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National Association of Broadcasters 4/2/90 [OA 6895] [3]

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Information When You Need It

NAB has answers to your questions.

- What is the trend in news anchor salaries?
- What stations were sold last year?
- How many households have stereo television?
- What should a station keep in the public file?
- How do I order FCC rules and regulations?
- What are some sources of syndicated radio programming?
- Where can I get information about co-op advertising?

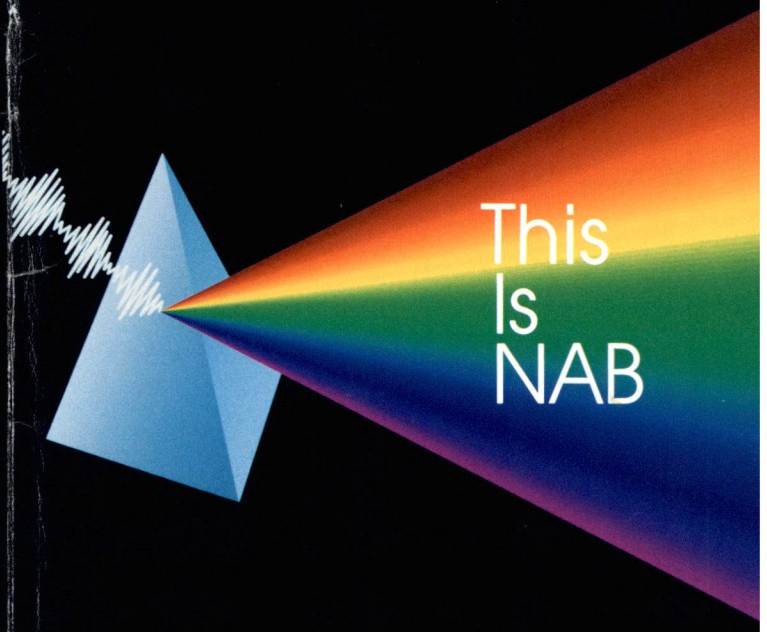
These questions have one thing in common. They, and many more, have all been answered quickly and accurately with one call to NAB's Library and Information Center.

The Library and Information Center offers members access to detailed and sometimes hard-to-find information—current and historical—about the broadcasting industry and a wide range of related subjects. Using 8,900 volumes, 225 periodical subscriptions and five electronic database services as resources, the Library and Information Center responds to 7,000 inquiries a year. If the librarians determine that your question requires an issue expert, they will locate the NAB staff person to help you.

Vice President/Library and Information Center is Susan Hill. The phone number is (202) 429-5490.

NAB™ BROADCASTERS

National Association of Broadcasters
1771 N Street, NW
Washington, DC 20036-2891
(202) 429-5300



This Is NAB

National Association of NAB® BROADCASTERS

A 1990 Guide to How Your Association Works for You

What Is NAB?

The National Association of Broadcasters is the broadcasting industry's largest, most inclusive trade association, offering a wide variety of member services in addition to providing legislative, legal and regulatory representation.

NAB includes among its members all the major television and radio networks, more than 5,100 radio stations and nearly 1,000 TV stations—an all-time high.

The Association seeks to ensure the viability, strength and success of America's free, over-the-air broadcasters and serves as a practical, technical and informational resource for the industry.

NAB believes the American public is best served by a broadcasting system that provides programming free of government intervention and reflecting audience preferences.

National Association of NAB BROADCASTERS®

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Photos—NAB Public Affairs & Communications; Oscar & Associates, Chicago; Ankers Photographers, Washington, DC

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Conventions & Meetings 429-5356
Exhibits—Rick Dobson 429-5335

Employment Clearinghouse
—Hatim Hamer 429-5497

Engineering Information 429-5346

Government Relations
Hotline . . . . . (800) 424-8806
TARPAC/TARPEC—Rae Ann Roldan 429-5319
State Association Relations
—Debbie Steinbrueck 429-5314

Information (General)
Library & Information Ctr. 429-5490

Legal Information 429-5430

Membership
Associate—Emily Dorey 429-5360
Radio—Donna Leonard 429-5401
TV—Sharon Kinsman 429-5363

Public Affairs & Communications 429-5350
Media Relations—Susan Kraus 429-5350
RadioWeek—Leslie Stimson 429-5416
TV Today—Cindy Price 429-5421
NAB News, ATV Report, Daily News (conventions)—John Merli 429-5486

Public Service Campaigns (NAB) 429-5447

Radio Department 429-5420
Convention & Seminar Programs
—Joy Dunlap 429-5405

Research 429-5382

Services to Members
Credit Cards, US Sprint, Insurance Programs
—Penn Hoyt . . . . . (800) 368-5644
Merchandise Sales
—Michelle Cash . . . . . (800) 368-5644
Publications Sales
—Dan Queen . . . . . (800) 368-5644

Television Department 429-5361

Female & Minority Employment

Full & Part-Time Employees

	Total	Women	Minorities
1980	176,704	58,175 (32.9%)	26,213 (14.8%)
1985	206,135	74,906 (36.3%)	32,634 (15.8%)
1988	215,980	80,935 (37.5%)	35,832 (16.6%)

Higher Pay (Full-Time) Positions*

	Total	Women	Minorities
1980	120,150	27,848 (23.2%)	14,446 (12.0%)
1985	141,287	40,349 (28.5%)	19,094 (13.5%)
1988	146,613	44,557 (30.4%)	21,116 (14.4%)

*Officials and managers, professionals, technicians, sales workers.

Acknowledgements for "Facts about Broadcasting": American Newspaper Publishers Association; Bureau of Labor Statistics; Federal Communications Commission; Nielsen Media Research; Radio Advertising Bureau; Television Bureau of Advertising; Television Information Office.

Foreword



An industry as strong and diverse as broadcasting requires an equally dynamic organization to stand up for its interests and foster its growth. The National Association of Broadcasters provides that leadership. It exists to serve its members and to create a favorable climate for the business of broadcasting to thrive, especially as we enter a new decade on the brink of the 21st century.

To many members, NAB is perhaps most visible for its work on Capitol Hill, in the courts and at the FCC, representing your interests as the laws and policies that affect broadcasters are shaped. Many also view NAB's leadership in advancing new technologies—such as advanced television and radio engineering—as vital to the industry's success in the 1990's and beyond.

Along with day-to-day representation and a take-charge role in meeting the challenges of the future, NAB mirrors broadcasting's diversity by providing a wide range of member services. From research and publications that enable you to better control your business environment, to management seminars that inspire the exchange of ideas and techniques, your dues help fund resources and services that broadcasters have told us they want from their trade association.

NAB's ability to meet the needs of its members is the direct result of broadcasters like you who are actively and enthusiastically involved in the Association through our Radio and Television Boards, a variety of committees and task forces, NAB's Legislative Liaison Committee, and our political action committee, TARPAC. Your ideas generate the services and policies that guide our activities.

A trade association serves different purposes for different people. This book is your guide to all those purposes, functions and services so you can gain the greatest benefit from your membership in NAB.



Edward O. Fritts
NAB President/CEO

At Your Service

Membership involvement and professional ability empower NAB to serve your needs effectively.

NAB policy direction emanates from radio and television broadcasters who are chosen by their industry colleagues to serve on the Joint Board of Directors. In addition, regular contact with state associations and other broadcaster organizations keeps NAB management alert to new ideas, issues and areas of concern.

The day-to-day operations of NAB are managed by President Edward O. Fritts and the senior staff. The executive vice presidents report directly to him.

Executive Vice President/Operations John Abel supervises the Radio, Television, Public Affairs & Communications, Science & Technology, Research & Planning, Minority & Special Services, and NAB Services departments.

Executive Vice President/Government Relations James C. May oversees the industry's lobbying efforts and all of NAB's Capitol Hill-related activities, including TARPAC and TARPEC.

Broadcaster activities in the courts and relations with the Federal Communications Commission are directed by Executive Vice President/General Counsel Henry (Jeff) Baumann.

Reporting to Executive Vice President/Chief Financial Officer and Secretary-Treasurer Michael Harwood are the Finance & Accounting, Conventions & Meetings, Production, Data Processing and Personnel offices.

The Secretary-Treasurer's office manages the Association's finances, building operations and all administrative services. It acts as liaison to the Board of Directors, conducts Board elections and maintains NAB's official records.

Each NAB department has its specific area of responsibility. Your guide to the departments and their functions begins on the next page.

Radio Stations

	Commercial AM		Commercial FM			Non-Commercial		Total
1980	4559	+	3155	=	7714	+ 1038	=	8752
1985	4754	+	3716	=	8470	+ 1172	=	9642
1989	4966	+	4251	=	9217	+ 1414	=	10631

	Minority Owned	Sets in Use (in Millions)
1980	= 123	= 456.2
1985	= 171	= 507
1986	= 209*	= 533.2

*Latest data available.

Television Stations

	Commercial VHF		Commercial UHF			Non-Commercial		Total
1980	517	+	229	=	746	+ 267	=	1013
1985	539	+	365	=	904	+ 290	=	1194
1989	548	+	540	=	1088	+ 348	=	1436

	Minority Owned	Sets in Use (in Millions)
1980	13	128.2*
1985	32	155.4*
1986	38**	175.6*

*In households.
**Latest data available.

1989 Radio & Television Financial Profile

Type of Station	Revenues	Expenses	Full-Time Employees
TV Network Affiliate*	14,993,846	11,239,941	94
TV Independent*	12,701,233	13,107,487	59
Full-Time AM Radio**	873,637	788,167	11
FM Radio**	1,333,123	1,225,949	15

*Average values as reported in *NAB 1989 Television Financial Report.*
**Weighted average values as reported in *NAB 1989 Radio Financial Report.*

NAB Committees, cont.

Research Subcommittee On Local TV Audience Measurement (COLTAM)
Gary R. Chapman (212) 765-1902
LIN Broadcasting, New York, NY

Small Market Radio Committee
Jerry Papenfuss (507) 452-4000
KAGE/KBRF/KBEW, Winona, MN

Telco Entry Task Force
John Behnke (206) 443-4013
Fisher Broadcasting, Inc., Seattle, WA

Television Membership Committee
Ronald Townsend (703) 284-6789
Gannett Co., Arlington, VA

Facts About Broadcasting

Broadcasting employs 215,980 people, less than 1% of the nation's civilian work force. Broadcasting is more diverse in number and dispersion of outlets than the daily print media. There are 10,631 radio stations and 1,436 television stations in the United States, compared to 1,633 daily newspapers.

Radio: The Listener

- The average household has 5.6 radio sets.
- Radio reaches 96% of persons 12+ each week.
- Persons 12+ spend 3 hours daily listening to radio.
- Radio delivers the news first in the morning to 48% of adults.
- 3 of 4 adults listen to radio in their cars each week.
- Radio reaches 99.5% of teenagers (12-17) weekly.
- Radio reaches 21 million people with walk-along sets.

Television: The Viewer

- 97% of TV households own color sets.
- 63% of TV households own two or more sets.
- The average TV household can receive 27.7 channels, including those available via cable services.
- The average TV household views an estimated 7 hours and 3 minutes a day.
- Television is cited as the main news source by 65% of the public.
- The average adult spends 4 hours, 37 minutes daily with television.

NAB Government Relations/Our #1 Priority

NAB Government Relations is the direct link between broadcasters and Congress. The Government Relations Department carries out that mission through both direct and grassroots contact with key members of the House and Senate.

NAB lobbyists are in constant contact with legislators, educating them on industry concerns and promoting broadcasting interests on Capitol Hill. Activities on a day-to-day basis include development of legislative initiatives, congressional testimony for hearings on broadcasting issues, and monitoring the numerous committees and members who have jurisdiction over broadcasting concerns.

NAB Government Relations also maintains close contact with grassroots broadcasters, including state broadcast associations. NAB hosts a State Leadership Conference each winter, where state association leaders, as well as members of NAB's Legislative Liaison Committee (LLC), gather to learn how to communicate industry concerns to Congress more effectively.

Communications is another vital role which Government Relations plays. It keeps NAB members fully informed through updates on issues, regular contributions to *RadioWeek* and *TV TODAY* newsletters, and legislative alerts when congressional action is imminent. Such alerts are coordinated through the department's Broadcaster/Congressional Relations division. Briefings for broadcasters on legislative issues are another important function of the department. Government Relations also provides audio/visual support for grassroots training, and maintains written communication with Members of Congress and their staffs on a wide range of industry issues.

The department organizes congressional participation in NAB's annual conventions, as well as the State Leadership Conference and the annual Legislative Forum at NAB's winter Board meeting.

Executive Vice President/Government Relations is James C. May. For assistance in dealing with your members of Congress and for updates on legislative activities in Congress, call the Government Relations Hotline at (800) 424-8806.



South Carolina broadcasters pay a Capitol Hill visit to Sen. Strom Thurmond (R-SC).

TARPAC-TARPEC/ Supporting NAB's Legislative Goals

NAB utilizes a strong political action committee to create and maintain a favorable climate for our industry on Capitol Hill. The contributions of individual broadcasters fund NAB's Television and Radio Political Action Committee (TARPAC), which allocates money to the political campaigns of candidates who influence broadcast industry legislation.

TARPAC operates under federal laws which prohibit the use of corporate money and allow the political action committee to combine many small donations into larger, more meaningful contributions. The law requires that NAB member companies must first join TARPAC and agree to grant permission to solicit individual employees. The process is carefully monitored by the Federal Election Commission.

NAB also has another fund—Television and Radio Political Education Committee (TARPEC). TARPEC sponsors activities that educate both broadcasters and members of Congress on industry issues and foster a better understanding and allow for the exchange of views between broadcasters and legislators. TARPEC also provides honoraria for members of Congress to attend NAB meetings. TARPEC can accept corporate contributions.

FM Transmission Committee
John Marino (203) 333-4800
New City Communications, Bridgeport, CT

Hundred Plus Markets TV Committee
Judith Ekberg Johnson (701) 255-5757
Meyer Broadcasting Co., Bismarck, ND

Insurance Committee
Eddie J. Kautzman (701) 223-0900
Meyer Broadcasting Co., Bismarck, ND

Local Carriage Task Force
Cullie M. Tarleton (704) 374-3652
Jefferson-Pilot Communications, Charlotte, NC

Medium Market Radio Committee
Thomas M. Kushak (217) 629-7077
WMAY/WNNS Radio, Springfield, IL

Minority Executive Council
Glenn Mahone (804) 748-4199
Paco-John Broadcasting Corp., Petersburg, VA

On-Air Initiatives Committee
Jack B. Clements (703) 685-2006
Mutual Broadcasting System, Arlington, VA

Radio Allocations & Regulatory Review Committee
Gary Grossman (503) 926-8628
KRKT-AM/FM, Albany, OR

Radio Futures Committee
Jerry R. Lyman (NAB) (202) 347-2626
Radio Ventures I, L.P., Washington, DC

John D. Dille, III (219) 295-2500
Federated Media, Elkhart, IN

Radio Membership & Board Composition Committee
James W. Fox (208) 233-1133
KWIK/KPKY, Pocatello, ID

Radio '90 Steering Committee
William Clark (818) 845-4444
Shamrock Broadcasting, Inc., Burbank, CA

Research Committee
Donald Newberg (615) 756-6141
WGOW/WSKZ, Chattanooga, TN

Research Subcommittee On Local Radio Audience Measurement (COLRAM)
Jerry Lee (215) 667-8400
WEAZ-AM/FM, Bala Cynwyd, PA

NAB Committees

More than 350 talented and committed broadcasters sit on more than 30 committees and task forces, providing valuable input into Board policy deliberations. These committees work closely with assigned NAB Staff and Board liaisons to ensure that ideas and information are shared and utilized.

Broadcasters with special areas of interest, concern or expertise are appointed to NAB committees. The committee chairs and co-chairs (below) serve in recognition of their accomplishments and commitment to leadership.

Advanced Television Task Force
Leavitt Pope (212) 210-2600
WPIX, Inc, New York NY

AM Improvement Committee
Art Suberbielle (318) 365-3434
KANE-AM, New Iberia, LA

AM Receiver Manufacturer Liaison Task Force
Ted Snider (501) 661-7510
Snider Corporation, Little Rock, AR

Cable Relations Task Force
Thomas L. Goodgame (212) 307-3175
Westinghouse Broadcasting Co., New York, NY

Children's Television Committee
Glenn C. Wright (206) 728-8210
KIRO Television, Seattle, WA

Congressional Relations Committee
John F. Dille, III (219) 295-2500
Federated Media, Elkhart, IN

Copyright Committee
Malcolm D. Potter (301) 467-3000
WBAL-TV, Baltimore, MD

Engineering Advisory Committee
Milford K. Smith, Jr. (201) 247-6161
Greater Media, Inc., East Brunswick, NJ

Engineering Conference Committee
Don Lockett (202) 822-2486
National Public Radio, Washington, DC

Financial Advisory Committee
Michael J. Conly (512) 366-5000
KENS-TV, San Antonio, TX

First Amendment Committee
Kenneth Elkins (314) 231-5965
Pulitzer Broadcasting Co., St. Louis, MO

Both funds are administered by NAB Government Relations, which publishes the *Congressional Handbook*—a handy reference guide with background on congressional offices, committees and other information. Information on the handbooks is available by calling the TARPAC Coordinator at (800) 424-8806.

NAB Legal/FCC Representation and Regulatory Advice

A primary function of NAB Legal's seven attorneys is representation for broadcasters in the courts, before the FCC, and before other federal agencies. Their work in this area affects the outcome of a broad range of government decisions that have an impact on the broadcasting industry. An equally important function is the translation of complicated legal language into useful information for members. This information is provided through Counsel Memos included in *NAB NEWS*, periodic legal updates in NAB's weekly radio and TV newsletters, presentations at NAB conventions and state association meetings, and through several publications authored by members of NAB Legal and sold through NAB Services.

NAB Legal's staff is available to answer members' questions on numerous topics, including lotteries, libel, alcohol advertising, and political broadcast issues. Lines of communication to the FCC are kept open through Senior Vice President/Regulatory Affairs Belva Brissett, who works closely with the Commission to ensure that the broadcaster's side of any issue is properly considered.

Executive Vice President/General Counsel is Henry (Jeff) Baumann. For information, call (202) 429-5430.

NAB Radio/Reaching Out To Members

NAB Radio serves the needs of more than 5,100 radio members in a variety of ways. It provides practical information on station operation and industry trends, while NAB's Washington-based Tele-Service staff maintains local contact with stations on the grassroots level.

NAB Radio coordinates management seminars and committee meetings throughout the year and schedules radio sessions for the NAB's annual convention each spring. NAB Radio manages the fall radio convention—the radio industry's largest and most comprehensive meeting of the year (see further details in the NAB Conventions & Meetings section). Each radio convention is planned to present the latest and best management, sales and programming ideas to attendees.

The NAB Crystal Radio Awards for Excellence in Local Achievement, the Marconi Awards for programming, and the Best of the Best promotion contest are three programs among several that are sponsored by NAB Radio. Other nationally recognized programs administered by NAB Radio are the National Radio Award and the annual inductions into the Broadcasting Hall of Fame.

NAB Radio also produces publications to promote radio and participates in NAB public service activities by distributing radio PSAs and other materials for use by local station and network members.

NAB Senior Vice President/Radio is Lynn Christian.



A recent NAB Radio Convention session on AM improvement played to a full house.

Jerry P. Colvin (616) 968-9341
WUHQ-TV, Battle Creek, MI

Michael J. Conly (512) 366-5000
KENS-TV, San Antonio, TX

Eugene S. Cowen (202) 887-7744
Capital Cities/ABC, Washington, DC

William F. Duhamel (605) 342-2000
Duhamel Broadcasting Enterprises, Rapid City, SD

Martin D. Franks (202) 457-4501
CBS Inc., Washington, DC

Thomas L. Goodgame (Chairman) (212) 307-3175
Westinghouse Broadcasting Co., New York, NY

Robert D. Hynes, Jr. (202) 637-4531
NBC, Washington, DC

Judith Ekberg Johnson (701) 255-5757
Meyer Broadcasting Co., Bismarck, ND

Ben McKeel (Vice Chairman) (614) 249-7680
Nationwide Communications, Columbus, OH

Mauricio Mendez (713) 974-4848
KTMD-TV, Houston, TX

Leavitt J. Pope (212) 210-2600
WPIX Inc., New York, NY

Harold E. Protter (402) 558-4200
KPTM, Omaha, NE

Patricia C. Smullin (503) 779-5555
California/Oregon Broadcasting, Medford, OR

Cullie M. Tarleton (704) 374-3652
Jefferson-Pilot Communications, Charlotte, NC

Ronald Townsend (703) 284-6789
Gannett Company, Arlington, VA

Cyril E. Vetter (504) 766-3233
WVLA-TV, Baton Rouge, LA

Anita L. Wallgren (513) 721-1414
Great American Broadcasting Co., Cincinnati, OH

Glenn C. Wright (206) 728-8210
KIRO Television, Seattle, WA

Radio Board, cont.

W. LeRoy Schneck (814) 723-1310
WNAE/WRRN, Warren, PA
District 3—PA

Rusty Shaffer (303) 444-1490
KBOL-AM, Boulder, CO
District 16—CO, NE

Denise A. Shoblom (602) 855-4098
KFWJ/KBBC, Lake Havasu City, AZ
Special Board Seat

Jeffrey H. Smulyan (317) 266-0100
Emmis Broadcasting Corp., Indianapolis, IN
District 10—IN

Daniel B. Speare (805) 327-5121
KPMC-AM, Bakersfield, CA
District 24—Southern CA, GU, AS, HI

Art Suberbielle (318) 365-3434
KANE-AM, New Iberia, LA
District 8—LA, MS

Norman Wain (216) 566-8080
Metroplex Communications, Cleveland, OH
Special Board Seat

J. Douglas Williams (405) 256-4101
KWOX-FM, Woodward, OK
District 19—OK, North TX

F. Russell Wood (801) 575-7620
KSL Radio, Salt Lake City, UT
District 22—AZ, NV, UT, NM

NAB Television Board

John Behnke (206) 443-4013
Fisher Broadcasting, Inc. Seattle, WA

Joseph A. Carriere (405) 843-6641
KWTV, Oklahoma City, OK

Gary R. Chapman (212) 765-1902
LIN Broadcasting, New York, NY

Joel Chaseman (202) 334-4610
Washington Post Co., Washington, DC

Radio Membership/ Tele-Service

NAB Radio Membership launched a new direct marketing effort in 1990 based in Washington, DC. Four Tele-Service reps now provide personalized service to NAB Radio members and work to increase radio membership for NAB.

For information about NAB Radio Membership, call (202) 429-5401. Vice President/Radio Membership is Donna Leonard.



NAB Radio Membership staffers (l-r) Liz Samuels, Linda Curtis, Mark Maddrey and B.J. Cohen.

NAB Television/ Channeling Resources For Success

NAB Television provides station owners and managers at nearly 1,000 NAB TV member stations with a variety of innovative services and targeted activities.

NAB Television conducts meetings and conferences throughout the year, including: a forum for group executives; a week-long management development seminar; a 100 Plus Idea Exchange for small market managers; and an introductory course on legislative and regulatory activities for general sales managers and news directors. NAB Television also offers a wide

variety of informative television management and sales sessions at the NAB annual convention each spring.

Using the medium that it serves, NAB Television produces a monthly video magazine, TELEJOURNAL. This one-hour program is fed via satellite the third Friday of each month. It provides vital information on the legislative and regulatory issues unfolding daily at the FCC, in Congress and in the courts. The second half of TELEJOURNAL packages timely public service announcements for campaigns such as Operation Prom/Graduation, AIDS prevention, Project Literacy, and voter education. NAB Television also directs such national industry campaigns as Family Viewing Month and Free TV.

NAB Television annually honors the contributions of industry leaders and individual stations through its Broadcasting Hall of Fame, and its Service To Children Awards program.

Several publications supplement the department's service to broadcasters, including regular updates accompanying the weekly *TV TODAY* newsletter; "Service to Children: Television Idea Book"; Small Market TV Manager's Guide; and "50 Winning Ideas for 100 Plus Broadcasters."

NAB Senior Vice President/Television is Chuck Sherman. For information about TV membership, call (202) 429-5363.



NAB Television coordinated the recent industry-wide "Free TV" campaign.

William J. Hogan (212) 575-6144
Unistar, New York, NY
Network Representative

Robert P. Kipperman (212) 975-4227
CBS Radio Networks, New York, NY
Network Representative

Thomas M. Kushak (217) 629-7077
WMAY/WNNS, Springfield, IL
District 17—IL

Glenn R. Mahone (804) 748-4199
Paco-Jon Broadcasting Corp., Petersburg, VA
Special Board Seat

Walter E. May (606) 437-4051
WPKE/WDHR, Pikeville, KY
District 5—WV, KY

William L. McElveen (803) 796-7600
WTCB-FM, Columbia, SC
District 6—NC, SC

Gene Millard (816) 233-8881
KFEQ-AM, St. Joseph, MO
District 12—MO, KS

Donald J. Newberg (615) 756-6141
WGOW/WSKZ, Chattanooga, TN
District, 15—TN, AR

Richard D. Novik (914) 471-2300
WKIP-AM, Poughkeepsie, NY
District 2—NY, NJ

Richard W. Osborne (603) 225-5521
WKXL-AM/FM, Concord, NH
District 1—New England

Michael D. Osterhout (813) 287-1047
Edens Broadcasting, Tampa, FL
Special Board Seat

Jerry Papenfuss (507) 452-4000
Result Radio Group, Winona, MN
District 21—MN, SD, ND

Robert H. Pricer (614) 345-4004
WCLT Radio Inc., Newark, OH
District 11—OH

William R. Sanders (Chairman) (712) 262-1240
KICD-AM/FM, Spencer, IA
District 14—IA, WI

Executive Committee, cont.

Radio Board Vice Chairman
David L. Hicks (616) 344-0111
Hicks Broadcasting Corp., Kalamazoo, MI

Television Board Vice Chairman
Benjamin McKeel (614) 249-7680
Nationwide Communications, Columbus, OH

Network Representative
Robert D. Hynes, Jr. (202) 637-4531
NBC, Washington, DC

NAB Radio Board

George Edwards (212) 714-1000
National Black Network, New York, NY
Network Representative

Ramsey G. Elliott (916) 969-5747
KRCX, Roseville, CA
District 23—Northern CA, AK

William Eure (804) 898-9494
Eure Communications, Yorktown, VA
District 4—DE, DC, MD, VA

James W. Fox (208) 233-1133
KWIK/KPKY, Pocatello, ID
District 20—MT, ID, WY

Dean M. Goodman (305) 654-9494
Gilmore Broadcasting Corp., Miami, FL
District 7—FL, PR, VI

Gary Grossman (503) 926-8628
KRKT-AM/FM, Albany, OR
District 25—OR, WA

Richard H. Harris (212) 307-3665
Westinghouse Broadcasting Co., New York, NY
Special Board Seat

John D. Hiatt (512) 359-1067
KCHL/KMMX, San Antonio, TX
District 18—South TX

David L. Hicks (Vice Chairman) (616) 344-0111
Hicks Broadcasting Corp., Kalamazoo, MI
District 13—MI

NAB Services/ Serving Members

NAB Services is your source of NAB materials to assist you in all areas of station operation. The department offers publications on everything from buying or building a broadcast station to broadcast law and regulation. It offers NAB-sponsored insurance programs for libel/First Amendment, business, group life and long-term disability. It also sponsors an NAB Gold MasterCard and discounts on US Sprint long-distance phone service for member stations and their employees.

Mic flags, clocks, radios, pens, pins, mugs and wearables are among the many promotional items available through NAB Services. All of the department's products are offered to NAB members at discounted prices.

NAB headquarters in Washington houses a permanent NAB Store containing these materials, and you'll find NAB Store displays at the spring annual convention, the fall radio convention and other industry meetings.

The Senior VP/NAB Services is Teri Lepovitz.

Call the department's toll-free number 800-368-5644 (in the Washington, DC area 202-429-5376) for quick service or information about NAB publications, promotional items, wearables, catalogs, insurance, US Sprint discounts and the credit card program.



NAB Services provides a wide variety of products at NAB conventions and other industry events.

NAB Conventions & Meetings/Bringing It All Together

NAB Conventions & Meetings arranges housing, transportation, exhibits and all conference details for the NAB Annual Convention, Engineering Conference and International Exposition in the spring (which drew more than 50,000 attendees and over 700 exhibitors in 1989), and the fall NAB radio convention (which draws more than 6,000 registrants and over 150 exhibitors).

The NAB annual convention is the broadcast industry's premiere event, bringing together all facets of the various industries related to broadcasting from throughout North America and many foreign countries. The 1990 annual convention (NAB '90) will be held March 31-April 3 at the Georgia World Congress Center in Atlanta. NAB '90 promises to include more timely sessions, special forums, expert speakers and the largest and most diversified exhibits on record, including more than 100,000 square feet devoted to a special NAB ATV/HDTV Exhibit—the largest of its kind ever assembled in North America.



More than 700 exhibitors served 50,000 convention attendees last year in Las Vegas.

The 1991 annual convention (April 13-16) and the 1992 annual convention (April 11-14) will be held in Las Vegas.

The NAB radio convention is to the radio industry what the combined radio-TV annual convention is to the industry at-large. The radio meeting each fall provides timely sessions and exhibits devoted exclusively to the radio broadcaster.

NAB Board of Directors

NAB is governed by its Joint Board of Directors, composed of the 33-member Radio Board, the 22-member Television Board, and the Joint Board Chairman, Immediate Past Chairman and NAB President. Most Board members are elected by NAB's membership.

The Radio and TV Boards represent a balance of small, medium and large market broadcasters, network, affiliate and independent station executives, as well as women and minorities. To optimize the generation of new ideas while maintaining vital continuity, Board members may serve up to two consecutive two-year terms.

The leadership of the Joint Board—Joint Chairman, Immediate Past Joint Chairman, NAB President, Radio and TV Chairmen and Vice Chairmen, TV Network Representative—meets as the NAB Executive Committee, which provides ongoing policy consideration and recommendations on a monthly basis, or whenever issues warrant immediate attention.

A Radio Executive Committee—composed of the Radio Chairman and Vice Chairman and Joint Board Chairman—meets regularly.

Executive Committee

Chairman of the Joint Board
L. Lowry Mays (512) 225-4231
Clear Channel Communications, San Antonio, TX

Immediate Past Chairman of the Board
Wallace Jorgenson (813) 961-9695
Hubbard Broadcasting, Tampa, FL

NAB President/CEO
Edward O. Fritts (202) 429-5444
NAB, Washington, DC

Radio Board Chairman
William R. Sanders (712) 262-1240
KICD-AM/FM, Spencer, IA

Television Board Chairman
Thomas L. Goodgame (212) 307-3175
Westinghouse Broadcasting Co., New York, NY

Broadcast Industry Council/Improving American Productivity

In 1982, NAB helped establish a non-profit educational foundation to focus public attention on the need to improve the productivity and international competitiveness of American business and industry. The Broadcast Industry Council to Improve American Productivity is especially involved in literacy and job training, working closely with stations to develop local education and re-training projects. Community-based projects initiated by the council have received two prestigious Presidential Awards for Private Sector Initiatives.

NAB International/Life In The Global Village

NAB maintains contact with foreign broadcaster associations to exchange technical and regulatory information of common concern, and to advance and protect the interests of American commercial broadcasters. It consults on international broadcasting matters with the FCC, the U.S. Commerce Department's National Telecommunications & Information Administration, the U.S. State Department and the U.S. Information Agency.

NAB is a member of the International Association of Broadcasting and participates in major international broadcasting meetings. The executive committees of NAB and the Canadian and Mexican broadcast associations meet yearly to address issues of common interest.

The Association also works with the Voice of America Training Office, hosting a series of training and orientation sessions for foreign broadcasters visiting the United States.

NAB International Consultant is William Haratunian.

The 1990 NAB radio convention ("Radio 1990") will be held Sept. 12-15 in Boston. ("Radio 1991" is Sept. 11-14 in San Francisco.)

In addition to the fall and spring conventions, NAB Conventions & Meetings also arranges many other NAB meetings, including those of the Joint Board of Directors, the Executive Committee and NAB committees, as well as special seminars and events throughout the year.

NAB Conventions & Meetings is also the contact office for NAB's 1,500 Associate Members.

NAB Senior VP/Conventions & Meetings is Hank Roeder.

Associate Membership/ Serving Those Who Serve Broadcasters

The NAB Associate Membership Office is NAB's information source and liaison to other NAB departments for the Association's non-broadcaster members. Broadcast-related organizations such as equipment manufacturers, communications law firms, brokers, consultants, news/weather services, and programming and production companies are NAB Associate Members. Many exhibit at NAB's spring annual convention and fall radio convention.

Associate Membership affairs, conducted by NAB Conventions & Meetings, include coordination of NAB Convention Marketing and Information Services (CMIS). CMIS handles convention advertising and promotional products, as well as computerized services, an on-site convention exhibit locator, and attendee mailing lists.

NAB Associate Membership promotes and coordinates international attendance at the annual convention, including liaison with the International Trade Administration's U.S. and Foreign Commercial Service.

NAB Vice President/Exhibits & Associate Membership is Rick Dobson. For information, call (202) 429-5409.

NAB Public Service/ Serving the Public Interest

NAB generates and fosters industry-wide campaigns to combat drunk driving, alcohol and drug abuse, increase voter awareness, encourage youth participation in the work force, and educate the public about AIDS.

Originating from the Office of the President, NAB National Campaigns occur year-round. These help members develop local campaigns that address national issues affecting their communities. NAB public service kits often include scripts for announcements, and fact sheets. Fully produced PSAs are often distributed by satellite to member stations.

NAB's public service efforts are bolstered by alliances with more than 300 other influential organizations, including United Way, Commission on Presidential Debates, U.S. Bicentennial Commission, National Federation of Parents for a Drug-Free Youth, U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Drug Enforcement Administration, Mothers Against Drunk Driving, American Newspaper Publishers Association, National Alliance of Business and the White House Office of National Service.

The NAB convention, the annual radio convention and other industry conferences include the NAB Public Service Booth, where you can pick up taped PSAs and information on NAB campaigns.

Assistant to the President/Senior Vice President & National Campaign Coordinator is Rory Benson. For more information, call (202) 429-5447.



Last year's NAB/MADD Youth Conference in Washington drew more than 150 students to discuss alcohol and drug abuse.

NAB Minority & Special Services/Toward Equal Opportunity

Addressing the interests of minorities and women in broadcasting is the primary goal of NAB Minority & Special Services. It operates the NAB Employment Clearinghouse. The Clearinghouse is a free nationwide job referral service providing broadcast employers with more than 2,000 resumes in 26 job-skill categories and affording prospective employees a free resume bank. The Employment Clearinghouse Booth is an annual feature at NAB conventions.

The department's Minority Broadcast Student Tracking Program follows the college careers of outstanding minority communications students and helps them find jobs in the industry. The department conducts workshops and seminars to provide students and industry professionals with information and advice on jobs and career strategies.

Vice president/Minority & Special Services is Dwight Ellis. To reach NAB's Employment Clearinghouse, call (202) 429-5497.



Helping minorities and women excel in the broadcast industry at all levels is an ongoing NAB priority.

NAB also played a key role in the formation of the Advanced Television Test Center for broadcasters outside Washington, DC. In 1990 and 1991, the ATTC will test and evaluate developing Advanced Television transmission systems. NAB is among several broadcast groups sponsoring the Test Center located in Alexandria, VA.

NAB Research & Planning/Providing Information Tools

NAB Research & Planning generates original industry research to help you make management decisions and to support broadcasting's regulatory and legislative objectives. It tracks and analyzes a broad range of topics relevant to the industry, including financial data, personnel statistics, consumer trends and technological advances.

The department's Marketing & Technology Reports are included in *NAB NEWS*. Research & Planning produces many NAB publications throughout the year, including the annual *Radio and Television Financial Reports* and the *Employee Compensation & Fringe Benefits Report*.

Research & Planning also organizes NAB convention sessions and works with the educational community to provide and report on significant industry research.

Senior Vice President/Research & Planning is Rick Ducey. For more information, call (202) 429-5380.

NAB Public Affairs & Communications/ Getting The Word Out

NAB Public Affairs & Communications informs all of NAB's audiences about the Association's positions on legislative, regulatory, technical and societal issues. Its communications are directed to NAB members, other industry officials and associations, government and corporate opinion leaders, news media and the general public.

NAB PA&C produces and distributes news releases, issue briefing kits, the weekly *TV TODAY* and *RadioWeek* newsletters, *NAB NEWS*, the annual report and NAB's official daily newspaper at the annual NAB spring convention and fall radio convention.

The department's graphic design and typesetting staff put their creative skills to work on nearly every NAB publication and all NAB convention programs.

The department has four major components: media relations, design & production, member communications, and Library & Information Center.

The Library and Information Center is the first point of contact for most of the thousands of calls coming into NAB each year. It is a vital resource for broadcasters and many others outside the industry who seek information about the Association and the broadcast industry (see back cover for details).

Public Affairs & Communications also provides public relations support to allied organizations, including the Broadcast Capital Fund, Broadcast Industry Council to Improve American Productivity, and Broadcast Education Association.

Senior Vice President/Public Affairs & Communications is Walt Wurfel. For more information, call (202) 429-5350.

NAB Science & Technology/Achieving Technical Excellence

NAB Science & Technology helps the entire industry maintain its technological edge to assure that the term "broadcast quality" always means "highest quality".

NAB engineers represent the industry before the FCC and other agencies on issues affecting spectrum management and technical regulations. The department fosters and promotes research and development of new broadcast technologies, in part, by using the resources of NAB's engineering lab.

Current Science & Technology projects include: investigating areas of technical improvement for FM broadcasting, coordinating receiver manufacturer and broadcaster cooperation through the adoption of NRSC AM improvement standards, developing plans for ATV spectrum allocation, and technically guiding ATV policymaking.

To improve the technical quality of AM radio, the department is conducting two AM experimental antenna projects. The first project is to build an experimental AM antenna in an effort to achieve separate control over ground wave and sky wave interference to improve broadcast service to the community. The second project is to design a technical basis for a "low-profile" AM antenna to assist low-powered AM stations in covering licensed communities at night with a more economical and practical AM antenna.

The department provides timely, useful and accurate technical information for NAB members in Engineering Report, a feature distributed in *NAB NEWS*. Also in *NAB NEWS* is the NAB Equipment Clearinghouse, which lists opportunities for buying and selling broadcast equipment. Tech-Check in *NAB NEWS* features innovative techniques and new high-technology products in the communications industry. These and other publications prepared by the department are a major source of technical information and FCC updates on broadcast engineering.

Science & Technology conducts the annual NAB Engineering Conference each spring in conjunction with the NAB convention and the engineering sessions at the fall radio convention. The department hosts seminars on satellite uplink operator training and broadcast engineering management. The technical exhibits at both conventions are where attendees find NAB and other knowledgeable engineers demonstrating new advances in both radio and television technology.

NAB Vice President/Science and Technology is Michael Rau. For more information, call (202) 429-5346.



NAB Science & Technology leads the industry in helping to maintain the highest technical standards.

Advancing New Technologies

To keep NAB members and the entire broadcasting industry on the cutting edge of new technology, NAB has created a for-profit subsidiary, NAB Technologies, Inc. Its mission is to develop and promote new technologies. One of its first projects was the development and testing of FMX—a system designed to improve the quality of FM stereo range and reception by reducing background noise.

The Uses of ADVERSITY

ESSAYS on the FATE of CENTRAL EUROPE

TIMOTHY GARTON ASH



Random House New York

France, Germany, Poland, Russia, or Hungary. When even representatives of the Soviet military start telling us that "we Europeans must stick together," we feel a strong temptation to stick apart. So I hope you will forgive me some initial notes of skepticism.

It seems to me obvious that European culture—in the sense of what European artists and intellectuals do—is still overwhelmingly a matter of national cultures. National, not in the frontiers of the nation-state but in the frontiers of linguistic, historical, and still also ethnic communities. This is almost a tautology. For historically, our sense of nationhood has been inextricably bound up with the sense of cultural community: German has the word *Kulturnation*—and the thing still exists on both sides of the Berlin Wall, just as it does on both sides of the Hungarian state frontiers. To be sure, the sources of each writer's creative work are peculiar, individual, and mysterious. There is no set of political conditions or state arrangements that is of itself conducive to the production of good writing, though there is for good reading. But for the vast majority of writers, their first reference group, the earth they cultivate and the air they breathe, their subject and their audience, remains their own people, their nation.

It seems to me equally obvious that this culture of national cultures is in a profound crisis, a crisis that it has brought upon itself. After two world wars begun by Europeans, after the genocides of Stalinism and Nazism, after the Holocaust—above all, after the Holocaust—after everything that educated Europeans have done to educate Europeans, we are compelled to question our most fundamental ideas about what it is to be a civilized man or woman. Our studies in the so-called humanities have not only humanized, they have also dehumanized. Our culture—or cult—of nationhood has led to the extermination of nations. In our time, it is quite as meaningful to talk of European barbarism as it is to talk of European civilization.

That is why I am appalled by the easy arrogance with which many people in Western Europe—and particularly, in my experience, in West Germany—now habitually contrast "European" values and behavior with the allegedly naïve, inferior, and even (I have heard it

said) "primitive" values, behavior, and culture of the United States. Here we are again in what Kundera has called the kingdom of forgetting, but a more insidious and dangerous kind of forgetting, because it is not imposed from above (by the President of Forgetting, Gustav Husák), but grows as it were naturally and voluntarily from below. *Am europäischen Wesen soll die Welt genesen* is not a refrain in which I wish to join. I think we are barely capable of healing ourselves.

Out of this experience of European barbarism there has emerged the demand—indeed, the necessity—for an explicit, public common definition of the basic values and standards of civilized behavior. In Britain we have come to a similar point in our own national life and culture, although through much less traumatic experience. For three centuries the fabric of civilized life in Britain has been preserved by habits, traditions, and manners rather than ideas, principles, or rules. We had no written constitution or bill of rights. We just had this peculiar habit of somehow rubbing along together: "*die Philosophie des Durchmuddelns*," as one German writer charmingly described it. Now the fabric is torn, the habits broken. We need ideas and explicit principles again: We need a bill of rights.

How much more does all of Europe need such a charter. I would like to read the Helsinki Final Act, and what has followed it, as such a charter: a charter that Europe has given itself, for itself, but also against itself—not against American values, not even primarily against Soviet values, but against the perverted values of European nationalism and European barbarism. But inevitably, such an agreement between states with different political systems stops precisely where it is most important to go on. It names those basic human rights and freedoms, but it does not go on to spell out what they mean, specifically, concretely, for each individual man or woman in each country. Where it leaves off, our task begins.

Moreover, by its very nature, no international charter can solve the problem of language. Historically, many of the most important words have meant very different things in different tongues: the word *Europe*, for example, and the word *culture*. And for many of the most

National Association of
NAB
BROADCASTERS

Rory Benson

Senior Vice President
Assistant to the President
National Campaign Coordinator
1771 N Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036
(202) 429-5446
Telex: 350-085
FAX: (202) 429-5410

To: Chriss Winston

From: Rory Benson RB

Re: President's Remarks

Date: February 28, 1990

I am attaching several pieces of background information for reference as you prepare the President's remarks to the National Association of Broadcasters.

One is a briefing paper I prepared for the Presidential Advance folks. It explains the who, what, why and wheres of the convention. The theme of NAB '90 is "Broadcasting Works! ... for advertisers, for audiences, for America."

As we mentioned, NAB represents both radio and television stations (not cable). Free over-the-air broadcasting is a popular buzzword for our American system.

Second is a background piece on the events in Eastern Europe, the role broadcasting played and the implications for the future ... per your request. We see this as a terrific, timely approach with great personal appeal to the audience.

Also included are NAB's annual report, a guide to how our Association works called "This Is NAB," an On-Air Initiatives book summarizing our many national public service projects and, finally, a copy of our pre-show "NAB Daily" newspaper which has been sent worldwide promoting the convention.

Should you have any questions or need any assistance please do not hesitate to call.

VoA

Soviet jamming
Moscow bureau
Reg Co-op w/ USSR ministries
Radio Kiev

Warsaw One - largest am station
2 hrs shaw econ. in Poland

Budapest
Radio Bridge - Mark Parmer
yesterday

Lithu
Viewing

Dish manufacture + Poland
20 min New Eng + then Polish

No tape player

Wash Corresp. w/ USSR - budget cuts
Intermediaries in peace time
as much as cold war

Sea of info.

Out of habit, remem. how things use to be here ... infor rationed.

"Out of habit, remembering how things used to be over there I was looking for info. concerning what was to take place here (in Moscow on Sun. 2/25/90). But to repeat, there wasn't any. For all, that is. Information was being rationed according to lists, to those who were supposed to get it ... But there, on the air, it is as if they were waiting for me. On Sat., as soon as I found the necessary wavelength, I was able to learn almost all I wanted to know: who, where, when and why were organizing the Sunday rally... Oh, triumph of glasnost! -- through the intercession of "otherwordly" voices. They use our own broadening sources of info better than we do + w/o delay return to us what they have gathered. Our thanks to them."

Stanislav Kondrashov in
Moskovskiye novosti (Moscow News)
No 9, 4 March 90

Radio Marti – Afganistan

very little

Cuba – no wall, no res in E. Countries
China – Berlin Wall ie – travel easement

30 million USSR
coffins – no locations
People told to be quiet

largest single factor, other than econ.

BROADCAST MAGAZINE – TRADE PUBLICATIONS

CEASE of THE CARRIBEAN

Christina's Copy

Davis/Martin
Title: NAB2
March 21, 1990
Draft: Three

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: NAB, GEORGIA WORLD CONGRESS CENTER
10 a.m. Monday, April 2, 1990

((Acknowledgements -- President Eddie Fritz, Walt Warthel, Hank Roeder, Rory Benson, thirty Members of Congress with us today, etc.))

((Someone just told me that this very convention center will be transformed tonight for a Grateful Dead concert.\\ Imagine that, The Grateful Dead\\ . . . I guess I **can** do that to an audience if I speak too long.))\\\

It's a privilege to be back before the National Association of Broadcasters. I can't help but marvel at the huge screens around us -- ((you know, if I were as large as my image on these screens, imagine how easy it would be for me to get my way with Congress)).\\ And this convention is also displayed on monitors around this arena; and from here, beamed around the world.

But there was a time when most Americans knew their presidents distantly, from woodcut prints in their weekly newspaper. The circle of democracy in ancient Athens and Rome was even more limited, just to those within hearing range of the debates inside the Parthenon or the Forum. But today, through free, over-the-air broadcasts, you have brought millions of living rooms within hearing range; you have made every home a part of the American forum.

In fact, on this very day, you are providing -- for the 6,000 foreign broadcasters in attendance, through your international seminars and through USIA's Worldnet -- a seminar for the world. Television, which began as the American forum, has become the world forum.

And so when a lone brave man stood up to a column of tanks in Tienanmen Square, the world stood with him.\\

When the people of Prague sang the first Christmas carols in almost half a century, the world sang with them.\\

And when the first German took the first hammer to that wall of shame in Berlin, the world shared in an historic act of courage.\\

These images of democracy belong to the world. But it was here in America that a free people first explored how to put the airwaves into the service of democracy.

We did this by accepting regulation, but firmly rejecting government programming or censorship, and government-ownership of stations. Now the freedom your association enjoys is the model the world is following today -- not just in the East, but also among heavily regulated nations in the West.

This is all part and parcel of a greater trend -- the ever-increasing free flow of information around the globe. We live in a time when commodity prices, travel reservations and news flash from Hong Kong to Tokyo, Tokyo to Bonn, Bonn to Boston, all in the blink of an eye. Roam among the acres of exhibits in this convention center and you will find 22 football fields chocked

full of the latest gadgets in telecommunications: personal computers and modems, fax machines, lasers, optical fibers, satellites -- all strands in a growing web of world communications, a growing world community, "a global village."

The information industry is not an adornment to modern life. It is the essence of who and what we are. It is truly an information age.

Last May, I discussed the future of Europe with the citizens of Mainz, a German city nestled in the green hills along the Rhine. And it was while I was there that I appreciated anew the Biblical expression: "In the beginning was the Word." For it was in that German town that the inventor of the printing press, Johannes ((Yo-HAN-nes)) Gutenberg ((GOOT-ten-berg)), first put the scholarship of the ages into the hands of millions of knowledge-hungry readers.

His one invention made possible all the pamphlets and journals of the Enlightenment and the American Revolution -- from the call to arms of Thomas Paine to the cool logic of The Federalist Papers. You might argue that out of that one invention sprang the very idea called America.

Today, along with the word, we have the image -- images formed by the pixels of color television, and evoked by the sounds of radio. But while Western democracy broadened as our knowledge broadened, the circle of democracy and knowledge narrowed under the communist regimes of Central and Eastern Europe, and Southeast Asia.

For these nations, truth was something to be twisted and stretched by the brutal hands of authority, manipulated beyond recognition. The Czech author, Milan Kundera, calls this time the "Kingdom of Forgetting" -- when whole nations almost forgot their heroic histories and finest traditions. From Prague to Phenom Penh, the peoples of these lands never fully gave in to amnesia, because even in the worst hours of repression, they could always count on a friendly voice to remind them of the truth -- the Voice of America, Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty.

To fully appreciate what these broadcasts do, you need only to ask a listener. Perhaps someone like Huang Ngor ((Whang-Nohr)), whom you probably remember as the Cambodian actor in The Killing Fields. But Doctor Ngor lived this horror before be portrayed it on the screen. And when he lived in Cambodia under the Khmer Rouge, the ownership of a radio was a crime punishable by death.

Yet, as soon as it was safe to do so, the Cambodian people dug up their radios, took out the dead batteries, laid them in the sun and poured water over them. And in this way, they could get another 15 or 20 minutes of life out of the old batteries, precious minutes for which many people risked their lives.\\ Remember that: the free news broadcasts which we so easily take for granted in America, some people must risk death to hear.

((Let me address an issue that I know is of great concern to you. Those of us who have been raised in a free society can

never fully appreciate how the oppressed yearn for an image -- no matter how fleeting -- of the outside world. That is why we are now broadcasting images of freedom on Television Marti to the people of Cuba.

((Of course, I know that Mister Castro doesn't like this idea; and that you have borne the brunt of his threats. I sincerely hope that he allows us to broadcast Television Marti to Cuba, as we have broadcast Radio Marti. We certainly do not try to keep him from broadcasting his lengthy speeches to America over Radio Havana. But let me pledge that if anyone jams your stations and interferes with the airwaves of America, your government will stand by you. **Americans have died in the defense of our right to free speech. We will not let freedom of the airwaves be compromised now.**))

Change is coming more easily to the Soviet Union. The Soviet government once spent half a billion dollars a year to jam foreign broadcasts so that its people would not learn what their sons and brothers were doing in Afghanistan. But within the Soviet media today are many honorable men and women who strive to report the news, who take glasnost more seriously than the party line. And that is why more and more Soviet journalists are earning the respect and admiration of their colleagues abroad.

Even more dramatic signs of change abound. The editor of Tass speaks to Washington's National Press Club. The subject? Freedom of information. China made its first conciliatory act by

accrediting a VOA correspondent. And throughout the world, the jamming of American broadcasts has ceased.

But most remarkable of all, Soviet publications that once vilified the Voice of America now praise it. Words of praise and support come from Isvestia. A commentator in Moscow News thanks VOA, and says that it uses ((and I quote)): "our own broadening sources of information better than we do and without delay return to us what they have gathered."

Now Radio Free Europe has bureaus in Warsaw and Budapest, and VOA even has one in Moscow -- an unthinkable development just a few years ago. The very fact that it is no longer considered remarkable to link live programs from Washington to Kiev, or from Chicago and New York to Gdansk and Warsaw is, in itself, remarkable.

How did this happen? It happened in part because of the power of truth. Czechoslovakia's playwright-president, Vaclav Havel, paid a very personal tribute to this power on his recent visit to Washington, when he visited the Voice of America, and met the employees of its Czech division. It was a very poignant encounter -- for though Havel didn't recognize any of them by face, he knew them all by name the instant he heard them speak.\\

And it is moments like that, that convince me of one sure thing: **I am determined that America will continue to bear witness to the truth. America must never lose its voice.**\\\

Still, we can envision a time when the purpose of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty will be utterly fulfilled. But for now, these networks, along with VOA and USIA, have two new missions.

First, we can fill a void in reporting **between** the nations of Eastern Europe. After all, Eastern Europeans need more than Robert's Rules of Order. They need to know how the process of reform is working with their neighbors. So if one nation adopts a novel path to reform, a pollution control, or currency law, the others need to be able to benefit from that experiment.

Second, as we help the newly free news services to replace the old distorted information sources, we can help them avoid the worst forms of a free press -- bias, sensationalism and yellow journalism.\\ But we need to do even more. So I am instructing USIA and Radio Free Europe to provide teaching and training for apprentice journalists in Central and Eastern Europe.

The best example of a free press must come from you. The Peace Corps is teaching English in Eastern Europe as the lingua franca of business and journalism. But it is not tasked to offer a model of journalistic excellence. Only the American press corps can pick up where the Peace Corps leaves off -- and provide a model of accuracy, fairness and objectivity.

As broadcasters, you can -- and you are -- transferring American know-how to the East. You are working with VOA to train and orient foreign broadcasters visiting the United States. Just in February, the director of Polish radio and television visited your headquarters, in part to seek the counsel and assistance of

American broadcasters. And you have sent your representatives to meet with their counterparts in the Soviet Union.

And on top of this, you are helping Americans to invest in joint ventures to establish new radio and television networks in the East. So most of all, I am here today to recognize your energetic international leadership.

We are making the most of an opportunity anticipated forty-five years ago by Franklin Delano Roosevelt, a few months before he made his last trip to his beloved second home so near here, at Warms Springs. In one of his last messages to Congress, President Roosevelt said that of all the changes taking place in the world, it is communication that will do the most to advance the cause of peace.

That was our vision then. That is our vision today. And by working together, the vision of America is fast becoming a reality for the world.

Thank you, may God bless you and may God bless the United States of America.

# # #

FDR Annual Message on State of the Union 1-6-45 (Written Version)

Davis/Martin
Title: NAB
March 21, 1990
Draft: One

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: NAB, GEORGIA WORLD CONGRESS CENTER
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For these nations, truth was something to be twisted and stretched by the brutal hands of authority, manipulated beyond recognition. The Czech author, Milan Kundera, calls this time the "Kingdom of Forgetting" -- when whole nations almost forgot their heroic histories and finest traditions. But the peoples of Central and Eastern Europe never fully gave in to amnesia, because even in the worst hours of repression, they could always count on a friendly voice to tell them the truth. That friendly voice came from Radio Free Europe, Radio Liberty and the Voice of America.

The Voice of America began as a small outfit, run by the late actor John Houseman out of a New York brownstone during the Second World War. But small though it was, the Voice achieved a rare eloquence, for it truly was the **voice** of America. Added to the American voice, was the British voice -- the BBC. And during the Cold War years, came yet another voice of a free people -- the Deutsche Welle ((DOY-cha-Vella)).

To fully appreciate what these broadcasts do, you need only to ask a listener. Perhaps someone like Huang Ngor ((Whang-Nohr)), whom you probably remember as the Cambodian actor in <u>The Killing Fields</u>. But Doctor Ngor lived this horror before be portrayed it on the screen. And when he lived in Cambodia under the Khmer Rouge, the ownership of a radio was a crime punishable by death.

Yet, as soon as it was safe to do so, the Cambodian people dug up their radios, took out the dead batteries, laid them in

the sun and poured water over them. And in this way, they could get another 15 or 20 minutes of life out of the old batteries, precious minutes for which many people risked their lives.\\ Remember that: the free news broadcasts which we so easily take for granted in America, some people must risk death to hear.

((Insert to come))

Change is coming more easily to the Soviet Union. The Soviet government once spent half a billion dollars a year to jam foreign broadcasts so that its people would not learn what their sons and brothers were doing in Afghanistan. But within the Soviet media today are many honorable men and women who strive to report the news, who take glasnost more seriously than the party line. And that is why more and more Soviet journalists are earning the respect and admiration of their colleagues abroad.

Even more dramatic signs of change abound. The editor of Tass speaks to Washington's National Press Club. The subject? Freedom of ~~information~~. China made its first conciliatory act by accrediting a VOA correspondent. And throughout the world, the jamming of American broadcasts has ceased.

But most remarkable of all, Soviets publications that once vilified the Voice of America now praise it. Words of praise and support come from Isvestia. A commentator in Moscow News thanks VOA, and says that it uses ((and I quote)): "our own broadening sources of information better than we do and without delay return to us what they have gathered."

Now Radio Free Europe has bureaus in Warsaw and Budapest, and VOA even has one in Moscow -- an unthinkable development just a few years ago. The very fact that it is no longer considered remarkable to link live programs from Washington to Kiev, or from Chicago and New York to Gdansk and Warsaw is, in itself, remarkable.

How did this happen? It happened in part because of the power of truth. Czechoslovakia's playwright-president, Vaclav Havel, paid a very personal tribute to this power on his recent visit to Washington, when he visited the Voice of America, and met the employees of its Czech division. It was a very poignant encounter -- for though Havel didn't recognize any of them by face, he knew them all by name the instant he heard them speak.\\

And it is moments like that, that convince me of one sure thing: **I am determined that America will continue to bear witness to the truth. America must never lose its voice.**\\\

Now, of course, we face new missions in a changing world. We are challenged to broadcast information to the peoples of Asia, to the very heart of Africa. And across the Atlantic, we are witnessing the birth of a new Europe, a Europe whole and free -- one whose borders are no barriers to people, information and ideas. And as this new world comes into existence, the old world of conflict between two armed camps is slowly vanishing.

So we can envision a time when the purpose of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty will be utterly fulfilled. But for now,

these networks -- along with VOA and USIA -- have two new missions.

First, we can fill a void in reporting **between** the nations of Eastern Europe. After all, Eastern Europeans need more than Robert's Rules of Order. They need to know how the process of reform is working with their neighbors. So if one nation adopts a novel path to reform, a pollution control, or currency law, the others need to be able to benefit from that experiment.

Second, as we help the newly free news services to replace the old distorted information sources, we can help them avoid the worst forms of a free press -- bias, sensationalism and yellow journalism.\\ ~~USIA and VOA should first point to their past directors as exemplary models -- Edwin R. Murrow, John Houseman and John Chancellor.~~ But we need to do even more. So I am instructing USIA and Radio Free Europe to provide teaching and training for apprentice journalists in Central and Eastern Europe.

THIS line was cut.

The best example of a free press must come from you. The Peace Corps is teaching English in Eastern Europe as the lingua franca of business and journalism. But it is not tasked to teach standards of journalistic excellence -- accuracy, fairness and objectivity. Only the American press corps can pick up where the Peace Corps leaves off -- and impart a model of excellence.

As broadcasters, you can -- and you are -- transferring American know-how to the East. You are working with VOA to train and orient foreign broadcasters visiting the United States. Just

in February, the director of Polish radio and television visited your headquarters, in part to seek the counsel and assistance of American broadcasters. And you have sent your representatives to meet with their counterparts in the Soviet Union.

And on top of this, you are helping Americans to invest in joint ventures to establish new radio and television networks in the East. So most of all, I am here today to recognize your energetic international leadership.

We are making the most of an opportunity anticipated forty-five years ago by Franklin Delano Roosevelt, a few months before he made his last trip to his beloved second home so near here, at Warms Springs. In one of his last messages to Congress, President Roosevelt said that of all the changes taking place in the world, it is communication that will do the most to advance the cause of peace.

That was our vision then. That is our vision today. And by working together, the vision of America is fast becoming a reality for the world.

Thank you, may God bless you and may God bless the United States of America.

# # #

March 13, 1990

MEMORANDUM FOR MARK DAVIS
CHRISTINA MARTIN

FROM: STEPHANIE BLESSEY

SUBJECT: NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF BROADCASTERS PRE-ADVANCE

The following is some information I gathered on the pre-advance trip to Atlanta:

NOTE: The Broadcasters suggested that there be Q&A after the speech. No decision was made.

SETTING:

Location: Ballroom in Georgia's World Congress Center
Backdrop: Huge NAB banner
Attendance: 4000 people in ballroom; 2,000 in another ballroom; possible 10,000 on Convention floor; c.2,000 watching on HDTV.

NOTABLES:

FCC leadership
Network leadership
Art Carney and remaining Honeymooners
possibly Network anchors
possibly Peabody award winners
as many as 30 Members of Congress

TRIVIA: Atlanta was the setting for "Driving Miss Daisy." Many tourists are now taking the "Driving Miss Daisy" tour.

Also, FDR's "Little White House" is in Warm Springs, just outside of Atlanta. (Brochure attached to Christina's copy.)

And don't forget "Gone with the Wind."

CONTACT: Ms Rory Benson
Senior Vice President
429-5446

National Association of
NAB
BROADCASTERS

Rory Benson

Senior Vice President
Assistant to the President
National Campaign Coordinator
1771 N Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036
(202) 429-5446
Telex: 350-085
FAX: (202) 429-5410

To: Judd Swift, Presidential Advance

From: Rory Benson RB

Re: NAB Convention

Date: February 26, 1990

"NAB '90," March 31 - April 3, is the National Association of Broadcasters' 68th annual convention and exposition and the 44th annual engineering conference. The convention, deemed an international exposition, takes place at the Georgia World Congress Center in Atlanta.

The theme of the convention is "Broadcasting Works! For Advertisers, For Audiences, For America." We expect approximately 50,000 attendees over the four-day period. These will include more than 30 Members of Congress and all FCC Commissioners.

More than 6,000 international broadcasters will also be in attendance. The heads of many countries' broadcast systems, including those of Eastern Europe, have been invited.

NAB '90 is the largest broadcast trade show in the world. This year we will have a broadcast equipment exhibit floor the size of 22 football fields with more than 700 exhibitors. We will also have the world's largest high television exhibit. Concurrent radio, television and engineering workshops take place throughout. These will be suspended the morning of April 2nd for the President's visit.

The grand finale of the convention will be the presentation of the George Foster Peabody Awards Tuesday night, April 3. This will be the 50th anniversary of the Peabody's which celebrate excellence in radio and tv programming.

While we have more than 1000 reporters at the convention, the vast majority of these are trade press. We will have a working press room at the Georgia World Congress Center.

Every sitting President since Herbert Hoover has addressed the NAB convention. With history as a guide, we would expect approximately 6,000 radio and television broadcasters for the President's speech.

We will be recording and providing internal feeds of the President's remarks in high definition television.

Two venues present themselves for the President's visit. One is the Omni Coliseum across the street from the Georgia World Congress Center. The Omni was the site of the President's remarks to the National Association of Homebuilders last month. The Omni is booked by the Grateful Dead for the evenings of April 1, 2 and 3, and will be set with a stage for that event. Seating within the Omni would be more than adequate for the President's visit. An Omni representative will be available for the pre-advance trip.

The other venue is the ballroom of the Georgia World Congress Center. NAB will be using the ballroom for all major functions throughout the convention. Its stage will feature an NAB set. The ballroom can accommodate 4000, theatre-style. The President's appearance can also be cabled into two other auditoriums which together hold 3000 for overflow.

Both venues will have image magnification. Both are accessible underground by car. Regardless of the location, we will arrange for the President's remarks to be seen and heard on monitors throughout the exhibit hall.

Per our conversation, we would like to request a photo opportunity for NAB's Executive Committee and their spouses prior to the President's remarks. This is approximately 25 people.

We will reserve a meeting room and lunch at the Georgia World Congress Center for the pre-advance trip. As I mentioned, those from our staff who will be there are myself, Hank Roeder, Senior VP for Conventions & Meetings, and Walt Wurfel, Senior VP for Public Affairs & Communications.

Enclosures

March 27, 1990

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Through: CHRISS WINSTON

From: MARK W. DAVIS

Re: National Association of Broadcasters

I. INFORMATION

You will give the keynote address to approximately 10,000 broadcasters at 10 a.m., Monday, April 2, at the World Congress Center in Atlanta. While you speak, your image will be projected on five large screens around the hall -- and on HDTV monitors. In addition, your remarks will be carried around the world on USIA's television network -- Worldnet. Your remarks are about 15 minutes in length and are on teleprompter.

II. DISCUSSION

This speech is about freedom -- how the Information Age is emancipating totalitarian societies. And it offers a glimpse of the new missions that await USIA, VOA, Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty.

As you know, NAB is very sensitive about Television Marti. This draft meets this concern head on -- offering reassurance that you will stand by them, yet challenging them to also stand with you and the oppressed people of Cuba. Because events on this matter are developing day to day, you may need to rework with this passage with General Scowcroft and Dave Demarest up to the very morning of the speech.

TINA - you might want to check this PASSAGE -

Davis/Martin
Title: NAB
March 14, 1990
Draft: One

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: NATIONAL ASSOC. BROADCASTERS, ATLANTA
((Time)) Wednesday, April 2, 1990

10:00AM

Will any of us ever forget the last nationally broadcast NICOLAE CEAUSESCU paegant of Nicolai Ceuceseu (SP)? It was the classic scene of dictatorships everywhere. Remember: throngs of workers and children bearing roses surrounded by tanks and officers in their spit and polish best -- all of them listlessly applauding the endless speech by the little tyrant on the balcony. And then suddenly, something went wrong. A chant began. Fists of defiance were raised and placards appeared. The masses broke ranks. And the screen went blank.

But the Romanian television network went blank a few seconds too late. For in those seconds -- those few potent seconds -- there was enough time to show a whole nation that their ruler had flinched and cowered before their anger. And so, what began as a broadcast ended as a revolution.

Bob 2. or NAB

NEED:

% of people in Service Sector

% of people of information

$, #'s

China - accreditation
Hungary

46 Truman 1st POTUS on TV
55 Eisenhower color

USSR not
longer jamming
VOA, Radio Liberty
etc

Andrei Sakharov: "I am convinced, that international confidence, mutual understanding, disarmament, and international security are inconceivable w/o an open society w/ freedom of info., freedom of conscience, the right to publish, + the right to travel + choose the country in which one lives"

1990/1965/135

Scorpio
Library of Congress Holdings

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To choose from list, see examples at bottom.                    FILE: LCCC
Terms alphabetically close to:   KINGDOM OF FORGETTING

B01 KINGDOM OF EARTH//(TITL=2)
B02 KINGDOM OF EARTH (THE SEVEN DESCENTS OF MYR//(TITL=1)
B03 KINGDOM OF EVIL//(TITL=2)
B04 KINGDOM OF EVILS//(TITL=1)
B05 KINGDOM OF FEAR//(TITL=1)
B06+KINGDOM OF GERMANY IN THE HIGH MIDDLE AGES//(TITL=1)
B07 KINGDOM OF GOD--//(TITL=5; INDX=187)
B08 KINGDOM OF GOD (MORMONISM)//(INDX=2)
B09 KINGDOM OF GOD AND NORTH-EAST ENGLAND//(TITL=1)
B10 KINGDOM OF GOD AND PRIMITIVE CHRISTIANITY//(TITL=2)
B11 KINGDOM OF GOD AND THE WAY OF PEACE//(TITL=1)
B12 KINGDOM OF GOD IN AMERICA//(TITL=2)

---EXAMPLES: s b6          (SELECTs line b6; creates a SET for each term type)
             f b6-b8/b10   (FINDs b6-b8 and b10; combines sets, displays result)
             r b6          (RETRIEVEs term on b6; searches text in some files)
             r subj=b6     (RETRIEVEs term type specified; e.g., SUBJ, TITL)

   Next page of BROWSE list, press ENTER key.  More info, type HELP BROWSE.
   READY:


To choose from list, see examples at bottom.                    FILE: LCCC
Terms alphabetically close to:   KUNDERE, MILAN

B01 KUNDERA, ELZBIETA//(AUTH=1)
B02 KUNDERA, KUDVIK//(AUTH=1)
B03 KUNDERA, LUDVIK//(AUTH=2)
B04 KUNDERA, MATERIAY Z SYMPOZJUM ZORGANIZOWANE//(TITL=1)
B05 KUNDERA, MILAN--//(AUTH=34; INDX=7)
B06+KUNDEREWICZ, CEZARY//(AUTH=3)
B07 KUNDERREVOLUCIONI NE KUNDERREVOLUCION//(TITL=1)
B08 KUNDERT, ALICE//(AUTH=1)
B09 KUNDERT, HANS-JORG//(AUTH=1)
B10 KUNDERT, KENNETH S//(AUTH=1)
B11 KUNDERT, RALF//(AUTH=1)
B12 KUNDERT, WERNER//(AUTH=2)

---EXAMPLES: s b6          (SELECTs line b6; creates a SET for each term type)
             f b6-b8/b10   (FINDs b6-b8 and b10; combines sets, displays result)
             r b6          (RETRIEVEs term on b6; searches text in some files)
             r subj=b6     (RETRIEVEs term type specified; e.g., SUBJ, TITL)

   Next page of BROWSE list, press ENTER key.  More info, type HELP BROWSE.
   READY:


SET  1          34: SLCT AUTH/KUNDERA, MILAN
SET  2           7: SLCT INDX/KUNDERA, MILAN
READY FOR NEW COMMAND:


  The set number you specified does not match any existing set.
  To see a list of created sets, type:  SHOW HISTORY
```

For more information on the COMBINE command, type: SHOW COMMAND COMBINE

COMB0005 Ready for new command:

ITEMS 1-4 OF 34 SET 1: BRIEF DISPLAY FILE: LCCC
(ASCENDING ORDER)

1. 73-16156:Kundera, Milan. Laughable loves. New York, Knopf; distributed by Random Housel, 1974. xvi, 242 p, 22 cm.
LC CALL NUMBER: PZ4.K96475 Lau3
2. 73-20778:Kundera, Milan. Life is elsewhere. New York, Knopf; distributed by Random Housel, 1974. 289 p, 22 cm.
LC CALL NUMBER: PZ4.K96475 Li
3. 74-90907:Kundera, Milan. The joke. New York, Coward-McCann, 19691. 288 p, 22 cm.
LC CALL NUMBER: P05039.21.U6 Z313 1969
4. 74-178896:Kundera, Milan. La vie est ailleurs. Parisl, Gallimard, 19731. 389 p, 21 cm.
LC CALL NUMBER: P05039.21.U6 Z3514

NEXT PAGE: press transmit or enter key
SKIP AHEAD/BACK: type any item# in set Example--> 25
FULL DISPLAY: type DISPLAY ITEM plus an item# Example--> display item 2
READY:

ITEMS 5-8 OF 38 SET 5: BRIEF DISPLAY FILE: LCCC
(ASCENDING ORDER)

5. 75-408996:Kundera, Milan. Zert. Praha, Cs. spis, 1968. 279, 21 p, 19 cm.
LC CALL NUMBER: P05039.21.U6 Z3 1968
6. 76-13675:Kundera, Milan. The farewell party /. New York, Knopf distributed by Random House, 1976. 209 p., 22 cm.
LC CALL NUMBER: PZ4.K96475 Far3
7. 76-386872:Kundera, Milan. Treti sesit smesnych lasek. Praha, Cs. spis, 1968. 155, 31 p, 17 cm.
LC CALL NUMBER: P05039.21.U6 T7
8. 76-485572:Kundera, Milan. La valse aux adieux /. Parisl, Gallimard, 1976. 280 p., 21 cm.
LC CALL NUMBER: P05039.21.U6 V314

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SKIP AHEAD/BACK: type any item# in set Example--> 25
FULL DISPLAY: type DISPLAY ITEM plus an item# Example--> display item 2
READY:

ITEMS 9-12 OF 38 SET 5: BRIEF DISPLAY FILE: LCCC
(ASCENDING ORDER)

9. 77-9359:Kundera, Milan. The farewell party /. New York, Penguin Books, 1977. xiv, 209 p., 18 cm.
NOT IN LC COLLECTION
10. 78-352683:Milan Kundera /. Berlin, Verlag Europaische Ideen, 1976. 86 p, ill., 24 cm.
LC CALL NUMBER: P05038.K868 Z78
11. 79-359613:Kundera, Milan. Zivot je jinde /. Toronto, Sixty-Eight Publishers, 1979. 365 p., 18 cm.

LC CALL NUMBER: P05039.21.U6 Z35
12. 79-482433:Kundera, Milan. The joke. London, Macdonald, 19691. 296 p, 21 cm.
LC CALL NUMBER: PZ4.K96475 Jo

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FULL DISPLAY: type DISPLAY ITEM plus an item# Example--> display item 2
READY:

Auster

ITEMS 13-16 OF 38 SET 5: BRIEF DISPLAY FILE: LCCC
(ASCENDING ORDER)
13. 80-7657:Kundera, Milan. The book of laughter and forgetting /. New York, A. A. Knopf, 1980. 228 p., 22 cm.
LC CALL NUMBER: P05039.21.U6 K613 1980
14. 80-108323:Kundera, Milan. La vida esta en otra parte /. Barcelona, Seix Barral, 1979. xxxiii, 393 p., 20 cm.
LC CALL NUMBER: P05039.21.U6 Z3518
15. 80-458125:Kundera, Milan. Valcik na rozloucenou /. Toronto, Sixty-Eight Publishers, 1979. 212 p., 18 cm.
LC CALL NUMBER: P05039.21.U6 V3 1979
16. 81-8533:Kundera, Milan. The book of laughter and forgetting /. Harmondsworth, Middlesex, England New York, N.Y., U.S.A, Penguin Books, 1981, c1980. 237 p., 20 cm.
LC CALL NUMBER: P05039.21.U6 K613 1981

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SKIP AHEAD/BACK: type any item# in set Example--> 25
FULL DISPLAY: type DISPLAY ITEM plus an item# Example--> display item 2
READY:

ITEMS 17-20 OF 38 SET 5: BRIEF DISPLAY FILE: LCCC
(ASCENDING ORDER)
17. 81-48055:Kundera, Milan. The joke /. New York, Harper & Row, c1982. xii, 267 p., 22 cm.
LC CALL NUMBER: P05039.21.U6 Z313 1982
18. 81-171217:Kundera, Milan. Smesne lasky /. Toronto, Ont, Sixty-Eight Publishers, 1981. 224 p., 18 cm.
LC CALL NUMBER: P05039.21.U6 S584 1981
19. 81-171222:Kundera, Milan. Kniha smichu a zapomneni /. Toronto, Ont, Sixty-Eight Publishers, 1981. 237 p., 18 cm.
LC CALL NUMBER: P05039.21.U6 K6 1981
20. 82-143203:Kundera, Milan. Jacques et son maitre ; precede de, Introduction a une variation /. Parisl, Gallimard, c1981. 98 p., 20 cm.
LC CALL NUMBER: P05039.21.U6 J3 1981

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FULL DISPLAY: type DISPLAY ITEM plus an item# Example--> display item 2
READY:

ITEMS 21-24 OF 38 SET 5: BRIEF DISPLAY FILE: LCCC
(ASCENDING ORDER)

21. 82-162648:Kundera, Milan. Le livre du rire et de l'oubli /. Paris], Gallimard, c1979. 260 p. ; 21 cm.
LC CALL NUMBER: MLCS 82/6020
22. 83-8355:Kundera, Milan. The joke /. New York, N.Y, Penguin Books, 1983, c1982. xvi, 267 p., 20 cm.
NOT IN LC COLLECTION
23. 83-48363:Kundera, Milan. The unbearable lightness of being /. New York, Harper & Row, c1984. 314 p., 22 cm.
LC CALL NUMBER: PG5039.21.U6 N413 1984
24. 84-48411:Kundera, Milan. Jacques and his master. New York, Harper & Row, c1985. 90 p., 21 cm.
LC CALL NUMBER: PG5039.21.U6 J313 1985

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SKIP AHEAD/BACK: type any item# in set Example--> 25
FULL DISPLAY: type DISPLAY ITEM plus an item# Example--> display item 2
READY:

ITEMS 25-28 OF 38 SET 5: BRIEF DISPLAY (ASCENDING ORDER) FILE: LCCC
25. 84-673361:Kundera, Milan. The unbearable lightness of being /. London Boston, Faber and Faber, 1984. 314 p., 22 cm.
NOT IN LC COLLECTION
26. 85-12387:Kundera, Milan. Life is elsewhere /. New York, Penguin Books, 1986. vii, 307 p., 20 cm.
LC CALL NUMBER: PG5039.21.U6 Z3513 1986
27. 85-672962:Kundera, Milan. L'insoutenable legerete de l'etre. Paris] , Gallimard, c1984. 393 p., 21 cm.
NOT IN LC COLLECTION
28. 85-868053:Kundera, Milan. Risibles amours /. Paris], Gallimard, c1984. 282 p., 21 cm.
LC CALL NUMBER: MLCS 85/2547 (P)

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SKIP AHEAD/BACK: type any item# in set Example--> 25
FULL DISPLAY: type DISPLAY ITEM plus an item# Example--> display item 2
READY:

ITEMS 29-32 OF 38 SET 5: BRIEF DISPLAY (ASCENDING ORDER) FILE: LCCC
29. 86-868110:Kundera, Milan. La plaisanterie. Paris], Gallimard, c1985. 400 p., 21 cm.
LC CALL NUMBER: MLCS 86/638 (P)
30. 87-15564:Kundera, Milan. The art of the novel /. New York, Grove Press, 1988. 165 p., 22 cm.
LC CALL NUMBER: PN3453 .K8613 1988
31. 87-29201:Brand, Glen. Milan Kundera. New York, Garland Pub, 1988. xxxvi, 133 p., 23 cm.
LC CALL NUMBER: Z8468.52 .B7 1988
32. 87-132212:Kundera, Milan. L'art du roman. Paris], Gallimard, c1986. 199 p., 21 cm.
LC CALL NUMBER: PN3365 .K86 1986

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SKIP AHEAD/BACK: type any item# in set Example--> 25
FULL DISPLAY: type DISPLAY ITEM plus an item# Example--> display item 2

READY:

ITEMS 33-36 OF 38 SET 5: BRIEF DISPLAY FILE: LCCC
(ASCENDING ORDER)

33. 87-869091:Kundera, Milan. Risibles amours'/. Paris1, Gallimard, c1986. 290 p., 21 cm.
LC CALL NUMBER: MLCS 87/5385 (P)
34. 88-45730:Kundera, Milan. The art of the novel /. New York, Peremnial Library, 1988. 165 p., 21 cm.
LC CALL NUMBER: PN3453 .K8613 1988b
35. 88-126864:Kundera, Milan. Nesnesitelna lehkost byti /. Toronto, On., Canada, Sixty-Eight Publishers, 1985. 295 p., 18 cm.
LC CALL NUMBER: P05039.21.U6 N4 1985
36. 88-159584:Espejo, Miguel. La ilusion lirica. Argentina?], Hachette, c1984. 142 p., 18 cm.
LC CALL NUMBER: P05039.21.U6 Z65 1984

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SKIP AHEAD/BACK: type any item# in set Example--> 25
FULL DISPLAY: type DISPLAY ITEM plus an item# Example--> display item 2
READY:

ITEMS 37-38 OF 38 SET 5: BRIEF DISPLAY FILE: LCCC
(ASCENDING ORDER)

37. 89-25942:Banerjee, Maria Nemcova. Terminal paradox. New York, Grove Weidenfeld, c1990. p. cm.
CIP - NOT YET IN LC
38. 89-127740:Kundera, materialy z sympozjum zorganizowanego w Katowicach w dniach 25-26 kwietnia 1986 r. /. London, Great Britain, Polonia, 1988. 203 p., 22 cm.
LC CALL NUMBER: P05039.21.U6 Z74 1988

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SKIP AHEAD/BACK: type any item# in set Example--> 25
FULL DISPLAY: type DISPLAY ITEM plus an item# Example--> display item 2
READY:

means that the miracles of Jesus which John refers to as signs are not simply some great act to amaze or even to cure or help particular individuals. Of course, Jesus loved all men, and he acted to meet individual human need. But John makes a selection out of the vast number of the miracles of Jesus (he says that even the world could not contain the books if all were written down!).

For example, Jesus teaches that he is the light of the world. However, he communicates that even more powerfully when he heals a man who was blind from birth and literally gives light to the blind! Jesus gives the 5,000 bread, in the great miracle of the five loaves and two fish. But he is really saying, "I am the bread come down from heaven. You must eat the bread from heaven in order that your spiritual life may be nourished."

It is this beautiful combination of signs and "I AM" sayings which makes the theology of John so distinctive. He is also the only one who tells us about the coming of the Paraclete or Comforter. In the upper room, at the time of the Last Supper, Jesus gave the most important teachings in all the Bible about the Holy Spirit or Paraclete who would come. Jesus said that the Paraclete would bear witness to him but the ministry of the Paraclete could not begin until Jesus went away. Therefore he said it was better that he go away, in order that the Father could send the Paraclete, whom the world could not receive, and who would abide with them forever! The Gospel of the Eternal *Logos*, the Word of God, is also the Gospel of the Holy Spirit.

John 1:1

OUTLINE

I. Prologue 1:1-18
II. Christ's ministry in the world ... 1:19—12:50
- A. The testimony of John the Baptist 1:19-36
- B. The gathering of disciples ... 1:37-51
- C. The wedding at Cana 2:1-11
- D. The first visit to Jerusalem and Judea ..... 2:12—3:36
- E. The mission to Samaria 4:1-42
- F. The healing of the nobleman's son 4:43-54
- G. The healing of the lame man in Jerusalem 5:1-16
- H. Jesus' self-defense 5:17-47
- I. The feeding of the five thousand and the discourse on the Bread of Life 6:1-71
- J. Jesus at the Feast of Tabernacles 7:1-53
- K. The woman taken in adultery 8:1-11
- L. The self-disclosure of Jesus .. 8:12-59
- M. The restoration of the man born blind 9:1-41
- N. Christ, the Good Shepherd .. 10:1-42
- O. The raising of Lazarus 11:1-57
- P. Jesus in Bethany and Jerusalem 12:1-50

III. Christ's ministry to his own ..... 13:1—17:26
- A. The washing of feet 13:1-17
- B. The announcement of the betrayal 13:18-30
- C. The upper room discourse ... 13:31—16:33
- D. The great prayer 17:1-26

IV. The sufferings and the glory .... 18:1—20:31
- A. The betrayal 18:1-14
- B. Jesus on trial before the Jews 18:15-27
- C. The ordeal before Pilate .... 18:28—19:16
- D. The crucifixion and burial ... 19:17-42
- E. The resurrection appearances 20:1-29
- F. The purpose of this Gospel .. 20:30,31

V. Epilogue 21:1-25

Saint John has 21 chapters, 878 verses, and c. 19,099 words

CHAPTER 1

c. A.D. 26

I. The Deity of Jesus Christ

(A) IN the beginning [R]was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. *v.* 14; 17:5, 24; Eph. 1:4
2 [R]The same was in the beginning with God. Gen. 1:1
3 [R]All things were made by him; and without him was not any thing made that was made. Ps. 33:6; Eph. 3:9; Col. 1:16; Heb. 1:10
4 [R]In him was life; and [R]the life was the light of men. 1 John 5:11 • 8:12
5 And [R]the light shineth in darkness; and the darkness comprehended it not. 3:19

The true Light

6 There was a [T]man sent from God, whose name *was* John. *messenger*
7 The same came for a witness, to [T]bear witness of the Light, that all *men* through him might believe. *tell about*
8 He was not that Light, but [T]*was sent* to bear witness of that Light. *came*
9 *That* was the true Light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world.

I(A) The deity of Jesus Christ, or His God nature, is well established in the New Testament. Some of the facts are:
(1) He is called God by the Apostle John (above verse 1).
(2) He is called God by the Apostle Thomas (Page 1012—John 20:28).
(3) He is called God by God the Father (Page 1144—Heb. 1:8).
(4) He claimed to be God in that He was with the Father before creation (Page 1008—John 17:5).
(5) He claimed to be God in that He was before Abraham. "Abraham rejoiced to see my day . . ." (Page 998—John 8:51–59).

Notes continued on next page.

lingua franca - ① any language that is widely used as a means of communication among speakers of other languages

② (cap.) the Italian-Provencal jargon (with elements of Spanish, French, Greek, Arabic, and Turkish) formerly widely used in eastern Mediterranean ports

Robert's Rules of ORDER

Services of Mead Data Central

1ST STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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March 9, 1990, Friday

DISTRIBUTION: City Desks/Political Writers

LENGTH: 527 words

HEADLINE: Greater Cleveland chapter PRSA announces March program; Tass bureau chief to speak

DATELINE: CLEVELAND

BODY:

Great upheaval is taking place in the Soviet Union and its Eastern European satellite states.

With Soviet Chairman Mikhail Gorbachev's glasnost and perestroika initiatives, the political landscape there is changing drastically. The boldest of forecasters did not dare predict such unrest even a year ago. For instance, multi-party elections in the USSR will probably be held in a system that has been monopolized by the Communist Party since 1918.

Igor Makurin, New York bureau chief of the Tass Telegraphy Agency of the USSR, will discuss the new dynamics of reporting in this political environment of increased openness. The New York bureau is the largest in the Tass organization.

Makurin will speak at a luncheon program co-sponsored by the Greater Cleveland Chapter of the Public Relations Society of America and the Press Club of Cleveland on Tuesday, March 20, 1990, at the Lakeside Room of the Holiday Inn-Lakeside.

The topic for his talk, planned in conjunction with Freedom of Information Month, is ''How Glasnost Affects the USSR's Reporting of the United States.'' Among the issues he will address from his reporter's perspectives:

- the new political environment

- improvements in Tass news coverage

- problems that still exist

- implications of the February meeting of Soviet leaders.

Responding to Makurin will be a press panel comprised of Tom Coscarelli, business editor, The Plain Dealer; Bob Gardner, editor, Ohio Business; and Brian Tucker, publisher, Crain's Cleveland Business. Each panelist will have two questions. The Q & A will then be opened to the entire audience.

Makurin, born in Moscow in 1950, is a graduate of the Moscow Institute of International Relations. He joined the Tass News Agency in 1972, following graduation. From 1974 to 1975, he was assigned as Tass correspondent to the London bureau, and in 1976 moved to New York to cover the United Nations. He

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remained there until his transfer to the main bureau of Tass, in Rockefeller Center, as a political reporter.

In 1982, Makurin returned to Moscow and became deputy chief of the America desk, responsible for United States and Canadian news coverage. Three years later, he was reassigned to the New York bureau and became its chief in 1987.

Makurin has requested permission from the State Department to travel to Cleveland. Special kudos, on behalf of both PRSA and Press Club, are extended to Marie Graf who made these arrangements. Marie is group marketing director of Forest City management and a member of the 1990 PRSA program advisory committee.

A social mixer and cash bar begin at 11:30 a.m. Luncheon service will start promptly at noon to allow sufficient time for the presentation and audience questions. The program will conclude at 1:30 p.m. Parking at the Holiday Inn-Lakeside is free but tickets must be stamped at the reception table located at the entrance of the Lakeside Room. Parking is limited.

CONTACT: Public Relations Society of America, Cleveland
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ORGANIZATION: PRSA/ TASS -BUREAU-CHIEF

GEOGRAPHIC: OHIO

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Rec'd 5/16/89

WHAT PEOPLE ARE SAYING ABOUT VOA

Article from May 10, 1989 Workers Daily:

> "A member of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference says objective and timely reporting in the official media can help raise popular trust of the news. The reverse, he says, can only create listeners for the Voice of America. A public opinion survey shows that during the student demonstrations of 1986/7, 53.6 per cent of university students listened to VOA. Before the demonstrations, 13 per cent had listened regularly. And after the demonstrations 30 per cent. When official news is blocked, the grapevine overflows. Should we not take this historical lesson seriously?"

Moscow News of May 7, 1989 provided written evidence of VOA's effectiveness. Izvestiya columnist Aleksandr Bovin authored an article entitled "Glasnost Rationed Out" which sharply criticized meager Soviet press coverage of the recent events in Tblilisi.

> "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."

Dr. Haing Ngor, winner of an Academy Award for his performance in The Killing Fields and narrator of The Cambodian Odyssey, related that before his escape from Cambodia in 1979, he listened secretly to VOA daily using a set of batteries which he carefully recharged and used solely for VOA broadcasts. The punishment for being caught listening was imprisonment or worse. He praised VOA newscasts and says that to Cambodians, VOA broadcasts were "a breath of life."

VOA extensively covered the political crisis that erupted in Burma last year. During a fact-finding mission to Rangoon, Congressman Stephen Solarz (D.-N.Y.) witnessed the euphoria which spread among the Burmese people when VOA and BBC reported that the U.S. Senate was calling for establishment of democracy in their country.

> Upon his return to the U.S. Congressman Solarz wrote VOA Director Richard W. Carlson to "salute the Voice of America for its fine job in Burma and throughout the world."

South Korean film director Sang Ok Shin and his actress-wife Un-hui Choe, in describing their dramatic defection from North Korea said that during the couple's eight years of captivity in the North, they regularly listened to VOA, despite the risk of doing so.

Cuban Radio and Television Commentator Alberto Perez remarked on the CBS Morning News Program 4/4/89:

> "I listen to the Voice of America in English. I think it provides comprehensive coverage of the news."

Reporting on the war in Afghanistan, Christian Science Monitor correspondent Edward Girardet wrote:

> "...throughout the resistance-held areas, the chaikhanas are packed at night with travellers, mujahideen and local peasants [who] fall silent when one of the men fiddles with the dials of a large Japanese-made short wave radio set to VOA's Dari Service..."

The Washington Post reported last year that VOA's 24 year-old stringer in China, Max Ruston, "was mobbed by cheering Shanghai students" who, during recent demonstrations there, would transcribe VOA broadcasts and post them on walls because they did not believe the versions of stories coming out of Taiwan.

At the Cape in September, Brazilian Branch editor Pedro Kattah, was reporting live on Discovery's lift off for VOA and -- via satellite -- for his branch's affiliates in Brazil.

> Afterward, the Bandeirantes and Globo networks commented that, "Listening to Kattah, we felt the same emotion of the first launchings. It was really touching. Congratulations, nobody can do it like you guys."

VOA's Spanish Branch had an interview with Dominican Republic President Joaquin Balaguer. The interview was picked up by the wire services.

> During the interview, President Balaguer commented that he listens to VOA daily and is "a member of the VOA Spanish Listeners Club."

USIA International Visitor Youssif Maqdisi, Director of the newspaper Tishreen of Damascus, Syria said:

> "VOA Arabic broadcasts are regularly recorded by his newspaper, and that he is a regular listener."

In a VOA interview in February of 1987, Natan Sharansky said that stations like VOA are the only source of information for the Soviet people about what is going on in the West and even in their own country. He noted that thousands of Soviet citizens wrote letters to the Helsinki Watch Group after obtaining members' addresses from VOA and other foreign broadcasters.

FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl said:

> "I heartily welcome the Voice of America's initiative to expand its Western Europe program. It is important to me that the younger generation in particular be given numerous opportunities to concern themselves intensely with America and to find out more about the country and the people."

Brazilian President Jose Sarney, at the opening of the Brazilian Service's Jubilee '86:

> "...my most sincere congratulations for the work [VOA has done] on behalf of the friendship and good relations between the peoples of Brazil and the United States...it is a great privilege to...have at our disposal [a] source of information, and friendly contact with another people, by means of a station whose technical qualities and professionalism have formed its name in all the American continent."

Czech dissident Jaroslav Javorsky credited VOA coverage of Western public opinion with influencing his release from prison.

Petr Cibilka, a Charter 77 activist, expressed gratitude for VOA coverage of the proceedings of his trial, which he believes resulted in a reduced sentence. In late 1987, VOA correspondent Jolyon Naegele spoke with relatives of other imprisoned dissidents and was told they were receiving better treatment from their jailers since VOA started reporting their situation.

Director Richard W. Carlson noted that glasnost - and the cessation of jamming - offered some surprising opportunities and problems for the Voice of America. During meetings in early April of 1989, visiting Soviet diplomats actually asked VOA to improve its signal to the Soviet Union!

> "They said they really enjoyed our programs but that our signal was often weak. We agreed. We told them - only half joking - that they could help by loaning us their recently decommissioned jamming transmitters. Our programming is designed to take full advantage of recent changes in the Soviet Union.
>
> Our audience is increasing and increasingly youthful in the USSR. In Eastern Europe, too, things are changing for VOA. Radio Free Europe has traditionally had the biggest audience there. In Poland, where they stopped jamming us about a year ago, the latest audience figures show RFE with 57% and VOA with 54%*. RFE broadcasts 137+ hours per week in Polish, VOA only 42. We must must be doing something right."
>
> (*Adults who listen at least once per week.)

From President Jimmy Carter's message to Congress March 22, 1977, reporting the need for additional transmitters for VOA and RFE/RL:

> "This Administration firmly supports U.S. international broadcasting as part of our commitment to the freer flow of information and ideas. Among the most valuable instruments we have for this purpose are our international radios -- the Voice of America and Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty-- which for many years have been a vital part of the lives of the peoples of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union."

From President Richard M. Nixon's remarks on VOA's 30th anniversary:

> "Never has the role of VOA been more important than now, since it helps so much in promoting mutual understanding among nations and peoples. Day after day, the VOA brings its audience a reliable account of what is happening throughout the world, and direct insights into life and thought in the United States."

From President Lyndon B. Johnson's official message on VOA's 25th anniversary:

> "[The] Voice of America--echoing in its broadcasts the devotion of our forefathers...to a 'decent respect for the opinions of mankind'--will long contribute significantly to this country's furtherance of better relations among the nations of the earth."

President John F. Kennedy, in an observance of VOA's 20th anniversary, February 26, 1962:

> "The Voice of America...carries a heavy responsibility. Its burden of truth is not easy to bear. It must explain to a curious and suspicious world what we are. It must tell them of our basic belief...it must make our ideas alive and new and vital in the high competition which goes around the world....The Voice of America occupies, I believe, a key part in the story of American life. It is your task...to tell [America's] story around the world. This is an extremely difficult and sensitive task. On the one hand, you are an arm of government and therefore an arm of the nation, and it is your task to [tell]...our story in such a way which serves to represent democracy and the United States in its most favorable light. But on the other hand, as part of the cause of freedom, and the arm of freedom, you are obliged to tell our story in a truthful way, to tell it, as Oliver Cromwell said...'With all our blemishes and warts, all those things about us that may not be immediately attractive'."

In a letter to VOA Director Richard W. Carlson, Pamela Cohen, National President, Union of Councils for Soviet Jews, wrote upon her return from a 10-day trip to the Soviet Union of the enormous impact VOA has on the Jewish refuseniks and activists with whom she met in Moscow, Leningrad and the Ukraine:

> "The information provided by radio is vital and provides the individuals with a special kind of protection. It gives them a tremendous sense of hope to know that they are not forgotten...." In her letter, Ms. Cohen singled out Vladimir Matlin, editor of the weekly Russian language program Jewish Life.

Visiting Soviet writer Viktor Yerofeyev, once expelled from the Writers' Union, participated in an unprecedented round table discussion in VOA studios. He reiterated the importance of VOA broadcasts to the Soviet Union.

> Glasnost not withstanding, said he, people in the provinces are still largely uninformed about the lively dialogue which is going on in major cities, and VOA's role as provider of information has not been obviated by the changes inside the Soviet Union. If anything, he said, VOA's role has become even more important. [Paraphrased]

Russian journalist Vladimir Shegirev on the failure of Soviet media to provide accurate coverage of the Afghan war during its early years.

> "It was sheer stupidity," Shegirev said, "Our press never talked about the war. But the Voice of America talked about it every day and people listened in huge numbers. Soviet public opinion about the war in Afghanistan (therefore) was shaped in large part by Western sources of information."

For the first time in 13 years, a high-ranking official from Laos visited our studios. After being interviewed, Deputy Foreign Minister Soubanh Srithirat commented that he hoped his visit to VOA would prove a first step toward increased friendship between the peoples of Laos and the United States.

> "Listening to VOA broadcasts is not prohibited by the Lao government," he said. In fact, "everyone tunes in VOA for news and information."

The second outbreak of pro-independence riots in Tibet was covered by correspondent Al Pessin, whose reports were coupled with extensive background output for broadcasts to China. Pessin, who heads the VOA Beijing bureau, was introduced to Vice Premier Tian Jiyun.

> Vice Premier Tian greeted Pessin with an enthusiastic handshake, and commented that: "I listen to VOA for a half hour every morning and your anchorman's Mandarin is better than mine."

Milan Svec, senior associate at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (charge d'affaires of the Czechoslovakian Embassy in Washington before being granted political asylum in the U.S. in May 1985), wrote in the December 26, 1986 Wall Street Journal.

> "It is no exaggeration that Western broadcasts have had a huge impact on their recipients."
>
> "Soviet emigres have reported that even top Soviet leaders formed part of this listening audience....Leonid Brezhnev regularly followed the broadcasters of the Voice of America."

At a banquet (July 24, 1988) honoring the press in Mecca, Saudi Arabia, King Fahd told VOA Cairo Correspondent Ibrahim Abdin, who was covering the pilgrimage that he listens to his reports often.

> "You are always always just and fair, and we seek nothing but justice and fairness."

General Director of Syrian Radio and Television Abdel Nabi Hijazi said during a visit to VOA on April 26, 1989 that:

> VOA offers the most accurate and balanced news heard in Syria. Comparing VOA to the BBC and Radio Monte Carlo, he said, the BBC is second to VOA in news accurancy and balance.

From President Ronald Reagan's remarks on the VOA's 40th anniversary, February 24, 1982:

> "Though born in war, the Voice of America continued in peace and has made enormous contributions....The challenges we face are no less grave and momentous than those that spawned the Voice 40 years ago. Freedom is no less threatened, and the opposition is no less totalitarian. In this struggle there is no greater weapon than the truth. Free men have nothing to fear of it. It remains the ultimate weapon in the arsenal of democracy. Today....the Voice of America can perform an even more vital function. By giving an objective account of current world events, by communicating a clear picture of America and our policies at home and abroad, the Voice serves the interest not only of the United States but or the world."

In January of 1989, there was suddenly a dramatic increase in listener letters to the USSR Division, up from the usual 90 or so a month to 145. One letter, received in the Ukrainian Branch for the music program MC, started out:

> "Esteemed comrade censor. I urge you to let this letter through. Please remember, there is now glasnost and perestroika in our country..."

In February, a letter arrived from Kiev with the following poem on the back envelope:

> "Don't you open this today!
> Send it on its merry way
> We have nothing bad to say!
> Censor: have a lovely day!"

When Alexander Solzhenitzn was recording 60 excerpts from March 17, his novel about the origins of the Russian Revolution of 1917, he told VOA Russian Branch Chief Natasha Clarkson he "had adopted one VOA principle in writing his book; that is, he wrote nothing that had not been confirmed by at leat two sources."

Rabbi Gregory Rosenstein, leader of the Jewish spiritual revival movement in the Soviet Union, visited VOA after being received by President Reagan in the White House. Dr. Rosenstein repeated to us what he said to the President:

> "VOA Russian broadcasts have an enormous beneficial impact on the minds of Soviet people."

The Soviet Ukrainian paper Molod Ukraviny recently printed an interview with Alexander Bovin, political analyst for the newspaper Izvestia. In answering the question why Soviet journalists are denied the opportunity to make any kind of objective evaluations regarding various communist parties, Bovin said the following:

> "Today, the world communist movement is undergoing a crisis. Most communist parties, except for rare instances, are no longer an influential national force. The masses aren't with them; they don't have broad social support any more. Why this is happening must be explained. Interpretive writings have begun to appear in scientific journals. The rest of the people listen to the Voice of America"

An idea called America...

MAKING THE WORLD SAFE FOR DIVERSITY:

THE UNIQUE ROLE OF BROADCASTING IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Text of Speech

Entire Speech is interesting

Voice of America

President Reagan has described freedom as "the right to question and change the established way of doing things" and "the right to put forth an idea scoffed at by the experts."

The President further characterizes liberty as the right to "stick to your conscience, even if you are the only one in a sea of doubters."

But most relevant to us today, I think, is his view of freedom as a mental perspective, an attitude: "the recognition that no single authority . . . has a monopoly on the truth; [a belief that] everyone has something to offer."

With the Soviet Party Congress recently concluded, it is appropriate, perhaps, to place this perspective in the context of U.S.-Soviet relations, which have dominated the issue of world stability for about four decades now. The relationship between our two countries overshadows all the other precarious areas of the world, such as the Persian Gulf and Libya.

Americans frequently find Soviet behavior puzzling and inconsistent. There is a high degree of uncertainty as to Soviet intentions and motives. The ongoing conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union is, in many respects, not so much about land, or even power or primacy. It has to do with **perceptions** about the character and purpose of life.

The American perspective centers around individual expression and thought; the Soviet perspective focuses on order and, with it, the subordination of the individual to the state.

Karl Marx had his own perspective on everyone having something to offer. The difference was that he thought the state should decide what the individual had to offer: "From each according to his abilities; to each according to his needs." So if one were to ask Mikhail Gorbachev whether he believed that everyone has something to offer, I think he would probably say 'yes.' But if you asked him whether he thought there were sources of truthful information other than Tass, Vremya, Novosti, and Izvestia -- all government-controlled Soviet media -- his answer might be different. It would depend on his perception of the term "truthful."

Disparities in perception are terribly difficult to bridge. They are rooted in history and tradition. One thing is certain, however: Without a common body of information, without dialogue, there can be no common understanding. There can be no shared appreciation of the way things really are and no basis for constructing a more stable relationship. And one of the most effective means to that goal is international broadcasting. Through dialogue, perceptions can be influenced; difficult concepts can be clarified.

It was John Chancellor, television anchor and former Voice of America Director from 1965 to 1967, who once said that VOA stood "at the crossroads of journalism and diplomacy."

At VOA, the emphasis today is on journalistic work, as distinct from the policy advocacy functions which our parent organization, the United States Information Agency, serves. Thus the relationship

between the Voice of America and the United States Government is unique among government agencies. Fortunately, we have a well-structured, legally binding Charter. This Charter requires us not only to serve whatever administration is in power -- by explaining its policies -- but to serve our audiences -- by telling the truth.

You know, the longer our history of liberty becomes, the more people seem to recognize that freedom is a rare thing in human events -- which needs to be defended and advanced. To do that, however, it is necessary to show people in nations without our long tradition of speaking out, freedom of travel and ideas all of what we mean by the term "freedom."

Another former VOA Director, Henry Loomis, put it this way (and I think he is right): "If we want to make the world safe for diversity, if we believe that a good and strong society is based on free choice, we must . . . acknowledge the existence of forces and views in disagreement with those of policymakers. . . . We must show [by example] that the United States derives strength, not weakness, from diversity."

In 1976, David M. Abshire of the Center for Strategic and International Studies, noted that international broadcasting, unlike other media of communication -- books, works of art, newspapers and magazines -- cannot be stopped at a nation's borders. Radio, he said, comes into the home as an "invited guest." It is admitted or rejected by the turn of a dial. In short, international broadcasting can sustain the kind of dialogue required for progress toward a broadened and constructive level of coexistence between ourselves and totalitarian regimes. International broadcasting by free-world countries offers a

channel for establishing communication between nations and people -- communication which is vital to a reliable structure of peace.

Now, it is true that radio must compete in an age of television images and sounds. No one knows better than we at the Voice of America that radio must be at once dynamic, attractive, youthful-sounding, and intellectually stimulating. Modern radio requires a fast pace, conciseness, color, diversity, informality, and humor in order to compete with other media successfully.

But radio has several advantages: simplicity, economy, portability, and ubiquity. Two-thirds of the world's citizens do not have access to other electronic media sources. Most, however, can get hold of inexpensive, short wave radios. Radio can and does compete on its own merits with television and videocassettes. Through modern techniques, audiences are made to feel directly involved with the substance of radio broadcasts.

The "global powers" in terms of international broadcast audience are VOA and the British Broadcasting Corporation, the BBC. The BBC has a slight advantage over VOA in the Middle East and South Asia because of its facilities in Cyprus and Oman. VOA has larger audiences in the American Republics, the Soviet Union and China. Radio Moscow, Radio Beijing, and West Germany's *Deutsche Welle* also have global aspirations in terms of numbers of languages and range, but these stations have not attracted audiences on a worldwide scale. *Deutsche Welle*, headquartered in Cologne, Germany, like the BBC in England, is a kindred spirit to VOA among international broadcasting operations. It has a loyal audience in parts of eastern Africa, near its Rwanda relay station.

The "regional powers" of international broadcasting include Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, which broadcast to the Eastern bloc nations and the Soviet Union. We call the two RFE/RL for short. These are privately funded to some extent, although the U.S. government provides the most substantial support. Since the 1950s, RFE and its sister service, RL, have provided the people of Eastern Europe uncensored information about events in their own countries. The Soviets have spent millions each year trying to jam their broadcasts.

Less prominent regional broadcasters include Radio France International, Africa Number One in French-speaking Africa, Radio Australia in southeast Asia, Radio Cairo in Egypt, Kol Israel and Radio Monte Carlo in the Middle East and Arab world. Most of the other international broadcasting stations have audiences too small to measure.

Overall, international broadcasts in 1987 totalled some 25,000 hours a week, plus several thousand hours from nearly 60 clandestine stations. Some 80 nations broadcast to millions of listeners daily -- all of them outside their own borders.

So you can see that international broadcasting adds an important dimension to Western diplomacy. VOA's broadcasting effort represents more than a credible source of information for people living with limited access to information and under totalitarian regimes. It is some people's most important ally in the battle against domestic or foreign oppression.

If the United States wishes to pursue a noncombative, communications approach to foreign policy; if we believe that the free

flow doctrine is vital to our own national interests and to the cause of freedom, then it will become increasingly important to keep up America's international broadcasting effort -- to keep it modernized and staffed with high-caliber, committed individuals. Helping people who aren't familiar with freedom to understand its nature is some of the best foreign aid this country can package. What part democratic principles will play in our future world community will depend in large part upon our example, as supplier of information.

Since the winter of 1942, the Voice of America has been a strong voice for truth. Even during periods when broadcasts were jammed, the Voice has been able to provide news to an information-starved world.

As VOA approaches its half-century mark of service, we recognize that the world is very different from the one to which we first broadcast news about World War II -- its successes and setbacks; when we first pledged to listeners to "bring them the truth, whether good or bad." But we still operate on the assumption that understanding is the key to better world relations.

The Helsinki summit of 35 heads of state in the summer of 1975 produced a long document focusing on global security; humanitarian issues; and economic, scientific, and technical cooperation, including information exchange. The group of agreements became referred to as "Basket III."

The signatories acknowledged the need for better understanding of life in its various aspects among several countries. They recognized the importance, at least on paper, of mutual exchanges of information.

They emphasized the role of the press -- radio, cinema, news agencies and journalists who work in these fields.

In the West, of course, our motive was to advance the freer movement of people, ideas and information. Also, we wanted to elicit from the Soviet Union an improved attitude toward human rights.

Although the signatories pledged themselves to make information more freely available, specifics were often hedged, as we knew they would be.

Much of the dissemination of "oral information" was limited by the Soviet Union to lecture tours, round-table discussions, meetings -- all events that could be carefully controlled. As for freer dissemination of newspapers and other publications, the key word among the Soviets was "gradualism," so that access could be approved on an publication-by-publication basis instead of across the board. The Helsinki declaration was followed with a flood of Soviet statements and other efforts to impose limits and qualifications.

Finally, to combat foreign broadcasts, the Soviets attempted either to jam them, or they took an approach similar to their time-honored handling of dissident writers inside their own country; namely, discrediting the source.

Soviet disinformation efforts over the years occasionally have been ingenious, sometimes merely ludicrous -- other times grotesque:

- Like their recently planted stories about the U.S. butchering Latin American babies to get body parts for organ transplants;
- or the one about the United States making an ethnic weapon that kills only non-whites;

- and our perpetrating the 1978 Jonestown massacre in Guyana;
- developing the AIDS virus at a Fort Detrick, Maryland, research lab for bacterial warfare purposes;
- and assassinating little Samantha Smith.

The U.S. government must have been very busy since 1942!

Then there are the Soviet forgeries of U.S. documents, which continue to appear around the world. One of my favorites is the letter on USIA stationery -- addressed to Senator Durenberger -- with a false text inserted between the letterhead and the signature. The source was traced to a Czech diplomat.

The most incredible thing about this particular forgery was that it was sent to The Washington Post and U.S. News & World Report! Apparently the Communists thought American media wouldn't check out an official-looking letter suggesting a USIA plot to exaggerate the Chernobyl nuclear accident.

Forgeries seem to be a favorite pastime of the Soviets. They run the gamut from faked National Security memos to a forged memo from President Reagan to his secretaries of Defense and State and the CIA.

Do the Soviets expect their false stories and forgeries to be believed? Enough so, apparently, to justify the effort. Ladislav Bittman, former Deputy Chief of the disinformation department of the KGB-like Czeck secret service once likened the impact of disinformation stories to "the effects of drops of poison being constantly administered to an individual. While the impact of any one drop is usually imperceptible," he said, "the overall effect can be fatal."

But if you put all this in historical perspective, the Soviet attitude on disinformation shouldn't be too surprising. The Soviet Union -- and even other, less repressive, dictatorships around the world -- have a historical fear of free information flow. Many leaders feel that if they are to maintain order in their countries and protect their own power, they must erect barriers against information and ideas that are contrary to the official line. And they will do so by any means.

In Romania, for example, every telephone in the country conceals a high-tech microphone. Samples of handwriting are acquired from every citizen my means of questionnaires. Typewriters are registered, mail is monitored, and every hotel is bugged to bursting. High-level Romanian defector Ion Pacepa [**Pah-chay-pah**], who has just published his book, Red Horizons: Chronicles of a Communist Spy Chief, says the government there employs one security officer to every 15 citizens.

These kinds of efforts are endemic to the Soviet system. They are based in their perceptions about the character and purpose of life. They are a means to the Soviet perception of "order."

That is why Soviet media are still a far cry from the independent media of the U.S. and other Western nations -- "glasnost" notwithstanding. It is why Moscow continues to portray negative conditions like unemployment, poverty, demonstrations and riots as things that happen beyond the borders of the USSR and its friends. It is why the U.S. remains a favorite target of such negative portrayals of life.

Part of the problem in countries like the Soviet Union is the absence of a democratic mind-set and historic vision. It is a mindset attuned to

democratic principles which permits concessions to individuality. Once a country commits to the idea that individual goals and desires are important, a society can begin to open up and adapt constructively to a complex, post-industrial age.

One of the tasks of free nations like ours, then, is to make the concepts of free flow and participatory government less intimidating. Free nations can promote -- by example, not by rhetoric -- the idea that when people hear and read what they want and, then, make up their own mind, it can strengthen and enrich a society.

One of VOA's recent FOCUS documentaries was called "Governing America." Following an opening comment that "broad participation is integral to politics in the United States," a newly elected mayor in the small town of Bismark, North Dakota -- Marlin "Hawk" Haakenson -- is interviewed as he pumps gas at his service station. In the background listeners can hear the telephone ringing. "A mayor has to handle an awful lot of complaints from citizens," Hawk says, "everything from cankerworms on the trees to plowing off the streets. But if you're going to serve," he says, "you have to be there on call 24 hours a day. If anyone has a problem, no matter how small or big it is, it's big to them, or they wouldn't call me with it."

The documentary next described jury duty. The narrator explains how jurors are selected -- from lists of registered voters, licensed drivers, tax records, or even telephone directories -- and then switches to a courthouse to interview a typical juror.

The juror describes her initial reaction -- irritation to the summons in the mail. It interfered with her vacation. But her attitude changed once she got to court: "I was glad we had a system in place that

allows more than one person to determine the guilt and the fate of an [accused] individual," she said.

A group of potential jurors is then interviewed outside the courtroom -- people from all walks of life and different economic levels.

This is the kind of programming which inspires, attracts, and earns the respect and attention of listeners. It is unnecessary to preach democracy if our collective convictions serve as a backdrop for broadcasts. When listeners are allowed to relate to the deeply held values behind our words, they understand the spirit which animates America.

To get out the message of America and democracy, we need only to permit listeners to hear and visualize what Americans are doing; put a microphone in people's hands and let them talk about it.

In the Washington Journalism Review, Gerald Mansell wrote in 1982 that: "The opinions of listeners are the ultimate test of any broadcaster's effectiveness. There is no greater error than to think of the listener's mind as an empty vessel, or as putty to be shaped at will by the broadcaster."

Today the Soviet Union and other totalitarian regimes are recognizing not only that rigid control of information is expensive, but that it is not even feasible. In an age when computer and other communications technologies are making possible the direct international transfer of data via satellite links, the idea of stopping the flow of information becomes almost laughable.

The international stakes, however, are not laughable. Leaders like Mikhail Gorbachev are between the proverbial rock and a hard place: If they continue to deny their citizens access to information -- and to all the tools that support it, from video-recorders to photocopiers -- they soon may watch their nations atrophy. On the other hand, if they open up their society to information and new ideas, they may no longer have the kind of control to which are accustomed.

The stakes are not negligible for free nations, either. **Simply put, the crux of the matter is this: The security of free nations is dependent upon a world that upholds the principles of self-determinism, free information and trade. The security of totalitarian nations, on the other hand, is dependent upon a high degree of social control, which includes stemming the flow of information. A world hostile to the principle of free flow is a world in which democracy cannot survive. But a world hostile to the principle of information control is one in which totalitarianism cannot survive.**

So the battle lines are drawn. And international broadcasting becomes involved, willingly or not, in the information wars, in the battle for the "mind and the heart."

It is not easy for Americans to appreciate the importance or significance of international broadcasting. We live in a society where we are literally inundated with communication facilities -- some would say, too much so. Geographic mobility is another thing we take for granted. Californians, after all, do not need short-wave radios to find out what is going on in Ohio.

We have to recognize, however, that radio still remains the world's major mass communication medium. We cannot expect the common

people in that two-thirds of the world I talked about earlier to understand our attitudes about liberty and free press and conscience when there are such discrepancies of information access.

In 1984, a New York *Times'* Warsaw correspondent, described people there as "hunched over their short-wave radios [to] learn about issues through dispatches filed by Western resident correspondents, which are then re-broadcast back by Voice of America, Radio Free Europe, the BBC and the French radio." A Polish journalist told the *Times* correspondent that he spent nearly all his evenings dialing the radio.

Much more recently, a VOA listener from Turkey wrote: "Our entire family listens to your broadcast. We take out your group photograph and look at the person who is speaking at the moment. We do not miss the broadcast unless there is an emergency."

From Mozambique another listener wrote to tell us how he had to warm the batteries of his radio in the fire every day in order to listen to our program. "The programs you transmit are the life of my soul and my greatest hope for a better future," he said.

From Saudi Arabia, an Afghan refugee wrote: "Our situation is very harsh, and your voice seems like a tranquilizer to our pains. I cannot sleep unless I hear your Dari programs."

An Ethiopian sent us this letter: ". . . your program is serving as the only outlet for millions of Ethiopians to vent their feelings of anguish."

Last March, we got the following from a person in Iran who wished to be known only as 'the Wounded Pidgeon': "As I write to you

missiles are falling. . . . Within a radius of 1.5 miles all windows were shattered. . . . A missile hit a nearby maternity hospital. In one day, 28 missiles hit Tehran. With the help of one of my relatives I went to the coroner's morgue. It was like a butcher house. It was an obscenely painful sight. . . ."

And from Cuba, referring to our Radio Martí, a listener wrote: "With all the tragic problems surrounding us, and all the sadness and anxiety in this environment, to hear you is like arriving at an oasis in the desert. It's like giving artificial respiration to someone who is drowned. It gives happiness to the saddest people in the world. If the purpose of Radio Martí is to make us happy, it has achieved it. If the purpose is to keep us informed, it has achieved it. If the purpose of Radio Martí is to help Cuba be free, it has achieved that, too."

I quote all this to make a point: You don't get these kinds of letters from people who have information and entertainment sources all over the house and on every street corner. International broadcasting is a lifeline to millions -- in Iran, Cuba, Ethiopia, Mozambique, and elsewhere -- who listen under varying degrees of psychological, and even physical, duress. In return, free nations discover from listeners' letters insights about the thinking processes -- perceptions -- inside these countries: things that cannot be obtained from a poll.

News, of course, is not the only thing people want to hear. People also want information about health, technology, agriculture, science and more. In Cuba and the Soviet Union people want to know how and what their loved ones on military duty in places like Afghanistan

are really doing. They want to know about economic issues and about life in other countries, particularly the United States.

Some even learn English by listening to VOA broadcasts. One man, who is now a professor of political science in Beijing, told one of our staffers visiting in China that VOA "changed his life." He said he would have been "just a peasant farmer," but by listening to VOA, learning English and becoming aware of the outside world, he was motivated to leave his village, seek out an education and become a professor.

Every day, VOA runs dozens of Americana features. These include book reviews by well-known American authors; stories about American shopping malls, baby boomers, commuting, Miss America, the fitness craze, football, and Thanksgiving turkeys. Through these features, listeners get a more diversified and realistic picture of American life than that which is exported in television and movies.

People also want to understand American foreign policy -- and in totalitarian countries they know they are not going to get it straight from government media sources.

VOA broadcasts editorials to help fulfill our Charter's mandate to present the policies of the United States, which includes responsible discussion and opinion on these policies. Our editorials are about four minutes long and provide the administration in office a chance to speak out -- in the tradition of a newspaper's editorial page. This format has the advantage of directly conveying the policy aims of the sitting administration while clearly separating such labeled editorializing from the news and current affairs material.

Listeners hear U.S. policy directly from policymakers -- by use of taped interviews, and by direct feeds from conferences and radio talks. VOA's carefully worded Charter requires that broadcasts not only reflect the entire spectrum of American opinion, but be a "balanced and comprehensive projection of significant American thought and institutions."

This goes beyond explaining or commenting on government policies. It means Congressional reactions and a cross-section of editorial comment. It means reflecting American voices from all walks of life and all points of view -- from the farmer to the financier -- in a broad, well-balanced context.

VOA is the only American news agency required by law to do this. This kind of coverage is not easy because, first, it means encompassing a wider-than-usual range of topics -- not just the big news stories of the day. Secondly, it means taking into account America's political, geographical, cultural, ethnic, religious and social diversity in a way that is meaningful, tasteful and true. It means wording our material so that it is relevant to our vastly diverse audiences. It means being a sounding-board for world thought. In short, our Charter demands that VOA earn its credibility. We must prove that VOA is not simply the Western Hemisphere's answer to Tass, Radio Moscow or other totalitarian news agencies.

VOA's two largest concentrations of VOA listeners are found in eastern Europe, with 30.5 million listeners, and the USSR, with 31.9 million listeners. VOA's Russian Service is the largest of our foreign broadcasting units.

In general, the Russian service tries to maintain a balance between stories dealing with strictly American topics (although even these, such as "dance in America," have an international flavor) and programs dealing with Soviet and Russian subjects in the broad East-West context.

Several shows, particularly those dealing with literature and art, have produced stories on prominent Russian emigrés living in the West -- most notably Alexander Solzhenitsyn [**sohl-jen-eet-sin**], Mstislav [**misty-slav**] Rostropovich [**roh-stroh-poh-vich**] and Yuri Lyubimov [**lew-bee-mov**]. It is no exaggeration to say that the most creative Russian writers and artists now live outside the Soviet Union. By broadcasting the works of Russian writers and conducting interviews with prominent Russian artists and thinkers, VOA helps sustain Russian culture and gains Russian respect.

[OPT NEXT 3 PARAGRAPHS] Some cases in point:

About five years ago Vasily Aksyonov [**ax-yon-ov**], who for nearly two decades was one of the most popular writers in the Soviet Union, began a weekly series on VOA called Capital Shift. After moving from Moscow to Washington, Askyonov began to note the differences between the two capitals and used them to explain American life to Russian audiences. His ten-to-twelve minute talks -- very popular, judging by reports in the Soviet Union -- have ranged from literary and religious matters to popular culture. In each talk, there is an authentic Russian voice recognized by nearly all Russian listeners. This makes American life come alive for people who have only vague notions about it.

Maestro Rostropovich's approach is somewhat different. In a series of conversations, he discusses music, religion, art and appreciation of Western concepts of freedom. Beyond what is actually discussed, this approach gives Russian audiences an opportunity to experience freedom of expression. Rostropovich's frank opinions, wry observations and his ability to place different aspects of American life in a context comprehensible to Russian audiences, communicates the spirit of America.

Alexander Solzhenitsyn's interviews and readings represent still another approach. Solzhenitsyn's material is not about America. They embody, however, America's most cherished values: the freedom to pursue truth and to create freely. Denied access to archival material in the Soviet Union, Solzhenitsyn was able to write his massive historical work in America, using Russian sources found in American libraries and archives. Through his many books and appearances, he has become a part of American life. His voice and presence on VOA contribute greatly to the popularity and importance of Russian-language broadcasts beamed to the Soviet Union. ***[END OPT]***

We know these programs are drawing listeners.

High-ranking Cuban defector Gustavo Perez Cott said that many Communist Party members ignore the ban on listening to Radio Martí. A Czech dissident and human rights activist, who was expelled and later settled in Canada, phoned VOA to say that dissidents in his native country listen to VOA even in prison, where they use radios smuggled in by relatives or even by guards.

A defecting KGB agent, interviewed in May, 1980, said that "Ninety-nine percent of the Soviets who are interested in politics listen to . . .

VOA, as do the Soviet leaders. . . . With the immense growth in influence of BBC and VOA in recent years, Soviet authorities have reassessed their propaganda effort."

I think we may be seeing the first glimpses of that reassessment process with Mikhail Gorbachev's reforms.

Even though "glasnost" is still a long way from "openness" in the American sense, some of the new leaders in the Soviet Union and China appear to be on the verge of grasping the connection between certain basic freedoms and economic growth. They have begun to link such ideas as

- productivity, incentive, and personal income;
- technological progress and the freedom to create;
- national pride and respect for the worth of the individual.

If we want to promote world stability, it behooves free nations, in my opinion, to encourage these concepts. Everything free nations can do to increase a conceptual awareness of people's human and civil rights will move repressive regimes that much closer to becoming civilized members of the world community.

Just how much good have VOA and other Western broadcasts done toward this end?

In the Soviet Union and in Cuba, one of the direct results of VOA broadcasts has been the improvement of their own programs. In both countries, they have been trying to go to more imaginative formats, including increased live programming. Today, one-third of the programming is live, versus about 10 percent five years ago. Some of the music and features are aimed at younger audiences. Soviet

television, for instance, now offers a morning show and "Beatles" music, features on exercising, and moderators wearing crew-necked sweaters.

Former taboo issues like crime and homosexuality are being discussed on Soviet media. "Vremya," the Soviet news program, now features occasional Mike Wallace-style segments, showing angry citizens accusing a public official of fraud or mismanagement. Cuban radio has also started broaching subjects it wouldn't have touched a few years ago -- like human rights abuses and the spread of AIDS to Cubans.

The Soviets have also stopped jamming much of VOA's broadcasting, although they continue to jam our broadcasts to Afghanistan as well as RFE/RL broadcasts. Before the cessation of jamming, VOA's USSR Division received almost no listener mail from the Soviet Union. But now there is a dramatic increase. It is clear that our very existence challenges the monopoly on information -- on truth -- which so many regimes try to impose on their citizens. We, by ourselves, do not -- cannot -- change totalitarian nations. Facts themselves will speak for change.

The key to fulfilling our role as free world international broadcasters is high standards and a well-conceived sense of purpose. These important guidelines have helped VOA avoid falling into the pattern of propagandists.

The principle of balance has to be a goal. Former VOA director Ken Tomlinson put it best when he said that balance is "an extension of the philosophy on which [our] nation was founded. The founders believed that people, when exposed to a diversity of information and opinion, could decide for themselves -- and do it wisely. That is

precisely what we . . . do in broadcasting facts and information and ideas to the people of the world."

Audiences eventually see through propaganda, even if they do not recognize every instance of it. They may not be aware, for example, of whether a particular viewpoint, fact, or idea was omitted. But people do recognize a pattern of behavior. Propagandizing, wherever it occurs, is recognizable because it rarely occurs in isolation. It is a pattern of bending or distorting information. We at VOA rate at the top on credibility around the world, including among competing journalists, primarily because we have made our first principle the unembellished truth.

President John F. Kennedy caught the essence of the free world's task when he said:

> "The burden of truth is not easy to bear. It must explain to a curious and suspicious world what we are. It must tell them of our basic beliefs. It must tell them of a country which is in some ways rather old, certainly old as republics go. And yet it must make our ideas alive and new and vital in the high competition which has gone on around the world since the end of World War II."

In short, the task of free world broadcasting is to demonstrate to those who do not now share or understand our beliefs that the right of people to express themselves without fear of reprisal is the key to a stable world -- a world made safe for diversity.

Before I close, I want to tell you a story that illustrates, I think, how very important VOA is in the lives of millions of people who live very differently from us.

A Cambodian physician Huang Nor, came by to see me at VOA last year. He was there to make a broadcast in Khmer to Kampuchea. You may have heard of him.

Dr. Ngor, who won an Academy Award for his performance in "The Killing Fields," told me that when he was living through the terror in Cambodia, people buried their radios in the ground because they feared the reprisals -- which included death -- if they were caught listening to western broadcasts. Finally, the Khmer Rouge were overthrown by the Vietnamese, who, though totalitarian, had a less harsh view of listening to the radio. So the Cambodians, after a number of years of being without any information whatsoever about the outside world, went out and dug up these radios. Of course, they discovered the batteries were dead. So what did they do? They took out the batteries and laid them in the sun and poured water over them -- a technique for getting more "juice" out of a battery. Dr. Ngor says they turned immediately to VOA. And even though the Cambodians only got about 15 or 20 minutes' worth of listening time for their efforts, Dr. Ngor describes the VOA broadcasts as "a breath of life."

It is that "breath of life" which is so unbelievably important to millions of our listeners -- and the knowledge of which that fuels the commitment of those of us privileged to work at the Voice of America.

Thank You.

Dick Carlson
Bill Connor
Joe O'Connell
Sid

Postmark: 14-March-90 (Wednesday) 10:59:38 EST - (MS4:BOPS:VOA)
From: Gerd:USSR:VOA **To:** Janie, Alan Heil
Sender: Gerd Von Doemming:ussr:VOA **Copies:** Gerd:USSR
Subject: VALUE OF FOREIGN RADIO BROADCASTS TODAY
In Reply To:
Answer To:
Note: Attached could be used for briefings.
Attachment

RECEIVED
3-15-90
VOA SEC

IN CASE THIS WAS NOT SENT TO YOU
S-O

VOA USSR RESEARCH UNIT

EXPRESS INFO:

VALUE OF FOREIGN RADIO BROADCASTS TODAY

Stanislav Kondrashov in *Moskoskiye novosti [Moscow News]* No. 9, 4 March '90:

"Out of habit, remembering how things used to be *over there* [i. e.,in the US where Kondrashov once was a correspondent] I was looking for information concerning what was to take place here [in Moscow on Sunday February 25, 1990]. But to repeat, there wasn't any. For all, that is. Information was being rationed according to lists, to those who were supposed to get it....But *there*, on the air, it is as if they were waiting for me. On Saturday, as soon as I found the necessary wavelength, I was able to learn almost all I wanted to know: who, where, when and why were organizing the Sunday rally... Oh, triumph of *glasnost*!--through the intercession of 'otherwordly' voices. They use our own broadening sources of information better than we do and without delay return to us what they have gathered . Our thanks to them ".

Prepared by: Serge Markov, VOA/BBS

Uncle Sam's Message Found Audiences That Listen Hard

SUMMARY: Praise is being heaped on the broadcast services that have beamed the word on democracy and America to the world on behalf of Uncle Sam. At the same time, the stations are beginning to feel the squeeze of budget cuts. Several East European leaders credit the services with sowing seeds that inspired the transition of the communist world. Even so, the endeavors have not escaped criticism.



BROWN BROS

At the mike, singer Lena Horne (1945)

As communism crumbles, explanations of how the West won invoke various heroes, depending on the viewpoint: Mikhail Gorbachev, Ronald Reagan or even — to go back a ways — George Kennan, the architect of the post-war policy of containment.

Also being credited are the children of that policy: the U.S. government's Voice of America and the government-funded, Munich-based Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty.

After more than 40 years of laboring with little recognition in the United States and of being labeled "propaganda" agencies or "instruments of the Cold War" by their enemies, the radios are finally coming in from the cold.

The kudos are rolling in from all sides, most prominently from the dissidents-turned-leaders of Eastern Europe. When Poland's Lech Walesa, visiting the United States in November, was asked whether Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty had played a role in the growth of Solidarity and his political rise, he responded, "Ladies and gentlemen, the degree cannot even be described. Would there be Earth without sun?"

During his recent trip to Washington, Czechoslovakia's President Vaclav Havel wowed pundits and legislators with his "family of man/consciousness precedes being" philosophy tutorial before a joint session of Congress. But before climbing Capitol Hill, he first stopped in at VOA's Czech broadcasting service. There, the playwright expressed his appreciation for the role the radio station played in making possible the Velvet Revolution: "You have informed us truthfully of events around the world and in our country as well, and in this way you helped to bring about the peaceful revolution which has at long last taken place."

Ironically for the broadcasting services, mounting praise from influential listeners has been accompanied by squabbling in Washington over their future. Despite relatively low price tags, the radios, like other government institutions, face their turn at the Gramm-Rudman chopping block. The proposed VOA budget for fiscal 1991 requires cutbacks, and Director Richard W. Carlson announced Feb. 1 that six of its 43 language services would be eliminated to meet budgetary requirements. Among the services slated for elimination was the one that broadcasts in Uzbek and has, according to listener surveys, an audience of 20 million in Soviet Central Asia.

"I was appalled to learn that the Uzbek broadcasts [were] to be discontinued," says Harvard University's Richard Pipes. "There are millions of Uzbeks. They are the most important nationality in Central Asia." The sentiment voiced by Pipes was widely shared. Indeed, if the VOA announcement was intended as budgetary skirmishing, it succeeded magnificently. Barely a month after Carlson's first announcement came a second: Cuts might be made somewhere, but definitely not in the language services.

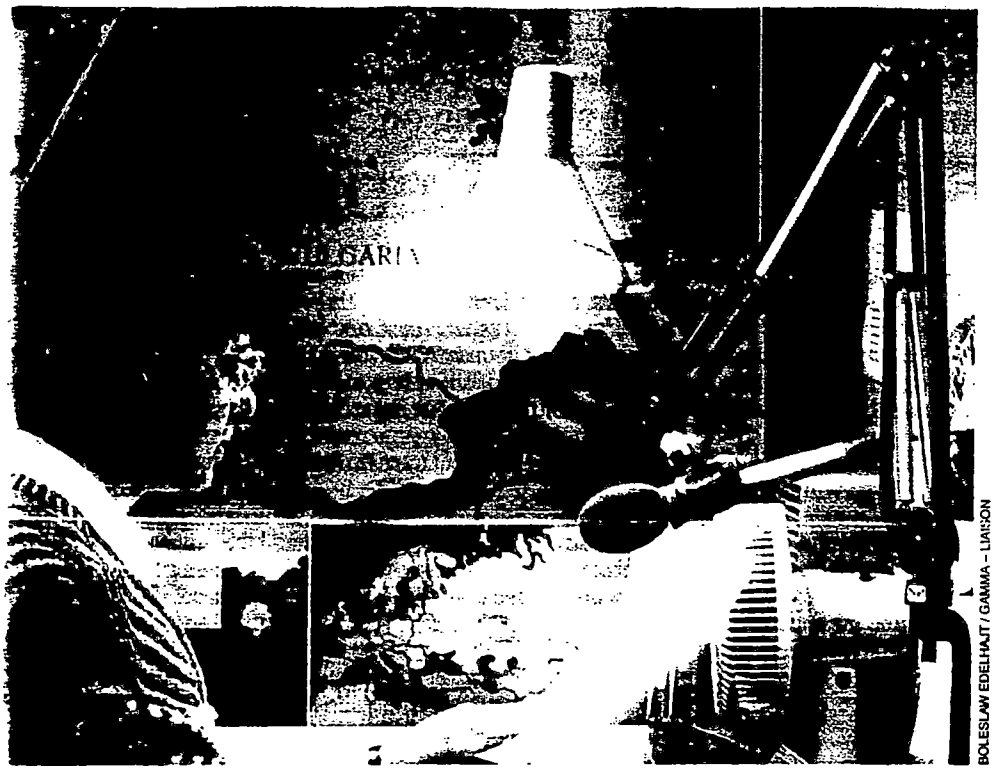
The politicking that saved the language services was intense. In a Feb. 12 letter to President Bush, House Foreign Affairs Committee Chairman Dante B. Fascell called for a bipartisan presidential commission to be set up "with all alacrity" to review public diplomacy efforts, particularly the radio activities, in light of the changes in international politics. The letter began by noting the stations' role in "bringing down the wall dividing the European continent" and expressed concern over the proposed cuts at VOA. "In times of change," wrote the Florida Democrat, "we should do more, not less." (The announced cuts corresponded with a nice little inside-the-Beltway stink, in which Bruce Gelb, claiming to be upset by the cuts, reportedly tried to fire Carlson. Sources at VOA say that Gelb, director of the U.S. Information Agency, had originally signed off on the cuts and used the issue simply as a pretext for firing Carlson. The VOA director went to the White House, where he got a vote of confidence.)

According to one VOA official, there are two camps in Congress: those who are ready to declare the Cold War over and bring America home, and others, like Fascell, who believe the United States needs to consolidate the gains that democracy has already made. "There is a split. How many are on each side, it's tough to say right now," the official says. "But there are some people who say that now that the mission is completed, we should start to retreat, that we should consider these institutions to be relics of the Cold War. However, I think that many more people on the other side realize that the mission has just begun."

The Voice of America began as the brainchild of playwright Robert Sherwood,



Grateful Havel made a point of visiting VOA's Czech service: protesters in Washington (right) decrying cutbacks.



BOLESLAW EDELHAJT / GAMMA - LIAISON

RFE's Bulgarian service, once a CIA endeavor, is funded by a federal board.

who became one of Franklin Delano Roosevelt's speech writers on the eve of World War II. The station went on the air in 1942, headed by theater director John Houseman. Its broadcasts dwindled at the war's end, but the agency was revitalized in the aftermath of the 1948 Berlin blockade, as the Cold War got under way in earnest. From 1945 to 1953 it operated under the State Department, after which it came under the aegis of the newly created U.S. Information Agency.

Radio Free Europe came into being in 1950 to broadcast to the countries of Eastern Europe. Radio Liberty — originally called Radio Liberation, reflecting the "rollback" policy of John Foster Dulles — began in 1953, its target the Soviet Union. The RFE/RL stations, ostensibly private, were covertly funded by the Central Intelligence Agency until 1971. That year, Congress made the stations private corporations under a bipartisan Board for International Broadcasting, a federal agency that receives from Congress the money for the broadcasting operations.

Today, Radio Free Europe broadcasts to Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Romania and the three Baltic states; while Radio Liberty broadcasts to the Soviet Union in 12 languages. VOA broadcasts in 43 languages; it is by no means restricted to Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union but rather sees itself as competing with the BBC World Service and other government-sponsored international shortwave broadcasts. Another competitor, Radio Moscow, broadcasts in 64 languages.

"A quarter of the world's population in China relies on us for news and information from outside the country and also about events in the country, where I think we demonstrated our importance during the Chinese student demonstrations," says the VOA's Carlson. Pro-democracy activists in China last summer pointed to Voice of America broadcasts as crucial to their movement; some were given long prison terms for talking to VOA reporters and even for listening to the station after the declaration of martial law in May and the Tiananmen Square massacre of June 4. Beijing has since resumed jamming VOA and has frequently denounced the station for conspiring with "counterrevolutionary" elements. The Voice also has large audiences in Africa, Asia and Latin America.

Voice of America's budget is a little more than $172 million, not including the costs for transmitter modernization and Radio Marti, which broadcasts to Cuba. Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty has a budget of a bit more than $190 million, with the mission to continue to function as surrogate "home" stations for the countries of Eastern Europe and the republics of the Soviet Union. VOA is chartered to give a balanced presentation of both American society and the policies of the U.S. government, as well as to report news in a manner that is "accurate, objective and comprehensive."

The careers of the radio services have not been without controversy. Despite the fact that they are forbidden by law to broadcast domestically, critics have often argued that neither should the United States be in the business of beaming "propaganda" abroad. While the recent events in the communist world have muted this sort of criticism, it nonetheless persists and continues to be taken to heart even by some station officials. In an article in the winter 1989-90 issue of Foreign Policy, Kim Elliott, VOA's audience research officer, advocated a consolidation of RFE/RL and VOA, as well as changing their names. Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty are "tendentious" names, he wrote. "The Voice of America sounds too much like 'the Voice of the Government of the United States of America.' . . . A consolidated U.S. international broadcasting entity ought to be renamed so that it could begin as a new station with a clean slate."

There were also persistent critics on the other side. In 1973, at the height of detente, excerpts of Alexander Solzhenitsyn's "Gulag Archipelago" were read over VOA. Radio Moscow protested vehemently, and the readings ceased. The exiled author detected a propensity for not offending the



DON PREISLER / INSIGHT

BRIG CABE / INSIGHT

In many cases, the U.S. and British broadcasting services "were about the only way that people had in the Soviet Union of knowing what was going on."

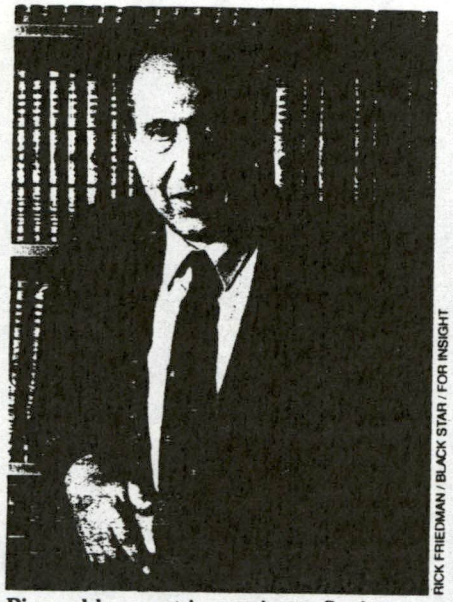
Kremlin. Solzhenitsyn also criticized the radio services for concentrating too heavily on what he saw as the trivialities of American life rather than the history of decades of communist oppression in his homeland. (In 1985 he was again the center of a radio-related controversy when critics charged that sections of his novel "August 1914" broadcast on Radio Liberty and VOA were anti-Semitic.)

Given that with *glasnost* his novels are now being published in the Soviet Union, these controversies have a somewhat quaint ring. Moscow ended its jamming of RFE/RL more than a year ago, and today RFE has bureaus in Warsaw and Budapest. VOA has opened a Moscow bureau. Indeed, the official Soviet newspaper Izvestiya even came out with a statement bemoaning the Voice of America's proposed language cuts. VOA also has a program that is regularly broadcast by Poland's Warsaw One and frequently does joint broadcasts with state radio services in Eastern Europe (a Hungarian VOA broadcaster who defected to the West several years ago now regularly works with her former boss).

Specialists agree that the stations played an indispensable role in preparing the groundwork for reform in the Soviet bloc. "In many cases, RFE/RL, the Voice of America and the BBC were about the only way that people had in the Soviet Union of knowing what was going on and of overcoming the isolation from the world that the rulers of the communist bloc had imposed on them," says Charles Fairbanks, a research professor of international relations at Johns Hopkins University's School for Advanced International Studies.

The West's salvos of radio waves during the Cold War, says Pipes, left the Soviets with no option but to open up the political system. "*Glasnost* was made necessary by radio broadcasting," he says. "They could no longer ignore the fact that people were finding out what was happening in their own country and abroad from radio broadcasts. I think Gorbachev took a very wise decision. He said rather than have the people resort entirely to these radio stations, let's tell the truth in our own pages. Because we can then deal with these problems, we can give our answers to them, whereas when they hear it on the radio, they don't hear our side of the story."

Supporters of the radios say that as communism recedes, how-to information for East European countries and the Soviet Union becomes crucial. "They are facing catastrophic situations and they perhaps no longer need to be quite as informed about what's wrong with what they're doing as ways out of their problems," says Pipes. "They have a lot to learn. They really do not know very much about the political processes of a democracy, about free market forces and so on and so forth. And this educational role they can certainly perform." This is true even in the case of the East European countries, which have moved furthest toward the creation of a genuine marketplace of ideas. "Havel made this point himself when he was in Washington, to the president and in meetings that he had with members of Congress," says E.



RICK FRIEDMAN / BLACK STAR / FOR INSIGHT

Pipes abhors cut in service to Soviets.

Eugene Pell, director of Radio Free Europe. "He specifically discussed the need, in his view, for the continuation of Radio Free Europe broadcasting."

Both Munich and Washington have been inundated by requests from East European listeners for such practical programming. "Just as one example, Sajudis [the pro-independence party] in Lithuania sent a message down here saying, 'Could you do a series of programs on Robert's Rules of Order?' " says Pell. "So you take that, and then add a hundred subjects to it, from how to hold an election or how to write a constitution to how to go about developing free market economies. I think we have a tremendous role to play in these areas."

Both agencies have increased the number of such programs. On March 4, the Voice of America began a series under the title "Democracy in Action." The programs will run for a year, beginning with a "Talk to America" call-in show that will feature Richard L. Lesher, president of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce. Listeners from around the world will be able to ask questions about how to start a business. Following that program, organized labor will get its shot, with a show on which AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland is slated to appear.

There will be programs on a variety of subjects, including democratic theory, American government and the private sector, the role of political parties, and government — federal, state and local.

"We're going to take a trip down to Virginia's smallest incorporated town, Plains, and we are going to see how they conduct business," says Sidney A. Davis, director of VOA's office of programs. "We expect to do pieces on how you start a small business. I'm hoping to do a piece on how you start a weekly newspaper. . . . And we'll probably talk about how you build a little radio station, because in some of these countries they are going commercial; the government is getting out of parts of the broadcasting business. . . . On the program 'American Viewpoints' on March 10 and March 17, we're going to do something on the Federalist Papers."

To some governments even *glasnost* and *perestroika* — let alone the ideas of Jefferson and Madison — are dangerous concepts. Cuba's Fidel Castro recently banned several Soviet publications, including the liberal Moscow News, labeling it more subversive than Radio Marti. So Radio Marti began to summarize the Soviet weekly over the air. According to director Ernesto F. Betancourt, the station heavily emphasizes reporting on developments in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.

"Last year we started a new program called 'The Socialist World in Transition,' " Betancourt says. "This is a very important element, because people in the government that have been trained during the last 30 years in the Soviet bloc obviously are very receptive to the modifications of Soviet practice under *glasnost* and *perestroika*." Marti, which is listened to at times by 86 percent of the Cuban population, according to one survey, now has stringers reporting from Prague, Warsaw, East Berlin and Budapest.

In a country such as Cuba, the simple flow of news is a force for change. Officials at the radios agree that this remains their main mission worldwide: "The nuts and bolts of what we do is the news," says Carlson. "In my view, that's what holds the audience."

— Jonas Bernstein

GUTENBERG, gōō'tən-berkh, **Johann** (1397?–1468), German printer, who is usually credited with the invention of printing from movable type. This invention was one of the most important landmarks in the development of Western civilization.

Life. Gutenberg was born in Mainz, Germany, probably between 1394 and 1399. After early training as a goldsmith, he and Andreas Dritzehn became partners in a printing operation in Strasbourg in the late 1430's. When Andreas died in 1438, his brothers sued Gutenberg for admission to the partnership in Andreas' stead. It was denied, but evidence introduced in the suit indicated that the partners had been involved with a secret process that may well have been printing from movable type. However, if this process was perfected at Strasbourg, there is no printed evidence of the fact.

When Gutenberg returned to Mainz in 1448, he successfully demonstrated that printing from movable type as practicable, and Johann Fust, a rich lawyer of Mainz, was persuaded to invest heavily in Gutenberg's enterprise in 1449 or 1450. With this backing, Gutenberg printed the "42-line" Bible (42 lines per column) that is regarded as the first substantial piece of printing to issue from a printing press.

From evidence presented in a lawsuit brought by Fust, who sought to recover his loans, it is known that Gutenberg's printing office was taken over in November 1455 and subsequently operated by Fust and, later, his son-in-law Peter Schoeffer, one of Gutenberg's early associates. Following the loss of his press, Gutenberg may have established another one in Mainz. An edition of Johann Balbus' *Catholicon*, printed there in 1460, is frequently attributed to Gutenberg, as are other books and lesser works.

In October 1462, while Mainz was being sacked by its archbishop during a feud with a rival claimant, Gutenberg was expelled from the city. The archbishop later made amends, and in 1465, Gutenberg returned to his birthplace and was granted a pension and exemption from taxes. He died in Mainz on Feb. 3, 1468.

The Bible. The 47 surviving copies of the Gutenberg Bible, of which 12 were printed on vellum, offer no direct evidence of the printer's name, the place of printing, or the date. It is not definitely known whether or not this Bible was completed at the time Fust and Schoeffer took over Gutenberg's press in 1455, but two dates written in a copy of it in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris indicate that it was available for sale before August 1456. Since several years must have elapsed before distribution was possible, Gutenberg's role in the production was the primary one.

Of the 47 copies, 13 are in the United States. Their owners include the Library of Congress (vellum), the Huntington Library (vellum, lacking two leaves), the Pierpont Morgan Library (3 copies, one on vellum and lacking four leaves, and one containing the Old Testament only), the Yale and Harvard universities, and the New York Public Library. See also Book—*1. History.*

FREDERICK R. GOFF
Editor of "Incunabula In American Libraries"

Further Reading: Clark, T., *Gutenberg* (Bieler Press 1987); Goff, F. R., *The Permanence of Johann Gutenberg* (1980; reprint, Univ. of Texas, H. Ransom Res. Ctr. 1974); McMurtrie, D. C., *Wings for Words* (1940; reprint, Gale Res. 1972); Scholderer, V., *Johann Gutenberg, the Inventor of Printing*, rev. ed. (Longwood 1970).

GUTHRIE, guth'rē, **James** (1792–1869), American railroad promotor and public official. He was born on Dec. 5, 1792, in Bardstown, Ky., and practiced law there. In 1820, on becoming state's attorney, he took up permanent residence in Louisville. While serving in Kentucky's legislature (1827–1840), Guthrie accumulated a large fortune from ventures in real estate, railroad promotion, macadam road building, and banking. In Louisville he helped to establish the public school system and to found the University of Louisville.

Guthrie was President Franklin Pierce's secretary of the treasury (1853–1857). He reformed departmental operations, reduced expenses and the national debt, and urged a tax to eliminate state bank notes. In the secession crisis, he pleaded for compromise as a delegate to the Washington Peace Convention of 1861. Remaining loyal to the Union, he placed his Louisville & Nashville Railroad at the disposal of federal forces. As a Democratic U. S. senator (1865–1868), he supported President Johnson's stand against Radical Reconstruction measures. He died in Louisville on March 13, 1869.

GUTHRIE, guth'rē, **Thomas** (1803–1873), Scottish clergyman and social reformer. Guthrie was born at Brechin, Forfarshire, on July 12, 1803. He was educated at the University of Edinburgh and then studied in Paris for a few years before being ordained minister for the parish of Arbirlot, Forfarshire, in 1830. In 1837 he became an assistant at Old Greyfriars in Edinburgh, and then minister of St. John's there in 1840.

In the religious upheaval known as the Disruption of 1843, Guthrie was one of over 400 ministers who left the Church of Scotland over the question of interference in church government by civil authority, and he became minister of Free St. John's Edinburgh. In 1844 he became a strong supporter of the movement for total abstinence from liquor. His social concern led to his involvement from 1847 in establishing "Ragged Schools," privately supported schools intended to give the poor a sound education along Protestant lines. Guthrie died at St. Leonard's on Feb. 24, 1873.

PAUL B. CLAYTON
The General Theological Seminary, New York

GUTHRIE, Thomas Anstey. See ANSTEY, F.

GUTHRIE, guth'rē, **Sir Tyrone** (1900–1971), English director and author, noted for his unusual interpretations of plays and the liveliness of his staging. He was born in Tunbridge Wells, England, on July 2, 1900, and educated at Oxford University. In 1924 he made his debut as an actor in repertory in Oxford, but he soon turned to directing, working with the Scottish National Players (1926–1928) and the Festival Theatre, Cambridge (1929–1930).

Guthrie directed his first London production—James Bridie's *The Anatomist*—in 1931 and was administrator of the Old Vic from 1939 to 1945. After 1945 he worked in many parts of the world, directing plays and operas in Tel Aviv, Helsinki, New York, and elsewhere. He brought considerable prestige to the Edinburgh Festival through his productions there in 1948 and 1949. In 1953 he directed the opening production at the Stratford (Canada) Shakespearean Festival and did much to establish its reputation. In 1963 he

the need for strengthening the
ire an assembly of 30,000 farm-
e royal palace. Gustav's speech
l ministry to resign, and a Con-
that favored the King's defense
ned. In World Wars I and II
ening years, Gustav became a
n neutrality and national unity.
al presentation of the Nobel
nternationally known. He died
Oct. 29, 1950.

ERNST EKMAN
ersity of California, Riverside

'täv (1882–1973), king of
orn in Stockholm on Nov. 11,
istav V and Victoria of Baden.
tstanding athlete as a young
organize the Olympic Games
in 1912. He became very in-
ology while studying at the
ala and published papers on
Swedish monuments. During
worked with archaeological
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ie establishment of the Swed-
me and Athens.
involved with the Swedish
d became well known as a
art. He made a 9-month trip
n 1926, traveled through the
934–1935, and visited the



WIDE WORLD

stav VI

He became king as Gus-
29, 1950.
ncess Margaret of Britain
ath in 1920, he married
f Britain in 1923. His
olf, died in 1947. Gustav
Sept. 15, 1973, and was
dson, Carl XVI Gustaf.

ERNST EKMAN
ty of California, Riverside

5. See GUSTAV II.

March 13, 1990

MEMORANDUM FOR MARK DAVIS
CHRISTINA MARTIN

FROM: STEPHANIE BLESSEY

SUBJECT: NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF BROADCASTERS PRE-ADVANCE

The following is some information I gathered on the pre-advance trip to Atlanta:

NOTE: The Broadcasters suggested that there be Q&A after the speech. No decision was made.

SETTING:

Location: Ballroom in Georgia's World Congress Center
Backdrop: Huge NAB banner
Attendance: 4000 people in ballroom; 2,000 in another ballroom; possible 10,000 on Convention floor; c.2,000 watching on HDTV.

NOTABLES:

FCC leadership
Network leadership
Art Carney and remaining Honeymooners
possibly Network anchors
possibly Peabody award winners
as many as 30 Members of Congress

TRIVIA: Atlanta was the setting for "Driving Miss Daisy." Many tourists are now taking the "Driving Miss Daisy" tour.

Also, FDR's "Little White House" is in Warm Springs, just outside of Atlanta. (Brochure attached to Christina's copy.)

And don't forget "Gone with the Wind."

CONTACT: Ms Rory Benson
Senior Vice President
429-5446

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 26, 1990

MEMORANDUM FOR THE

CHIEF OF STAFF
DAVID BATES
ANDREW CARD
JAMES CICCONI
DAVID DEMAREST
MARLIN FITZWATER
BOYDEN GRAY
FRED MCCLURE
BONNIE NEWMAN
ROGER PORTER
SIG ROGICH
BRENT SCOWCROFT
CHASE UNTERMEYER
SUSAN PORTER ROSE
ED ROGERS
JOE HAGIN
JIM WRAY
CHRISS WINSTON
BOBBIE KILBERG
SICHAN SIV
PATTY PRESOCK
LINDA CASEY
WILLIAM KRISTOL
TIMOTHY MCBRIDE
ROSE ZAMARIA
PAUL BATEMAN
RICHARD TREFRY
DAVID VALDEZ
BILLY DALE
JAY ALLISON
JOHN HERRICK
LAURIE FIRESTONE
PEGGY SWIFT
KIM BRADY
JEAN LAMB
DEB ANDERSON
TONY BENEDI
USSS/PPD OPS
WHCA AUDIO/VISUAL
WHCA OPERATIONS
WHTV
MEDICAL UNIT
PRESIDENTIAL DOCUMENTS

THROUGH: SIG ROGICH
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR
PUBLIC EVENTS AND INITIATIVES

FROM: JOHN G. KELLER, JR. JGK
DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT AND
DIRECTOR OF PRESIDENTIAL ADVANCE

SUBJECT: **TRIP OF THE PRESIDENT TO ATLANTA, GEORGIA; CINCINNATI, OHIO; INDIANAPOLIS, INDIANA; AND DETROIT, MICHIGAN ON APRIL 2 - 3, 1990**

For your use and planning purposes, the attached is a preliminary outline schedule for the Trip of the President to Atlanta, Georgia; Cincinnati, Ohio; Indianapolis, Indiana; and Detroit, Michigan. Please keep in mind that the following information has not been finally approved and is subject to change.

Attachments

PRELIMINARY OUTLINE SCHEDULE

Atlanta, Georgia; Cincinnati, Ohio; Indianapolis, Indiana; and Detroit, Michigan

Monday, April 2, 1990

GUEST AND STAFF INSTRUCTIONS:

5:45 am Baggage Call. Please place all unlocked baggage in Room 89 1/2, O.E.O.B. at this time.

6:55 am Vans depart West Basement en route Andrews Air Force Base Distinguished Visitors Lounge.

6:55 am Those with own transportation and baggage should arrive Andrews Air Force Base Distinguished Visitors Lounge for check-in.

7:25 am Those with own transportation should arrive Andrews Air Force Base Distinguished Visitors Lounge at this time.

7:40 am MARINE ONE departs White House en route Andrews Air Force Base.

(Flying Time: 10 Minutes)

7:50 am MARINE ONE arrives Andrews Air Force Base.

7:55 am AIR FORCE ONE departs Andrews Air Force Base en route Dobbins Air Force Base, Atlanta, Georgia.

(Flying Time: 1 Hour 35 Minutes)
(Interchange: No)
(Time Change: None)

9:30 am — AIR FORCE ONE arrives Dobbins Air Force Base.

9:35 am — MOTORCADE departs Dobbins Air Force Base en route Georgia World Congress Center.

(Drive Time: 20 Minutes)

9:55 am — MOTORCADE arrives Georgia World Congress Center.

* ADDRESS NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF BROADCASTERS
  - Open Press
  - Remarks
  - Teleprompter
  (10:00 am - 10:30 am)

* STAFF PHOTO WITH NAB LEADERSHIP
  - Closed Press
  (10:35 am - 10:55 am)

* PRIVATE TIME: 15 MINUTES
  (11:00 am - 11:15 am)

11:20 am — MOTORCADE departs Georgia World Congress Center en route Dobbins Air Force Base.

(Drive Time: 20 Minutes)

11:40 am — MOTORCADE arrives Dobbins Air Force Base.

11:45 am — AIR FORCE ONE departs Dobbins Air Force Base en route Cincinnati, Ohio.

(Flying Time: 1 Hour 30 Minutes)
(Interchange: Yes)
(Time Change: None)

1:15 pm — AIR FORCE ONE arrives Greater Cincinnati Airport.

1:20 pm — MARINE ONE departs Greater Cincinnati Airport en route TBD General Electric Landing Zone.

(Flying Time: 20 Minutes)

1:40 pm MARINE ONE arrives TBD General Electric Landing Zone.

1:45 pm MOTORCADE departs TBD Landing Zone en route General Electric Plant.

(Drive Time: 5 Minutes)

1:50 pm MOTORCADE arrives General Electric Plant.

* BRIEFING
  - Photo Opportunity
  (1:55 pm - 2:25 pm)

* TOUR OF PLANT
  - Pool Coverage
  (2:30 pm - 3:00 pm)

3:05 pm MOTORCADE departs General Electric Plant en route Westin Hotel.

(Drive Time: 15 Minutes)

3:20 pm MOTORCADE arrives Westin Hotel.

* PRIVATE TIME: 3 HOURS
  (3:25 pm - 6:25 pm)

* FUNDRAISING RECEPTION FOR GEORGE VOINOVICH
  - Open Press
  - Brief Remarks
  - Ropeline
  - Teleprompter
  (6:30 pm - 6:50 pm)

* MAJOR DONOR RECEPTION
  - Closed Press
  - Mix and Mingle
  (6:55 pm - 7:15 pm)

RON Cincinnati.

Tuesday, April 3, 1990

11:00 am — MOTORCADE departs Westin Hotel en route Union Terminal Landing Zone.

(Drive Time: 10 Minutes)

11:10 am — MOTORCADE arrives Union Terminal Landing Zone.

11:15 am — MARINE ONE departs Union Terminal Landing Zone en route Greater Cincinnati Airport.

(Flying Time: 15 Minutes)

11:30 am — MARINE ONE arrives Greater Cincinnati Airport.

11:35 am (E.D.T.) — AIR FORCE ONE departs Greater Cincinnati Airport en route Indianapolis, Indiana.

(Flying Time: 55 Minutes)
(Interchange: Yes)
(Time Change: Back 1 Hour)

11:30 am (E.S.T.) — AIR FORCE ONE arrives Indianapolis International Airport.

11:35 am — MOTORCADE departs Indianapolis International Airport en route Washington and Alabama Street Park.

(Drive Time: 10 Minutes)

11:45 am — MOTORCADE arrives Washington and Alabama Street Park.

* TREES FOR TOMORROW CELEBRATION
- Open Press
- Remarks
(11:50 am - 12:20 pm)

12:25 pm — MOTORCADE departs Washington and Alabama Street Park en route Indianapolis Convention Center.

(Drive Time: 5 Minutes)

12:30 pm — MOTORCADE arrives Indianapolis Convention Center.

* STAFF PHOTO
  - Closed Press
  (12:35 pm - 12:55 pm)

* FUNDRAISING LUNCHEON FOR SENATOR DAN COATS
  - Open Press
  - Brief Remarks
  - Teleprompter
  (1:00 pm - 1:30 pm)

1:45 pm — MOTORCADE departs Convention Center en route Indianapolis International Airport.

(Drive Time: 10 Minutes)

1:55 pm — MOTORCADE arrives Indianapolis International Airport.

2:00 pm (E.S.T.) — AIR FORCE ONE departs Indianapolis, Indiana en route Detroit, Michigan.

(Flying Time: 45 Minutes)
(Interchange: No)
(Time Change: Ahead 1 Hour)

3:45 pm (E.D.T.) — AIR FORCE ONE arrives Detroit Metropolitan Airport.

3:50 pm — MOTORCADE departs Detroit Metropolitan Airport en route Ritz-Carlton, Dearborn.

(Drive Time: 20 Minutes)

4:10 pm — MOTORCADE arrives Ritz-Carlton Dearborn.

* PRIVATE TIME: 1 HOUR 55 MINUTES
  (4:15 pm - 6:10 pm)

* TEAM 100 RECEPTION
  - Closed Press
  - Mix and Mingle
  (6:15 pm - 6:30 pm)

* STAFF PHOTO
  - Closed Press
  (6:35 pm - 6:55 pm)

* FUNDRAISING DINNER FOR MICHIGAN GOP
  - Open Press
  - Teleprompter
  (7:00 pm - 7:20 pm)

7:25 pm MOTORCADE departs Ritz-Carlton Dearborn en route Detroit Metropolitan Airport.

(Drive Time: 20 Minutes)

7:45 pm MOTORCADE arrives Detroit Metropolitan Airport.

7:50 pm AIR FORCE ONE departs Detroit Metropolitan Airport en route Andrews Air Force Base.

(Flying Time: 1 Hour 5 Minutes)
(Interchange: No)
(Time Change: None)

8:55 pm AIR FORCE ONE arrives Andrews Air Force Base.

9:00 pm MARINE ONE departs Andrews Air Force Base en route White House.

(Flying Time: 10 Minutes)

9:10 pm MARINE ONE arrives White House.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 26, 1990

MEMORANDUM FOR THE

CHIEF OF STAFF
DAVID BATES
ANDREW CARD
JAMES CICCONI
DAVID DEMAREST
MARLIN FITZWATER
BOYDEN GRAY
FRED MCCLURE
BONNIE NEWMAN
ROGER PORTER
SIG ROGICH
BRENT SCOWCROFT
CHASE UNTERMEYER
SUSAN PORTER ROSE
ED ROGERS
JOE HAGIN
JIM WRAY
CHRISS WINSTON
BOBBIE KILBERG
SICHAN SIV
PATTY PRESOCK
LINDA CASEY
WILLIAM KRISTOL
TIMOTHY MCBRIDE
ROSE ZAMARIA
PAUL BATEMAN
RICHARD TREFRY
DAVID VALDEZ
BILLY DALE
JAY ALLISON
JOHN HERRICK
LAURIE FIRESTONE
PEGGY SWIFT
KIM BRADY
JEAN LAMB
DEB ANDERSON
TONY BENEDI
USSS/PPD OPS
WHCA AUDIO/VISUAL
WHCA OPERATIONS
WHTV
MEDICAL UNIT
PRESIDENTIAL DOCUMENTS

THROUGH: SIG ROGICH
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR
PUBLIC EVENTS AND INITIATIVES

FROM: JOHN G. KELLER, JR. JGK
DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT AND
DIRECTOR OF PRESIDENTIAL ADVANCE

SUBJECT: **TRIP OF THE PRESIDENT TO ATLANTA, GEORGIA; CINCINNATI, OHIO; INDIANAPOLIS, INDIANA; AND DETROIT, MICHIGAN ON APRIL 2 - 3, 1990**

For your use and planning purposes, the attached is a preliminary outline schedule for the Trip of the President to Atlanta, Georgia; Cincinnati, Ohio; Indianapolis, Indiana; and Detroit, Michigan. Please keep in mind that the following information has not been finally approved and is subject to change.

Attachments

PRELIMINARY OUTLINE SCHEDULE

Atlanta, Georgia; Cincinnati, Ohio; Indianapolis, Indiana; and Detroit, Michigan

Monday, April 2, 1990

GUEST AND STAFF INSTRUCTIONS:

5:45 am	Baggage Call. Please place all unlocked baggage in Room 89 1/2, O.E.O.B. at this time.
6:55 am	Vans depart West Basement en route Andrews Air Force Base Distinguished Visitors Lounge.
6:55 am	Those with own transportation and baggage should arrive Andrews Air Force Base Distinguished Visitors Lounge for check-in.
7:25 am	Those with own transportation should arrive Andrews Air Force Base Distinguished Visitors Lounge at this time.

7:40 am — MARINE ONE departs White House en route Andrews Air Force Base.

(Flying Time: 10 Minutes)

7:50 am — MARINE ONE arrives Andrews Air Force Base.

7:55 am — AIR FORCE ONE departs Andrews Air Force Base en route Dobbins Air Force Base, Atlanta, Georgia.

(Flying Time: 1 Hour 35 Minutes)
(Interchange: No)
(Time Change: None)

9:30 am — AIR FORCE ONE arrives Dobbins Air Force Base.

9:35 am — MOTORCADE departs Dobbins Air Force Base en route Georgia World Congress Center.

(Drive Time: 20 Minutes)

9:55 am — MOTORCADE arrives Georgia World Congress Center.

* ADDRESS NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF BROADCASTERS
  - Open Press
  - Remarks
  - Teleprompter
  (10:00 am - 10:30 am)

* STAFF PHOTO WITH NAB LEADERSHIP
  - Closed Press
  (10:35 am - 10:55 am)

* PRIVATE TIME: 15 MINUTES
  (11:00 am - 11:15 am)

11:20 am — MOTORCADE departs Georgia World Congress Center en route Dobbins Air Force Base.

(Drive Time: 20 Minutes)

11:40 am — MOTORCADE arrives Dobbins Air Force Base.

11:45 am — AIR FORCE ONE departs Dobbins Air Force Base en route Cincinnati, Ohio.

(Flying Time: 1 Hour 30 Minutes)
(Interchange: Yes)
(Time Change: None)

1:15 pm — AIR FORCE ONE arrives Greater Cincinnati Airport.

1:20 pm — MARINE ONE departs Greater Cincinnati Airport en route TBD General Electric Landing Zone.

(Flying Time: 20 Minutes)

1:40 pm MARINE ONE arrives TBD General Electric Landing Zone.

1:45 pm MOTORCADE departs TBD Landing Zone en route General Electric Plant.

(Drive Time: 5 Minutes)

1:50 pm MOTORCADE arrives General Electric Plant.

* BRIEFING
  - Photo Opportunity
  (1:55 pm - 2:25 pm)

* TOUR OF PLANT
  - Pool Coverage
  (2:30 pm - 3:00 pm)

3:05 pm MOTORCADE departs General Electric Plant en route Westin Hotel.

(Drive Time: 15 Minutes)

3:20 pm MOTORCADE arrives Westin Hotel.

* PRIVATE TIME: 3 HOURS
  (3:25 pm - 6:25 pm)

* FUNDRAISING RECEPTION FOR GEORGE VOINOVICH
  - Open Press
  - Brief Remarks
  - Ropeline
  - Teleprompter
  (6:30 pm - 6:50 pm)

* MAJOR DONOR RECEPTION
  - Closed Press
  - Mix and Mingle
  (6:55 pm - 7:15 pm)

RON Cincinnati.

Tuesday, April 3, 1990

11:00 am — MOTORCADE departs Westin Hotel en route Union Terminal Landing Zone.

(Drive Time: 10 Minutes)

11:10 am — MOTORCADE arrives Union Terminal Landing Zone.

11:15 am — MARINE ONE departs Union Terminal Landing Zone en route Greater Cincinnati Airport.

(Flying Time: 15 Minutes)

11:30 am — MARINE ONE arrives Greater Cincinnati Airport.

11:35 am (E.D.T.) — AIR FORCE ONE departs Greater Cincinnati Airport en route Indianapolis, Indiana.

(Flying Time: 55 Minutes)
(Interchange: Yes)
(Time Change: Back 1 Hour)

11:30 am (E.S.T.) — AIR FORCE ONE arrives Indianapolis International Airport.

11:35 am — MOTORCADE departs Indianapolis International Airport en route Washington and Alabama Street Park.

(Drive Time: 10 Minutes)

11:45 am — MOTORCADE arrives Washington and Alabama Street Park.

* TREES FOR TOMORROW CELEBRATION
- Open Press
- Remarks
(11:50 am - 12:20 pm)

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(Drive Time: 5 Minutes)

12:30 pm — MOTORCADE arrives Indianapolis Convention Center.

* STAFF PHOTO
  - Closed Press
  (12:35 pm - 12:55 pm)

* FUNDRAISING LUNCHEON FOR SENATOR DAN COATS
  - Open Press
  - Brief Remarks
  - Teleprompter
  (1:00 pm - 1:30 pm)

1:45 pm — MOTORCADE departs Convention Center en route Indianapolis International Airport.

(Drive Time: 10 Minutes)

1:55 pm — MOTORCADE arrives Indianapolis International Airport.

2:00 pm (E.S.T.) — AIR FORCE ONE departs Indianapolis, Indiana en route Detroit, Michigan.

(Flying Time: 45 Minutes)
(Interchange: No)
(Time Change: Ahead 1 Hour)

3:45 pm (E.D.T.) — AIR FORCE ONE arrives Detroit Metropolitan Airport.

3:50 pm — MOTORCADE departs Detroit Metropolitan Airport en route Ritz-Carlton, Dearborn.

(Drive Time: 20 Minutes)

4:10 pm — MOTORCADE arrives Ritz-Carlton Dearborn.

* PRIVATE TIME: 1 HOUR 55 MINUTES
  (4:15 pm - 6:10 pm)

* TEAM 100 RECEPTION
  - Closed Press
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  (6:35 pm - 6:55 pm)

* FUNDRAISING DINNER FOR MICHIGAN GOP
  - Open Press
  - Teleprompter
  (7:00 pm - 7:20 pm)

7:25 pm MOTORCADE departs Ritz-Carlton Dearborn en route Detroit Metropolitan Airport.

(Drive Time: 20 Minutes)

7:45 pm MOTORCADE arrives Detroit Metropolitan Airport.

7:50 pm AIR FORCE ONE departs Detroit Metropolitan Airport en route Andrews Air Force Base.

(Flying Time: 1 Hour 5 Minutes)
(Interchange: No)
(Time Change: None)

8:55 pm AIR FORCE ONE arrives Andrews Air Force Base.

9:00 pm MARINE ONE departs Andrews Air Force Base en route White House.

(Flying Time: 10 Minutes)

9:10 pm MARINE ONE arrives White House.

Services of Mead Data Central

7TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

The Associated Press

The materials in the AP file were compiled by The Associated Press. These materials may not be republished without the express written consent of The Associated Press.

December 25, 1989, Monday, AM cycle

SECTION: International News

LENGTH: 683 words

HEADLINE: Freedom Celebrated Under the Christmas Tree

BYLINE: By SYDNEY RUBIN, Associated Press Writer

DATELINE: PRAGUE, Czechoslovakia

KEYWORD: Christmas-Czech

BODY:

Many families reunited for the first time in decades, carolers sang on Prague's old Charles Bridge, and church bells rang across the nation Monday on Czechoslovakia's first free Christmas in 41 years.

"I feel like this is a miracle," said Ivan Martin Jirous, who was in prison last Christmas serving time for offering unauthorized lectures on art and publishing an unofficial arts magazine.

Jirous, 45, was released Nov. 25, about a week after the start of the peaceful revolution that ousted the hard-line Communist president, put the government in the hands of reformers and set the nation on the road to electing a former dissident, Vaclav Havel, as president before the new year.

Imprisonment and exile have torn apart families for years.

Jirous, who spent more than eight years in jail for his "subversive" activities, accompanied his two young daughters and his wife to church Monday to give thanks for his release which he called "a present from the mercy of God."

On Christmas Eve 1978, Jirous was in Ostrov Nad Ohri prison, notorious for its brutal guards as well as for the cruelty between prisoners.

"But on Christmas something happened," Jirous recalled. "We placed a table in the middle of our cells and everybody broght food, Chrismas sweets, fruit, everything good that they had."

"Together we sat at the long table and there were no differences, no accounting done on how much we brought or took. We sang songs, not real Christmas carols because people who are in Czechoslovak prisons do not know about Christmas, maternal warmth, the closeness of families, morals or religion. But together we sang."

Jirous said he considered saying a few words about the meaning of Christmas, the birth of Christ and Christian charity.

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"But I didn't. The way these people at the bottom of society were unselfishly and joyously together was the real fulfillment of Christmas - without a theological facade. It was my most beautiful Christmas," he said.

On the 15th century Charles Bridge, groups of young carolers sang haunting, traditional Christmas melodies in the days leading up to Christmas. In previous years, police chased carolers from the broad, cobbled King's Road.

"Rejoice, the Christ is born, rejoice!" the carolers exuberantly sang Sunday night while joy illuminated the faces of many listeners.

"Everybody is so happy, so cheerful. It is euphoric with everybody chatting about the future," said Dagmar Vogel, 22, home for Christmas for the first time since she was 15 months old.

Family conversations are filled with new possiblities: the chance to study abroad, to write freely, to work without fear, to be reunited with relatives overseas, she said.

Miss Vogel's parents emigrated from Czechoslovakia to Switzerland after the 1968 Soviet invasion crushed the reforms of the " Prague Spring."

For 21 years they kept in touch by letter, but Miss Vogel said she did not know many of the family members she has met since coming home this week.

"There are so many aunts, cousins I haven't met. But from the first moment, I've felt like I belong. It's great to have a family. It's wonderful to know somebody is there," she said, standing beside the giant fir tree on Old Town Square with a sign reading, "Freedom Under the Christmas Tree."

On Christmas Eve, Miss Vogel, her family and millions of other Czechoslovaks watched Christmas Mass on an unprecedented live TV broadcast. The Mass from Prague's 13th century Strahov Monastery was said by Vaclav Maly, a former dissident priest who was banned for 11 years for his human rights activities.

Millions of other believers jammed into churches and Cathedrals throughout the nation for midnight Mass. On Christmas Day, 90-year-old Cardinal Frantisek Tomasek said Mass at the gothic St. Vitus Cathedral overlooking the city, delivering a sermon on the responsiblity that freedom brings.

In central Prague, on the site where pro-democracy rallies turned the tide of Czechoslovak history last month, crowds of students gathered to sing and share the holiday at the statue of Bohemia's patron saint: good King Wenceslas.

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N.Y.TIMES: 12-26-89

Christmas

Sound of Carols and Bells Ends 40 Years of Silence

1430

By The Associated Press

Millions of Eastern Europeans yesterday celebrated their first Christmas free of Communist domination in four decades: political prisoners rejoined their families, East Germans and Czechoslovaks watched Mass on television and Rumanians listened to carols long banned on state radio.

Pope John Paul II prayed for Rumanians "celebrating this Christmas in fear and trembling," mourned the thousands killed overthrowing the hard-line leadership of Nicolae Ceausescu and praised the democratic changes remaking his native Eastern Europe.

'Everybody Is So Happy'

Church bells pealed across Czechoslovakia to mark the new freedoms won in a democracy movement that toppled Communist leaders, created a freer press and brought promises of free elections.

For the first time, live broadcasts of a Mass.

"I feel like this is a miracle," said Ivan Martin Jirous, who was reunited with his family after being released from prison a month ago. Mr. Jirous, 45 years old, was imprisoned more than eight years for "subversive" acts like unauthorized lecturing and publishing.

"Everybody is so happy, so cheerful," said Dagmar Vogel, 22, who was back in Czechoslovakia for Christmas for the first time since her family fled their homeland in 1968. "It is euphoric with everybody chatting about the future."

On Prague's 15th-century Charles Bridge, young carolers sang traditional Christmas songs. In previous years, the police chased carolers from the city's broad, cobbled King's Road.

Millions of Czechoslovaks attended Mass or watched a live television broadcast of one at Prague's 13th-century Strahov Monastery. The Mass at the monastery was offered by the Rev. Vaclav Maly, a dissident priest who was banned for 11 years for his human rights activities.

In both parts of Berlin, people mingled freely, attending joint church services for the first time since the Berlin wall went up 28 years ago. East Germany on Sunday began allowing West Germans to enter the country without visas, and thousands used the opportunity to cross to East Berlin to join relatives for a Christmas service.

Prayers for Rumania

East Germans also watched their first Mass on television, as the Pope delivered his traditional Christmas message in 53 languages from St. Peter's Square in Rome. Many of his remarks were directed at Eastern Europe.

"May this Europe open her doors and her heart to understand and receive the anxieties, the fears and the problems of the nations which seek her help," the Pope said. "May she respond with the strength and the generosity of her Christian roots to this very special moment of history, which the world is now experiencing as if awakened from a nightmare and opened up to a better hope."

"In particular, bless at this hour, O Lord, the noble land of Rumania, which is celebrating this Christmas in fear and trembling, with sorrow for the many human lives tragically lost and in the joy of having taken once more the path of freedom," John Paul said.

Amid the sounds of gunfire on the streets of Bucharest were the sounds of Christmas carols, broadcast by the Bucharest radio for the first time since December 1947.

Yugoslav and Finnish journalists brought Christmas presents for children in the western Rumanian city of Timisoara, the state press agency Tanyug reported. The gifts had been provided by a candy company in Yugoslavia, it said.

Also for the first time in four decades, Bulgarian radio and television broadcast the speech of Christmas and the New Year by the head of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church, Patriarch Maxim.

Offices Closed in the Baltics

It was a working day in Bulgaria, the state press agency reported, "but people are wishing merry Christmas to each other, maybe for the first time without fear that they would be accused of being 'religious.' "

In the Baltic republics of the Soviet Union, which have large populations of Roman Catholics and Protestants, all offices were closed for the first official Dec. 25 holiday in the four decades of Soviet rule there.

In Vilnius, the capital of Lithuania, a Roman Catholic political campaigner, Antanas Terleskas, said many people attended church on Christmas Eve. But he said people were not especially happy, because "the freedom of expressing religious beliefs is just an illusion we are permitted to toy with."

Estonians watched religious programs with Christmas carols on television, as well as the Pope's Mass. The Mass was also seen in Latvia, where all television and radio programs were religious-oriented.

Christmas in most of the Soviet Union will be celebrated on Jan. 7, according to the Russian Orthodox calendar.

L.A.TIMES:12-26-89

In Romania, a Christmas Without Fear

By DAVID LAUTER
TIMES STAFF WRITER

BUCHAREST, Romania—A small tree stood at one end of the neat, sparsely furnished room, and a candle holder with three white tapers sat on a little folding table. It was Christmas dinner in Bucharest, the first free Christmas in 40 years.

Two American reporters had been invited to eat at the home of a Romanian couple, an event that only a few days ago would have brought swift retaliation against the Romanians and a lengthy jail term.

Even now, the fear that has so long enveloped this land prevents publication of their names or the name of their English-speaking Romanian friend who shared in the meal.

But with the sudden, bloody downfall of Nicolae Ceausescu's leadership, that fear has begun to crumble. Romanians for the first time in decades are beginning to speak openly again. Western correspondents are hearing firsthand the full dimensions of the horror and pettiness of totalitarian rule here.

The coincidence of the Christmas season with Ceausescu's downfall has provided powerful symbols that have brought tears to the eyes of many in this city of 2 million.

On the balcony of the former Communist Party Central Committee building, a Christmas tree bedecked in tinsel now stands. The tree marks the exact spot from which Ceausescu issued his final speech last Thursday, the speech that was interrupted by the shouts of demonstrators—"Death, death!"—that sounded the end to the dictator's long rule.

Until now, public displays of Christmas trees were banned as part of Ceausescu's drive to eliminate any potential source of opposition to his reign—particularly religious symbols and ceremonies.

Even the Romanian name of Santa Claus, *Mos Craciun* (Old Man Christmas), was banned by law. On Monday, however, the name was on lips across the city.

"Santa Claus Will Not Be Shot," declared a headline in the new newspaper Free Youth. The paper also carried a message from Teoctist, the Orthodox patriarch of Romania.

"Beloved children," the patriarch wrote, "in this holiday when Christ was born the baby in Bethlehem, our thoughts and attention are drawn to the shining and fresh faces of the children and youth of Romania."

"After many decades of official atheism," he continued, "many years of sad and frozen Christmases, this year is the first one in which the Christian people of Romania are celebrating in freedom."

□

At the home of the Romanian couple—an engineer and his wife, a doctor—the celebration was simple, but the spirit warm. Eight sausages, French fries, some tinned sardines, a stew of onions and peppers, bread, wine and a few slices of cake washed down by sweet coffee provided dinner for five.

The apartment was simply furnished and sparse: three small rooms plus a kitchen to house the family. But the couple counts itself among the lucky ones in this battered society.

"We are the exceptions, one in a thousand," the engineer said. He noted that both he and his wife are relatively well paid and that his parents, both professionals, are in a position to guarantee them access to ever-scarce food supplies.

An average worker in this country earns roughly 2,000 lei a month—$200 at the official exchange rate, but closer to $20 on the black market. Neither food nor shelter is cheap. To obtain better-paying jobs, Romanians generally have been required to join the nation's huge Communist Party, paying as much as 10% of their salary in party dues.

The result has been a daily life here that is a grim struggle, made worse by an ever-present fear of surveillance that only now is beginning to fade.

"You're being watched all the time, at home, at school, at work," said one of the men at dinner. "There is an old woman on my block—she is known to be the security agent for the street. We always close the window facing her house before turning on the radio."

For Romanians who avoid trouble with the authorities, the ultimate reward has been a passport allowing travel and work abroad. "We could earn $10 a day working in Libya," where many Romanians have been employed as oil field workers, said one Romanian. "You could buy some extra food, maybe a pair of shoes."

For now, however, those difficult days have been laid aside in memory as the engineer, the doctor and their friends concentrate on the revolution unfolding in the streets and recorded on their television screens.

For the last two days, those screens have been filled with images of a holiday that the dictatorship tried to suppress but failed to eliminate.

Romanian television and radio have broadcast traditional Christmas carols long absent from public hearing but still cherished in private. The television screens have been full of pictures of decorated trees, monasteries and religious icons, and the words in Romanian that declare the message of Merry Christmas: "*Craciun Fericit.*"

CHRIS.SCI.MON.:12-28-89

Prague Square's Poignant Role in History

Over the decades, Czechs have gathered in 600-year-old landmark to witness their most tragic and hopeful moments

By Eric Bourne
B3
VIENNA

CZECHS, at times of great public joy or sorrow, have always gathered on Prague's Wenceslas Square.

Recently they have been there to rejoice over a noncommunist majority government.

And they returned a week later (Dec. 17) to mourn police brutality against students during a human rights rally a month before. This violence proved to have been the catalyst for the momentous events that followed.

For one who saw so much Czech history first hand – in good times and bad – played out on Wenceslas Square, it has been heartening to watch (this time via TV) as this new Prague Spring in autumn unfolded to bring freedom again to Central and Eastern Europe's oldest democracy.

Vaclavske Namesti . . . Wenceslas Square. For any whose acquaintance with Prague is more than a Christmas carol about "Good King Wenceslas," it is a great name.

The square is notable for its grace and symmetry at the heart of one of the world's most beautiful capitals and for the history it has witnessed since its first stones were laid 600 years ago.

In 1918, Czechs and Slovaks rejoiced there at the statehood won from the collapse of that old "prison of the nations," the Austro-Hungarian empire. Unhappily, the new statehood lasted only 20 years.

In September 1938, the children of the crowds of 1918 gathered on the square in bitter grief at the West's sacrifice of their "distant country of which we know little," in the belief they were deterring Adolf Hitler's march to war. Six months later, Czechoslovakia ceased to exist.

Prague, right after World War II's end, was not much damaged. Within moments of liberation, the square was its lively, colorful, prewar self.

Shops and stores bloomed overnight with all the display panache of Czech tradition. The famous Café Srobek, was "home" just as before to a polyglot collection of intellectuals, journalists, and politicians of every party and hue. The café was later renamed by the Communists, just as they also rubbed out the name of Tomas Masaryk, the nation's founding father.

The liberators, the Russians, were popular then. So, too, were the Communists who, in the first postwar free, democratic election, emerged the biggest party, with 36 percent of the vote. Within two years, however, they had destroyed the bourgeois parties and won absolute control.

On those fateful late February crisis days in 1948, Wenceslas Square was as tightly filled as in these recent weeks. The Communists still had their popular following. But only 10 days after the hapless President Eduard Benes accepted a new Communist-dominated government, the death of Foreign Minister Jan Masaryk precipitated a fresh crisis.

Masaryk, seeing himself as possibly a moderating influence, had agreed to remain as foreign minister, a prized accomplishment for the Communist government.

But the son of Tomas Masaryk had fallen (or been pushed) from a window to his death.

I recall an ashen-faced, shaken Klement Gottwald (the party leader) in the Pantheon behind the Wenceslas statue delivering the funeral oration to "our Jan." As the coffin was borne through the square, there was new tension in the air. One felt anything could happen.

Grim portent of the shape of things that did come was the presence of the Communist factory workers' militia.

They stood, every few yards, not presenting their tommy guns in salute as the cortege passed, but nervously facing inward on the anguished sidewalk crowds on the square.

Two decades of increasing repression followed.

January 1968. Enter Alexander Dubcek, to popular relief. In March, Wenceslas Square erupted still more joyfully when Stalinist President Antonin Novotny was finally forced out.

Among many vivid memories of the months that followed is May 1, date of the first spontaneous May Day festival the East bloc had seen.

The Big Five champions of reform – Mr. Dubcek, Ludwig Svoboda, Josef Smrkovsky, Oldrich Cernik, *and* Husak – walked together, hand-in-hand, the length of the square, cheered all the way.

I recall a young Czech writer friend remarking of the new press freedom: "When I look at the papers in the morning, I cannot believe my eyes. It is all too good to be true. I wonder,'Will it last?' "

Jiry soon had his answer. On Aug. 21, the square was packed with tanks.

Czechs – anger in their voices but always with typically reasoning Czech restraint – surrounded them demanding of the crews, "Why are you here?"

An underground press poured out news sheets and picture protests. A photo montage showed a crippled tank outside Prague Radio with one word printed across it – *Proc?* – and the Russian equivalent, *Pochemu?* (Why?)

Twenty-one years later the Czechoslovaks are getting an answer – from the Russians, Poles, Hungarians, East Germans, and (almost as its last deed in office) from the Husak regime for which a few months ago the Prague Spring was still "counterrevolution."

Intervention, they all say in a monumental understatement, was "a mistake."

A costly mistake for my friend Jiry and tens of thousands like him, whose support for reform brought exclusion from their callings through the important middle years of their working lives.

One likes to think that Jiri does not need to be as skeptical this time as in 1968. Maybe not. There *is* a fundamental difference between Mikhail Gorbachev and Leonid Brezhnev.

And the way the old East-bloc monolith has crumbled, who now is going to be left to invade whom?

L.A.TIMES:12-25-89

Christmas in Timisoara: Peril Amid Celebrations

By RONE TEMPEST
TIMES STAFF WRITER

TIMISOARA, Romania—The city where the Romanian uprising began one week ago was still not free of conflict on Christmas Eve.

Christmas services at the Central Cathedral were not held Sunday because secret-police snipers, still loyal to ousted dictator Nicolae Ceausescu, were believed to be in the cathedral towers.

Families dragging freshly cut evergreen trees into their homes for trimming faced occasional bursts of gunfire. Provisional authorities ordered about 200 Western journalists to remain inside the Continental Hotel because nearby snipers were active, firing into adjacent streets.

Despite the danger, however, there was a visible sense of celebration in this western provincial city, the first place where Romanians openly challenged the 24-year rule of Ceausescu.

"Even if we are not prepared . . . as we like for Christmas, we have enough to celebrate," said Cornelia Borca, 46, who showed a reporter a decorated Christmas tree in the living room of her family's small apartment west of the city center.

Another woman in the apartment complex, Korina Popovitsch, 28, placed a black ribbon around the base of her tree to commemorate the people killed when Ceausescu forces opened fire on demonstrators a week ago. Already more than 4,000 bodies have been found from that and subsequent attempts to put down the demonstrations, and some fear a final toll of perhaps as many as 12,000.

Still, for the first Christmas in years, ethnic Hungarians in the large public housing project west of this city were openly speaking their native language. While the Ceausescu government never officially banned Hungarian, it often arrested Hungarian speakers as foreign agents. An estimated 2 million Romanians are ethnic Hungarians, including at least 30% of the population here.

The former Communist paper here, renamed three days ago from the The Red Flag to the Banatean Fighter, published a Christmas carol on the front page of its Sunday edition.

Before this year, Christmas was not even an official holiday in Romania.

Military and civilian officials here said the fighting between the army, which supports the new Front for National Salvation government in Bucharest, and Ceausescu loyalists, most of them well-armed commandos of the security police, was under control.

"It's not so bad," said Oprea Sorin, 27, a leader in the local Timisoaran Liberation Front, who said he was in charge of the local civilian militia. "But there are still isolated spots of trouble. Today, a 9-year-old girl was killed by a sniper. Some of these opposition leaders are very well instructed and able to communicate with each other. They are very difficult to detect."

An army officer supporting the new government said, "Five or 10 well-trained snipers can exist for another month here. But we are at no risk of losing our position."

Under Ceausescu, Romania was a Stalinist-model police state in which secret police outnumbered army personnel and were better armed.

Stopping foreign journalists on the streets Saturday and Sunday, ragamuffin civilian patrols appealed to foreign governments to send automatic weapons to the new government here.

"Tell President Bush that we like what he is doing in Panama," said Ion Avram, 29. "Ask him to send us weapons."

Four foreign journalists, two of them American, were shot and wounded in the city over the weekend.

Driving into the city Saturday evening, New York Times correspondent John Tagliabue was wounded as snipers opened fire on his car. Tagliabue's traveling companion, Curtis Wilke, a reporter for the Boston Globe, said the car's driver was able to steer the vehicle to safety near a medical clinic.

"[Tagliabue] was on a stretcher and into the hospital in about five minutes," Wilke said. Doctors at the clinic said the correspondent, who suffered a wound to his abdomen, was in satisfactory condition after surgery.

Tagliabue is the younger brother of Paul Tagliabue, commissioner of the National Football League and a Washington lawyer.

Two other journalists—John Daniszewski of the Associated Press and Italian photographer Pasquale Modica of the newspaper La Republica—were also wounded in separate incidents while in cars.

A group of uniformed men on Saturday night ordered a car carrying Daniszewski and a Yugoslav reporter, Ljuba Pajic, to stop, then opened fire as soon as Daniszewski stepped on the brakes, according to the Associated Press.

One bullet struck his arm and two others grazed his head, the Yugoslav Consulate said, quoting Pajic, who was not injured. The assailants fled after robbing the reporters, the consulate said. Daniszewski was in satisfactory condition Sunday in a Timisoara hospital.

Modica, the photographer, was hit in the chest but was reported out of danger, Tanjug said.

Zeljko Sajin, a reporter for a Zagreb, Yugoslavia, television station, and Yugoslav Vice Consul Slobodan Krekovic were slightly wounded as they ran for their car near a hotel in Timisoara about midnight Saturday, the Yugoslav news agency Tanjug said. Sajin was hit in the chest, and Krekovic was grazed by a bullet.

The people of Timisoara, despite their losses, were taking great pride Sunday in having provided the spark for the Romanian uprising.

"Our revolution set a world record for speed in eliminating a dictatorship," said Lorin Ortuna, 47, an engineering professor and leader of what could be the main new emerging political force here. "It has been said that Romanians are cowards. But people did not understand what Ceausescu did to us. It was like living under Hitler or Stalin."

Europeans See Portent in Romania Fury

WASH.POST:12-25-89

183/173

By Jim Hoagland
Washington Post Foreign Service

PARIS, Dec. 24—The fall of the last domino of Warsaw Pact Communist rule in Romania has unleashed mingled feelings of joy and horror in France and other West European nations, where the bitter street fighting of Bucharest has been carried extensively and often live by television.

The collapse of the rule headed by Nicolae Ceausescu has been welcomed by official and public applause from West Europeans, who expect Cold War tensions to decline even more now that the Communists' monopoly rule has been broken in every Warsaw Pact nation except the Soviet Union.

But the bloody way in which Ceausescu and his supporters ended their rule, including the massacre of large numbers of men, women and children in Timisoara, has ended hopes here that the year's extraordinary transformation of Eastern Europe could be achieved without loss of life or incidents that would provoke demands for revenge.

The Romanian chaos and bloodletting has also stirred collective memories of the ethnic tensions of Central Europe that helped trigger the two world wars of this century.

The fears that Central Europe might again provoke international turmoil had begun to fade in European capitals as Poland, Hungary, East Germany, Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria peacefully deposed or imposed controls on hard-line Communist regimes. But the horrors that have unfolded on television screens here in the middle of preparation for Christmas can only rekindle such fears for many, diplomats and political analysts observed today.

Why this happened in Romania, after being avoided elsewhere in the crumbling Soviet empire, is a question that will occupy the foreign ministries and think tanks of Western Europe for months. It is also an important domestic issue in countries like France, which has a large Romanian exile community, and Italy, which shares a Latin heritage with Romania.

French conservative politicians quickly announced Saturday that they intend to spend Christmas in Bucharest, and the Socialist government of President Francois Mitterrand has made determined efforts to get humanitarian aid and medical personnel into Romania.

In an unusual step for France, which normally emphasizes that it recognizes only states and not individual governments, the Foreign Ministry announced today that it recognized no other legitimate authority in Bucharest than the National Salvation Committee that has taken control of the nation's television and radio stations.

The emotional impact of the repeated interruptions of regular French television schedules on Friday and Saturday to show the Romanian conflict live in often gruesome detail has come to resemble the impact on American viewers of the televising of the Challenger space shuttle explosion in Febuary 1986.

Tonight, the Romanian exile who had been providing simultaneous translation for the images being shown French viewers at the same moment they were aired in Romania broke into tears as traditional Romanian Christmas carols, banned by Ceausescu, were broadcast on Romanian television for the first time.

The U.S. attack on Panama has quickly set[illegible] secondary position of attention for most European media. Some European diplomats were initially concerned that the coincidence of the two events would distract official and popular attention in the United States away from the Romanian uprising—of greater significance for East-West relations and European stability, in their view.

What happened in Romania was in fact what many in Europe had feared would happen elsewhere in Eastern Europe if large crowds took to the streets demanding the ouster of their Communist rulers. Throughout the autumn, concern repeatedly surfaced about repeats in East Germany, Czechoslovakia or Bulgaria of the massacre by the Chinese Communist leadership of students in Tiananmen Square last June.

But large contingents of Soviet troops are based in those countries, as they are in Poland and Hungary. The national armies of the Warsaw Pact, with the exception of Romania, are essentially under Soviet command in the event of combat operations, Western diplomats in Eastern Europe report.

"The East German People's Army exists only as an alliance combat force and does not have the capability to carry out integrated operations without Soviet approval," a Western diplomat in East Berlin said last week.

Romania's uprising demonstrated why none of the other fallen East European leaders could have depended on their conscript armies for protection against an enraged populace once it became clear that the Soviets would not intervene to save them, as they had in East Berlin in 1953, Budapest in 1956 and Prague in 1968.

The Romanian national army quickly turned against Ceausescu, throwing its weight behind the popular uprising and engaging in pitched battles with Ceausescu's heavily armed and fanatical secret police.

Ceausescu had deliberately isolated Romania, paying off all foreign debts so that Western banks and nations would have no leverage on him, as well as making his forces independent of Soviet control while officially remaining a member of the Warsaw Pact.

The Soviet unwillingness or inability to intervene to stop the slaughter of thousands of civilians in an allied neighboring country provided for Europeans a sharp contrast with the U.S. operation in Panama.

Gorbachev's inaction was portrayed by conservative commentators in Western Europe as a sign of Soviet weakness in controlling events on its border, and hence inside its own frontier, and therefore a cause for concern in a region known for its history of brutal conflict between ethnic nations.

The arrival of a democratic government in Bucharest could also inflame seperatist sentiment in Moldavia, the Soviet republic that Joseph Stalin broke away from Romania and annexed in 1944, French and British newspapers noted.

While largely unarticulated publicly, concern among policy makers in the Bush administration that the long smoldering tensions of East and Central European nationalisms could explode into violence has been a major factor in the cautious U.S. approach toward the rapid dismantling of communism behind the Iron Curtain this year.

Pressed at a news conference in East Berlin on Friday about what France would do, Mitterrand said no Western nation could ever intervene militarily in a domestic struggle in a Warsaw Pact nation. He suggested that the threat to world peace would be too great for such intervention.

N.Y.TIMES: 12-26-89

Thanks for Deliverance, but Mindful That All Is Still Not Well

By CLYDE HABERMAN
Special to The New York Times

BUCHAREST, Rumania, Dec. 25 — On this Christmas of hope and death, Rumanians gave thanks today for their liberation from dictatorship and prayed for swift deliverance from the turmoil that still surrounds them.

At the Mitropolia Cathedral here, the seat of the Rumanian Orthodox Church, several hundred people attended Christmas Mass, the first celebrated freely here in decades.

Their numbers were not overwhelming. For much of the service, there were no more than 200 of the faithful in the high-domed cathedral. It was clear, said the Rev. Ieronim Cretu as he anointed worshipers' heads with holy water, that many Rumanians were afraid to venture forth while street battles continued between Government troops and renegade security forces loyal to the deposed and reportedly executed Communist ruler, Nicolae Ceausescu.

'You've Proved Your Courage'

Still, enough of them turned out to warrant praise from Teoctist Arapasu, Patriarch of the country's 16 million Orthodox believers. "You've proved your courage by coming here," he said at the end of the service. "We are here, we are healthy and we are free."

None of those listening disagreed. "This is our Christmas, a free Christmas," said Elena Barbu, a retired employee of the Health Ministry.

But not even Christmas could keep painful realities of the emerging new Rumania from the church door.

Fearful of possible attacks by the despised Securitate, as the brutal Ceausescu security forces are called, armed soldiers patrolled the cathedral grounds. Everyone entering the church was body-searched by some of the young guards who now represent the forces of order on the streets of the capital and in the countryside.

The vigilance seemed to pay off toward the end of the Mass when a burly young man was roughly hustled off by an angry group of worshipers who accused him of being one of the terrorists, as the security forces are called these days. It was not clear if this man was guilty as charged, but he did not protest his innocence as he was led away to an unknown fate.

Church Has Its Critics

Under Mr. Ceausescu, the Orthodox Church here often fared poorly. Buildings and other property were destroyed, and church attendance was discouraged. "I went to services, but secretly," a woman said today.

But many Rumanians have little affection for Orthodox Church leaders, who hold their posts with the Government's blessing and whose salaries and expenses are paid by the state. The Orthodox Church has done far better, critics note, than the Greek Catholic Church, which has 1.6 million adherents in Rumania and has been suppressed for 41 years. And despite denunciations of tyranny today from the pulpit, the critics say the Orthodox clergy was never in the vanguard of anti-Ceausescu resistance, to the limited degree that there was any until a week ago.

Although gone, Mr. Ceausescu cast a shadow over the church today. Worshipers paid the equivalent of a few pennies for 1990 religious calendars, which were printed awhile ago and contained a section under the heading of "important dates." The first date listed was Jan. 26, Mr. Ceausescu's birthday, which the church apparently considered more important than the unification of Rumania in 1859.

A Few Tears; No Smiles

Most of the worshipers did not bring such concerns with them today. They had come to pray, and they did so with a certain grimness. There were a few tears and absolutely no smiles.

If these Rumanians had holiday finery, they left it in their closets. On a table near the rear of the cathedral, some deposited gifts of food — bread, plain cakes, apples, a bottle of wine, all valuable items in an impoverished country where foreign cigarettes are coins of the realm.

> 'This is our Christmas, a free Christmas.'

Many prayed on their knees, some bowing so low that their heads touched the thinly carpeted floor. One elderly woman sat on a bench along a wall, turning her head away from everyone else for a moment of private prayer.

"We have fighting, we have death, we have terrorists," said Ion Vitan, a worshiper who stood nearby. But, he added, "we also have hope. I think that all this will end. I am sure of it."

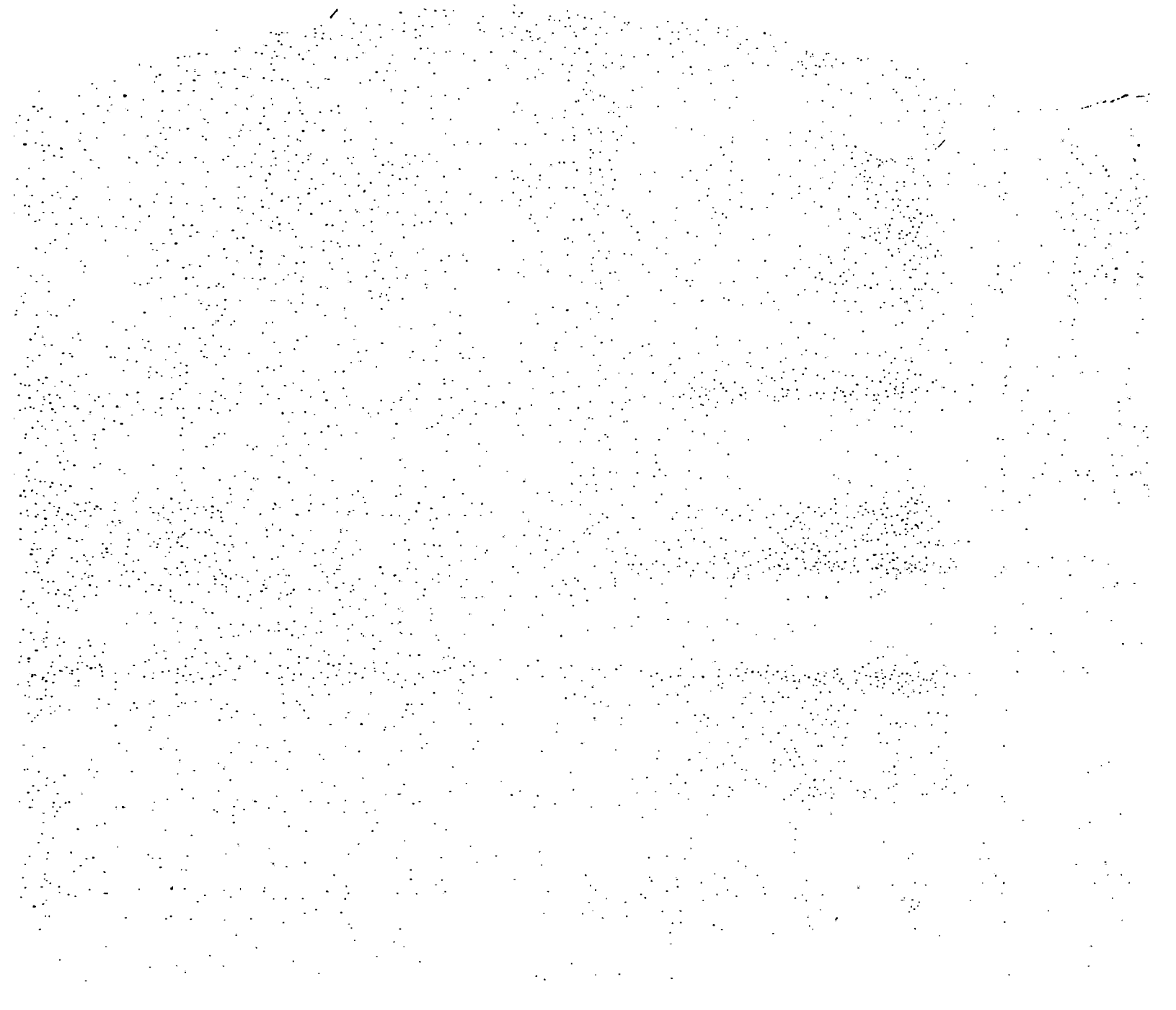
But on the streets outside the cathedral, there were many more Rumanians who stayed away from church on this Christmas Day who did not share Mr. Vitan's convictions. One was Gabriella Dimitrescu, a geologist.

"We must learn to deal with liberty," she said. "We still talk softly at home. We are still afraid of the telephone."

"This is not yet a real Christmas," Mrs. Dimitrescu added. "We still have to wait for our Christmas."

"We believe that the extraordinary advances in the means of intercommunication between peoples over the past generation offer a practical method of advancing the mutual understanding upon which peace and the institutions of peace must rest, and it is our policy and purpose to use these great technological achievements for the common advantage of the world."

FDR, Annual Message on the State of the Union (written, not spoken version), January 6, 1945



MARK: THE CRUX OF THE IDEA HERE:
1) The new information + communication technologies serve to advance the New Breeze of freedom + democracy by enhancing individual expression and access to information.
2) In this era of global change, the world will look more and more to the United States as a model. Therefore, we are obliged to plan our actions not just for ourselves, but in the knowledge that millions are emulating us.

September 8, 1989

Memorandum

Subject: Suggested Speech: The Information Age and The New Breeze

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It is evident to everyone that we live in a time of momentous change. The recent events in Central Europe alone are cause for wonder and would never have been predicted only a short time ago. All of the recent dramatic changes have led a good many observers to seek a common thread in all the confusion, to explain what really is behind all the political and social transformation around the globe. I believe that Americans know the explanation in their bones. It has been said before: freedom works.

Freedom works because it is in mankind's nature to be free. Our forefathers knew that when they began the great experiment that is America. But they knew that freedom is vulnerable and for freedom to fully flower we must cultivate it with every useful tool we can devise. Today we are witnessing the development of new tools and new mechanisms that can help promote freedom, just as the magnificent institutional mechanisms which our founders devised -- our system of checks and balances, for example -- have preserved and enhanced freedom on this continent.

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These new tools I speak of are especially evident in the emergence of new technologies that have made the spread of information much easier and more widespread. Like any instrument, these new information technologies can be used for good or evil purposes. But by and large, they are tending to overcome the barriers to free expression around the world. And, as the author George Gilder has said, to impel "the worldwide shift of the worth of goods from materials to ideas. The rise of [the] mind as the source of wealth...."

These new technologies have allowed information, ideas, and capital to be transmitted from one place in the world to another in the blink of an eye. The new technologies of communication: computers, fax machines, lasers, optical fibers, satellites -- all these wonderful new things have symbolized what has come to be known as the Information Age, a new era marked by investment in human capital and the creations of the mind: services and software, ideas and information.

Many of us see the new technologies in our everyday work: for example, in the personal computers that existed only in the imagination a short time ago. I am reminded of an incident that took place in the Soviet Union where some American journalists were reporting on a scientific conference. The American reporters were approached by the Soviet scientists they were covering.

The scientists, it seemed, had never before seen the laptop computers the reporters were using. They wanted to know how it worked. When the Americans explained that they could send their stories back home via the phone lines, the Soviet scientists were amazed. It must have occurred to some of them that the old saying could be updated to read "The keyboard is mightier than the sword." Today, of course, these kinds of computers are becoming common, characteristically as the latest tool of expression for the free press that is America's pride.

Freedom of expression has always been the hallmark of American democracy. The only difference is that today we have technologies like those personal computers that make expressing and transmitting information much easier as a practical matter. Freedom of expression made more free, and information made more accessible, will together butress the democratic structure of our society. Because a well-informed citizenry is a bulwark against tyranny.

But, of course, vast numbers of the world's people have never known the access to information, to knowledge, that we in the free world enjoy. For them the facts of the world have always been smothered -- or more accurately -- twisted and stretched, manipulated beyond recognition -- by the brutal hands of tyranny and ignorance. Particularly in the totalitarian world has that most critical source of information -- history -- been held hostage for sinister political purposes.

For decades, the most eloquent voices in both the West and the East have told us about the workings and implications of official thought control. From George Orwell to Arthur Koestler to Alexander Solzhenitsyn to Czeslaw Milosz, we have all learned the nature of the atrocities that tyranny has committed not just in the past, but on the past: the names of ancient cities, towns, and streets changed to reflect the latest officially-approved personage -- the encyclopedias that come with razor blades to remove the entries on those whom the state has decided to condemn -- the banned books and periodicals -- the silenced tongues -- the unmarked graves -- the Big Lie.

All these are symbols of the ultimate tyranny, the tyranny of the state over the free expression of mankind. But suddenly there is a dawning awareness that something has changed. Not only has tyranny been thrown on the defensive, but the agents of tyranny realize it themselves.

(more)

For years the brutal hands of state authority have hurled sand into the eyes of history itself. But now a New Breeze blows that sand back in the form of silicon chips and optical fibers -- the symbols of the Information Age.

I have often spoken about the New Breeze. Very simply it is the force of an idea: the idea of freedom and democracy. Technological change can reinforce freedom -- it actually does, at this very moment. The technological change of the Information Age is helping to fan the New Breeze and ventilate long-stifled centers of expression. Together, the Information Age and the New Breeze reinforce each other.

The darkness that for many nations has long obscured vast areas of history and knowledge -- what the Czech writer, Milan Kundera has called the "Kingdom of Forgetting" -- is suddenly being dispelled and blown away. Whole peoples are awaking from an artificial amnesia imposed upon them by the brute force of the state.

What emerges to replace the Kingdom of Forgetting will depend mainly on what the people there do themselves. But what emerges will also depend in part on us: on all those who have long treasured the traditions of the free exchange of ideas and information -- we who live in the societies that have created the knowledge-based economy and the technologies of the Information Age. We, by our own actions and our own example will help determine whether the Kingdoms of Forgetting evolve into, as it were, the Republics of Remembering and the Commonwealths of Confidence In the Future.

As an example, let me return to the those journalists with their laptop computers. I believe that in many ways American journalism represents the cutting edge of what many have called the New Information Age. Peace, prosperity, and above all, freedom, depends upon the people's access to truth. A free press serves to protect and preserve the truth. In this time of dramatic world change, it is all the more critical that we meet our obligation to reveal the truth and remove the barriers to the flow of information.

Therefore, we must not forget that the free press we have in America is not only the envy of the world for its pursuit of truth, it is also increasingly the model for those seeking greater access to the sources of information. In a larger sense, America is itself a model to the world in this age of change. That is a heavy responsibility for us all. But I am confident that we can meet it. We can meet it because we have the winning ideas, the ideas I symbolize as the New Breeze. And because, to borrow a phrase from an old TV show, "we have the technology."

That is why I now want to call special attention to the distinguished American journalist, _____ _____, for his leadership of an effort on behalf of his profession and his country to share the techniques and technology of American journalism with fellow journalists in countries, like Poland, which seek to establish -- for the first time in decades -- the foundations of a truly free press.

We already have the admirable example of American labor unions helping their sister organizations in other countries. And here at home American reporters already represent, in a myriad of ways, the spirit of voluntarism, the spirit of A Thousand Points of Light. Let us take that spirit and apply it. Let us join those points of light in a broad network -- an array of light to help lift the darkness that has enshrouded too many nations.

[Other possible initiatives: U.S. rejoining UNESCO]

The Information Age holds the promise not only of new ways to ensure that the New Breeze of freedom and democracy blows around the world, but that here at home the promise of economic opportunity is enhanced in every corner, every hearthside, of America. This nation which started the information revolution should also be the nation which shows how to use these new technologies for the benefit of all mankind.

That's all the more important because, in this era of political and social change around the world, more and more countries will be looking as never before to the United States as their model for reshaping their own destinies.

We have the tools. We have the technology. We have the winning ideas. We have freedom. And we have the promise of greater freedom for ourselves and for unseen millions around the globe. Let's get to work.

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