation" and blocked visa renewals for correspondents Michael Drudge and Ruben Del Castillo. The regime had not wanted the VOA reporters in Panama City in the first place, sources told Del Castillo, but because of an error, they were among the 260 journalists accredited for the election. In addition, Panamanian radio stations that opted to rebroadcast VOA coverage were threatened.

EVEN IN THIS ERA OF *GLASNOST*, VOA IS A LEADING NEWS SOURCE...

...Embassy Moscow cabled. Senator Bill Bradley heard this from a recently-elected deputy in the Soviet capital, who pointed to a colleague and asked, "Do you know how I learned that he had been elected? I heard it on the Voice of America." Last Sunday, *Izvestiya* columnist Aleksandr Bovin declared that information is still rationed in the Soviet Union. "If it hadn't been for the Voice of America and other voices," he wrote, "We would have been stranded (for news about the Tbilisi protest)." This week, listeners could hear more on reaction to those demonstrations when reporter Nik Sorokin interviewed Georgian community representatives and covered their meeting with Senator Bob Dole. In talks with sinologist Andrew Nathan, Sorokin also previewed the upcoming Sino-Soviet summit--an event he'll be in Beijing to cover for VOA Russian.

THERE WERE ALSO MORE EYEWITNESS ACCOUNTS ON VOA'S IMPACT IN CHINA

On May 9, *New York Times* correspondent Sheryl WuDunn reported that, "When the streets here (in Beijing) swell with protesters, people all over China tune in the Voice of America." Last Thursday, members of the House Foreign Affairs Committee on Asia heard Pei Min Xin, a Harvard University student and spokesperson for some 700 Chinese colleagues in America, testify that, "I also want to point out that the Chinese people, at least people who listen to Voice of America, are very anxious that the American and perhaps Western European governments will at least indicate where they stand on the issue of human rights and democracy for almost one quarter of the human race."

THE AFRICA DIVISION'S WEEK: A NEWS BEAT, A REMARKABLE INTERVIEW, AND A MAJOR SYMPOSIUM

After verifying a report that UNITA guerrillas bombed the Texaco office in Luanda, VOA Portuguese broke the story before other sources even learned of the attack. In a neighboring studio, VOA Amharic reporters talked with Information Minister Abdulhafiz Yousouf, the first high-ranking official in the Ethiopian government ever to grant us an interview. On Monday, we were provided invaluable insights on the Horn of Africa by former Ethiopian Foreign Minister Goshu Wolde, former Sudanese Vice President Francis Deng, Said Samatar of Rutgers, Herbert Howe of Georgetown and Rand Corporation consultant Paul Henze.

NETWORK EXPANSIONS

- A VOA affiliate in Poland: Solidarity has been granted a time block on Poland's national radio service and requested VOA Polish reports for its new broadcast. Our first program delivery to Solidarity included reports on Polish activist Jacek Kuron's meeting with President Bush and his speech to the National Endowment for Democracy.

- The Singapore Broadcasting Corporation (SBC) has scheduled our ***VOA Pacific*** series for its 7-8 PM time slot on Saturdays. SBC is the exclusive radio service for Singapore's three million people and its broadcasts also can be heard in Malyasia and Indonesia. (SBC planned to air excerpts from ***VOA Pacific***, but after auditioning several programs, decided to carry them in full.)

UNCLASSIFIED

VOA
E/S

INCOMING
TELEGRAM

UNITED STATES
INFORMATION AGENCY P/S Mr Simmons

PAGE 01 022948 ICA121
08/2055Z

ACTION OFFICE VOA-02
INFO TCOC-01 DSO-02 VG-01 P-01 PG-01 R-01 PGF-01 AC-01
PL-01 EU-03 DR-01 VBB-01 VBXC-01 VBXN-01 VBE-01 VBU-02
PPMI-02 PPFE-01 /025 A4 8

R 082054Z MAY 89
FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
TO RUEHIA/USIA WASHDC 9495
INFO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC 3883
RUEHLN/AMCONSUL LENINGRAD 3119
BT
UNCLAS MOSCOW 12283

USIA FOR VOA; EU
STATE FOR EUR/SOV
LENINGRAD FOR P&C

E.O. 12356: N/A
SUBJECT: VOA: EVIDENCES OF EFFECTIVENESS

1. EVEN IN THESE DAYS OF GLASNOST', THERE IS CONTINUING EVIDENCE IN SOVIET SOCIETY OF A WIDE AND FAITHFUL LISTENING FOR THE VOICE OF AMERICA. THE FOLLOWING EXAMPLES TESTIFY.

2. DURING HIS RECENT VISIT TO THE SOVIET UNION, SENATOR BRADLEY MET WITH A GROUP OF RECENTLY-ELECTED DEPUTIES TO THE CONGRESS OF PEOPLE'S DEPUTIES. ONE OF THE DEPUTIES POINTED TO A COLLEAGUE ACROSS THE TABLE AND SAID TO BRADLEY: "DO YOU KNOW HOW I LEARNED THAT HE HAD BEEN ELECTED? I HEARD IT ON THE VOICE OF AMERICA."

3. MOSCOW NEWS OF MAY 7 PROVIDES WRITTEN EVIDENCE OF VOA'S EFFECTIVENESS. IZVESTIYA COLUMNIST ALEKSANDR BOVIN AUTHORS AN ARTICLE ENTITLED "GLASNOST RATIONED OUT," WHICH SHARPLY CRITICIZES MEAGER SOVIET PRESS COVERAGE OF THE RECENT EVENTS IN TBILISI. "REPORTS WERE SKIMPY, FORMAL AND IRRITATING," HE LAMENTS. "IF IT HADN'T BEEN FOR THE VOICE OF AMERICA AND OTHER VOICES, WE WOULD HAVE BEEN STRANDED."

4. LENINGRAD MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.
JOYCE
BT
#2283

5/10/89

1. Janie J
2. Sid
3. Alan pouch
cc: Barb S.
4) file effectiveness

UNCLASSIFIED

• OPERATIONS CENTER BRIEF •

UNCLASSIFIED

From: The New York Times
Arrived in OpsCenter: 05/15/89

In China, Radio Is Still King —

While media critics debate the potential effects of global television, in China the power of international radio stations is manifesting itself as hundreds of millions of Chinese have tuned in to VOA and BBC to obtain information about the student protests. Ong Linh, a Chinese graduate student in a media program at New York University, says the students cannot match the government's ability to reach a mass audience. Therefore, students have turned to global radio networks to get their message out and to receive information. He cites three reasons for this: 1) Radio sets are abundant in China; 2) Transmitting power virtually blankets the entire country; and, 3) VOA and BBC broadcasts have a large following because they are in Mandarin and the networks are perceived as truthful vehicles of information.
(Info EA, P/GF, PL, VOA)

UNCLASSIFIED **Date:** 05/15/89

Cc w/ WH/B
5/15/89

1. Janie
2. Sid

✓ cc: Alan

VOA AND CHINA: COVERAGE OF MAY-JUNE, 1989

PANEL AT THE BROADCASTERS EDUCATION ASSOCIATION CONVENTION

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

March 29, 1990

Alan L. Heil Jr.

Deputy Director of Programs

Voice of America

personal letter usually smuggled out to relatives in America. From these we learn that VOA listenership is loyal and widespread, mostly along the border with Thailand, dropping off gradually as one penetrates deeper westward toward the border with Vietnam. Life in those areas has not relaxed even to the limited extant that it has in the larger urban centers along the Mekhong; tuning to VOA must still be relatively surreptitious. Still, people do take their chances to listen. One recent visitor, who was released from a "reeducation" camp in the northern Laotian mountains after spending more than 10 years there, told one of our staffers: "All of the inmates who had access to radio receivers tuned in whenever they could, sparing no effort or risk. Even the Communist overseers listened to it, too." He also said the ordinary people outside the camp enclosures listened to us as well. He said that VOA was a "lifesaver," keeping his spirits afloat and hopes alive.

C. The Competition

VOA Lao programming is essentially up against international broadcasts from the Communist bloc, with the sole exception of Thailand's Radio Free Asia. Radio Beijing broadcasts 2 hours daily, RADIO MOSCOW (1½ hours), Radio Hanoi (1½ hours), and Lao National Radio (17½) hours (plus 2 hours of TV time). Radio Free Asia broadcasts 45 minutes a day. As noted earlier, there is also all the domestic broadcasting from Thailand which is clearly receivable by 80% of the populace.

D. Action Taken on Recommendations Made at the Last Program Review

1) The program on women is being incorporated into our weekly program called *Americana*. Most materials used are from the house, plus some service originations. The Service had studied the Africa Field Service scripts on *Family Health* and found that while the subject is interesting, the format is not suitable for our program.

2) The Service used almost all of the house scripts on Buddhism (there were very few available) along with many service-originations on Lao temples activities in this country.

3) The Service and East Asia/Pacific Division are still working on obtaining a visa to Laos for the Lao Service Chief, and also working on the possibility of having some of our programs rebroadcast on some Thai radios.

APPENDIX

LETTERS FROM OUR LISTENERS

ITEM 1 Prominent Ukrainian human rights activist Levko Lukianenko was a founding member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Monitoring Group and a long-time political prisoner. In a letter to a third party written just after Easter last year from his place of exile, Tomskaia *oblast'* in the far-Eastern Parabelsk' region, Lukianenko says:

"How long my soul had longed for something like this! I sat at the table alone. Some neighbors (they were our people, Ukrainians) had given me a couple of colored Easter eggs, a piece of sausage, and some other things. The food hadn't been blessed, of course - there's no church here. But the blessing came from St. Volodymyr's church [the church, from which we broadcast the Easter Mass]. The reverend father, the pastor, couldn't sprinkle my food with holy water, but he sprinkled my soul, and it was blessed. Long after I'd finished my meal his words continued to ring in my soul. They carried it to that far-away place that for this Easter had become the soul of all Ukraine, that united us all in the atmosphere high above the earth into one powerful entity, an entity that had originated in the dim grayness of the ancient past, and, having spread all over the world, found its concentrated expression now, in our time, under the cupolas of St. Volodymyr's Cathedral... We didn't sleep much that night, because our ears were full of the whistling, hissing and static through which we tried to hear, over the endless wastes, the voice of the living earth. And we did hear it. It filled our small room with great joy, which warms us yet."

ITEM 2 Letter received this month from a listener in Western Ukraine. He expresses thanks for President Reagan's and Secretary Gorbachev's peace efforts and writes:

"Thank you for broadcasting the beautiful Christmas carols and the radioplay 'Christmas in Transcarpathia.' I also wish to thank Victor Cooley for broadcasting the Orthodox Christmas Mass from Massachussetts... I long for the traditions and lovely customs of our grandparents and great grandparents, which we - their descendents - buried in a grave. Who will now help us rectify these unrectifiable mistakes?"

VOA In The NEWS

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 29, 1989 THE WASHINGTON POST

UPHEAVAL IN EASTERN EUROPE

Shortwave Radio Shaped the Revolution

As Fighting Ebbs, Food Reappears in Bucharest's Markets

By Blaine Harden
Washington Post Foreign Service

BUCHAREST, Romania, Dec. 28—The people here were supposed to have been in the dark. Nicolae Ceausescu and his 60,000-strong Securitate secret police dropped a cone of silence over 23 million people. Romanian appetites were not to be whetted by Eastern Europe's singular year of democratic change.

But shortwave foreign broadcasts, including those of the Voice of America and Radio Free Europe, as well as British, German and French stations, helped to undermine the Orwellian repression. Romania's conspicuous silence for most of the past year was not the dismal quiet of hopelessness. Rather, it was the stillness of people paying attention.

"This autumn we listened to the radio every day and every night. When the revolution happened in Czechoslovakia, I listened every hour," said Gabriel Marcescu, 21, an engineering student at the University of Bucharest.

"Everybody knew," Roxana Baban, a Bucharest physician, said. "Everybody knew from the radio."

This week, after the fall of the Ceausescu regime, abundant supplies of meat and fruit appeared in the shops for the first time in recent memory. The government had ordered that so-called "export warehouses" be opened and the food inside them delivered to consumers. In the past, most of the country's best agricultural products were exported for hard currency. People queued up at shops for bones and chicken feet.

Outside one meat shop in central Bucharest today, men were unloading a ton of pork, boxed for export and bearing labels in English that said "tenderloin."

"I have never seen meat like this in my life," said Ann Vrincenu, 22. "Yes, obviously yes, this is a ben-

See ROMANIA, A24, Col. 1

ROMANIA, From A1

efit of the revolution. Until now we have had only death and bullets. Now we have food."

Like the sudden flowering of political freedom here, the sudden availability of unfamiliar food has proved a bit disorienting.

Consider the Bucharest child who was given her first orange on Wednesday. She did not know what to make of it. After screaming "Mommy!" and running from it, she tried to eat it with the peel still on.

Such are the risks of a revolution led by the radio.

The state-run television and newspapers here almost never mentioned the peaceful revolutions remaking Poland, Hungary, East Germany, Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria. Laws prohibited foreign travel and curtailed contacts with foreigners.

The Securitate were believed to be everywhere, tapping phones, reading letters and using special microphones to eavesdrop on people talking in the streets.

"It was a fiendishly effective way of atomizing the country," a diplomat said here today.

Now, of course, it seems only fiendish. Ceausescu and his wife, Elena, are dead, executed by a firing squad on Monday. Romanians are getting on with the business of rejoining Europe. The cone of silence never really worked.

The shortwave radio broadcasts that helped lay the groundwork for a one-week revolution also helped forge some of the links between the people who have emerged as the revolution's leadership.

Coen Stork, the Dutch ambassador here, said that although Doina Cornea, a Cluj University teacher put under house arrest for her critical open letters to Ceausescu, had never met Silviu Brucan, a former U.N. ambassador who signed another open letter with five other former officials last winter, they knew each other well—via the airwaves.

"The radio helped a lot. It gave people courage," Stork said.

He said that without the knowledge dissidents gleaned from foreign radio broadcasts, it probably would not have been possible for the new provisional government to come up with such a diverse membership for its ruling 39-member council. It includes artists, poets, former Communist officials, military men and intellectuals.

In the first four days of the revolution, with the Securitate shooting citizens by the hundreds in the streets of Bucharest, it was impossible for the new government to meet together. Although many Securitate agents have surrendered or been killed, Western diplomats say there are still thousands armed and moving around the country. Terrorist attacks by remnant forces of the secret police are expected to continue here for weeks to come.

A Western diplomat described the new government as a kind of "traveling medieval court" moving from the Presidential Palace to the television station, to the Ministry of Defense, back to the television station and now to a base at the Foreign Ministry. The diplomat said he does not believe all the members of the ruling committee have yet met in one room.

The interim government, which has promised to dissolve itself by April, faces the formidable job of organizing free elections in four months. Already, however, it has succeded in reversing one of the most hated policies of the Ceausescu years—engineered food shortages.

The shortwave broadcasts helped shape a revolution among people who dared not even speak to each other, except while strolling together in a park. Serious political conversations were considered too dangerous to be conducted in apartments of suspected dissidents, as the Securitate was believed to have bugged every room.

Romanians say that by listening to radio broadcasts they learned of the dissident writing of Doina Cornea, and about the six former party officials who were punished for their open letter demanding political change. And they followed events in every country in Eastern Europe where old guard Communist governments collapsed before the will of voters and demonstrators.

Translating their excitement into action, however, was another matter. For, unlike all the other countries in the Warsaw Pact, the Romanians believed—correctly, as it turned out—that Ceausescu's murderous police would shoot them if they demanded change.

"We were so excited by the events in Eastern Europe, but there could be no meetings in the street. Everyone was afraid of the Securitate," said Florin Pasnicu, a journalist for Student Life magazine. "We discussed all the time, when we could. We said we have to change, everyone is changing. We made all kinds of calculus. In Poland, it took 10 years, in Hungary, 10 months, in East Germany, 10 weeks, in Czechoslovakia, 10 days. How long would it take here? We did not know."

There was almost no news from Romania in the months before the revolution. But a few Romanians were doing more than just listening to the radio.

In the grassroots meetings of the Romanian Communist Party that led up to Ceausescu's ritualized reelection as the party's leader at its congress in November, there were—for the first time—a few peeps of dissent. Journalists here say there were Communists from factories and offices who stood up at a few low-level meetings and said they were against the reelection of Ceausescu.

In Romania's top-down system, where all the media played to the whims of the regime, there was no way for these tiny sparks of courage to spread. The party congress came off as the grand charade it was planned to be. Thousands stood to speak of Ceausescu as the unparalleled hero of Romania.

After the dam burst nearly two weeks ago—when police opened fire on a crowd of unarmed demonstrators in the western city of Timisoara—Romanians here rushed to the streets to chant slogans. They seemed to be imitating what they had heard over shortwave radio about the "gentle revolution" of chanting and song on the streets of Prague a month earlier.

But this wasn't Prague or Sofia, Warsaw or Berlin. It was Bucharest, a city crisscrossed with the underground tunnels of a savage secret police that Ceausescu had trained to protect himself from the revulsion of his people.